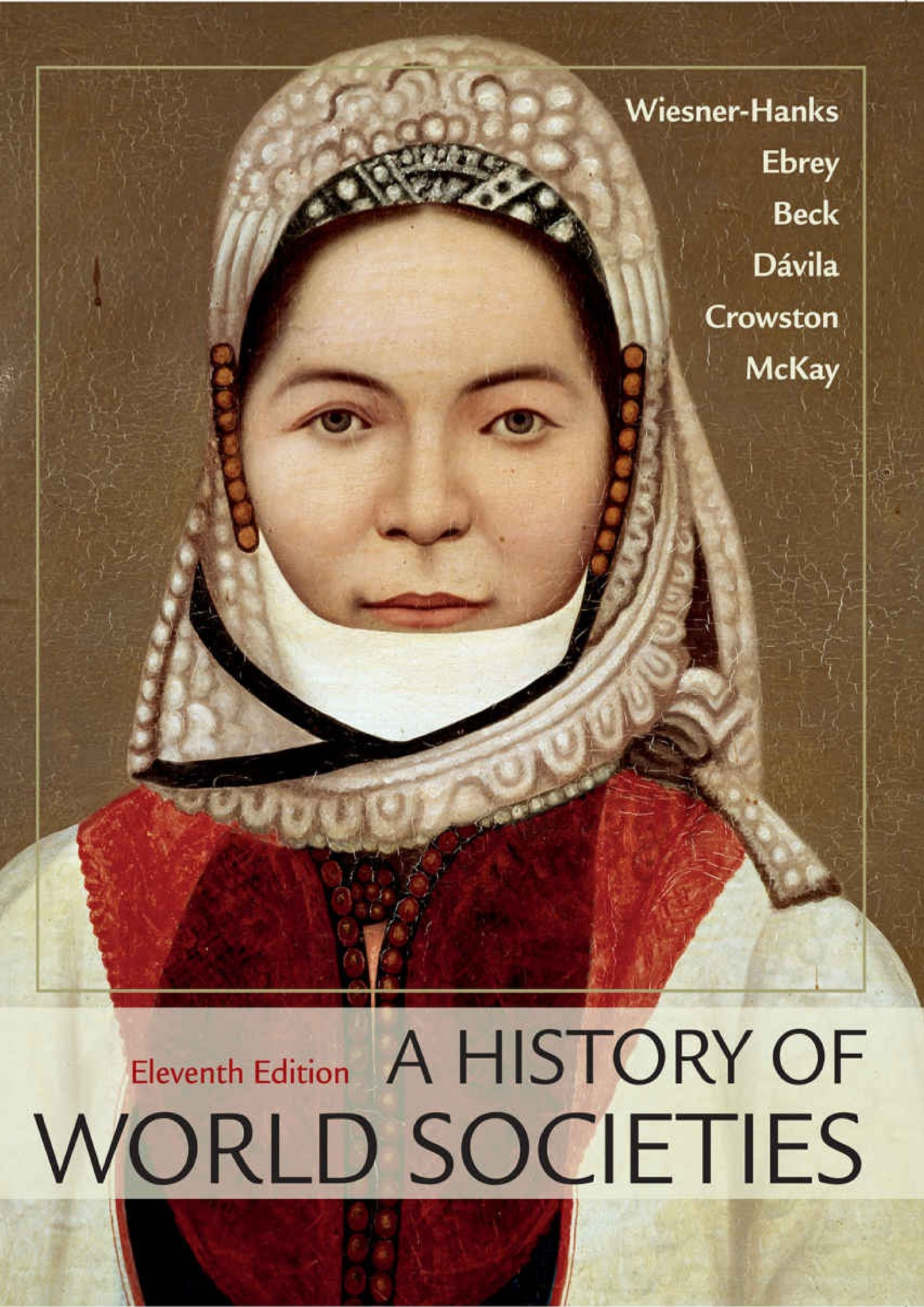


Wiesner-Hanks
Ebrey
Beck
Dávila
Crowston
McKay

Eleventh Edition

A HISTORY OF WORLD SOCIETIES

Take the lead in succeeding in your history course.

Taking your first college history course might seem like a challenge. These excerpts from the **Bedford Tutorials for History** will give you tools for succeeding in your history course.

Taking Effective Notes

Lectures and reading assignments present large amounts of information that can be overwhelming. Here are a few tips for taking effective notes.

Establish Shortcuts to Facilitate Taking Legible Notes

To speed up your note-taking and yet still have notes you can read, use abbreviations and symbols to indicate commonly used words and ideas. Text-messaging conventions are transferrable to note-taking — for example, use “w/o” for “without” and “b/c” for “because.” In your history class, you can use “c.” for “century” and establish other shortcuts for commonly used historical terminology.

Organize Your Notes and Be Selective

Every time you begin a new set of notes, include the date and subject at the top of the page. Focus on the big ideas and include the concrete examples and details needed to illustrate and support those ideas. Your goal is to create notes that are brief yet understandable.

Working with Primary Sources

A primary source is a document, object, or image created during the time period under study. Sometimes, historical documents can be difficult to understand because of their form or language. Here are questions you can ask when analyzing primary sources.

- ***Who produced this document, when, and where?***
  Identifying the author of a primary source is important because it helps expose the author's point of view. We need to know something about how the author or artist viewed the world and how he or she came to produce the document or visual source.

- ***Who was the intended audience of the document?***
  There is often a close connection between a document and its intended audience. The historical importance of a document is partly determined by who read it.

- ***What are the main points of the document?***
  While reading, start to make connections between the main points of the document and the specific choices the author made in style, organization, content, and emphasis.

- ***What does this document reveal about the time and place in which it was written?***
  Often there is no single right answer to this question because readers bring their own goals and purposes to their analyses and use the evidence found in the document to draw their own conclusions about the document's historical meaning.

Avoiding Plagiarism and Managing Sources

Most students are aware that plagiarism can be committed on purpose, but unintentional or accidental plagiarism is also problematic. Keeping track of source material has always been tough, and technology has made it easy to cut text from an online source and copy it into your paper. You may have intended to modify or acknowledge it later but then forgot where it came from. Omitting a citation of a source by accident is still a breach of academic ethics. Here are four steps that you can use to help avoid plagiarism.

Step 1: Manage Sources Efficiently

Many academic professionals and students take notes and keep track of sources using index cards. Write one piece of evidence — a quote, a fact, an idea — on each card along with the original source of that data. This can also be done electronically, by creating a single file for each source that you consult and housing all of these files in a folder called “Sources.”

Step 2: Use Sources Properly

Using sources properly as you take notes and incorporate them into your writing is another crucial component of the research and writing process. You will not be able to cite your sources properly if you don't know which note is a quote, which note is a partial paraphrase of another author's point, and which one is paraphrased fully.

Step 3: Acknowledge Sources Appropriately

There are some general rules about what types of information require citation or acknowledgment and what types do not. Widely accepted facts or common knowledge do not need to be cited, but another person's words or ideas (even if not quoted verbatim) require a citation.

Step 4: Cite Sources Completely and Consistently

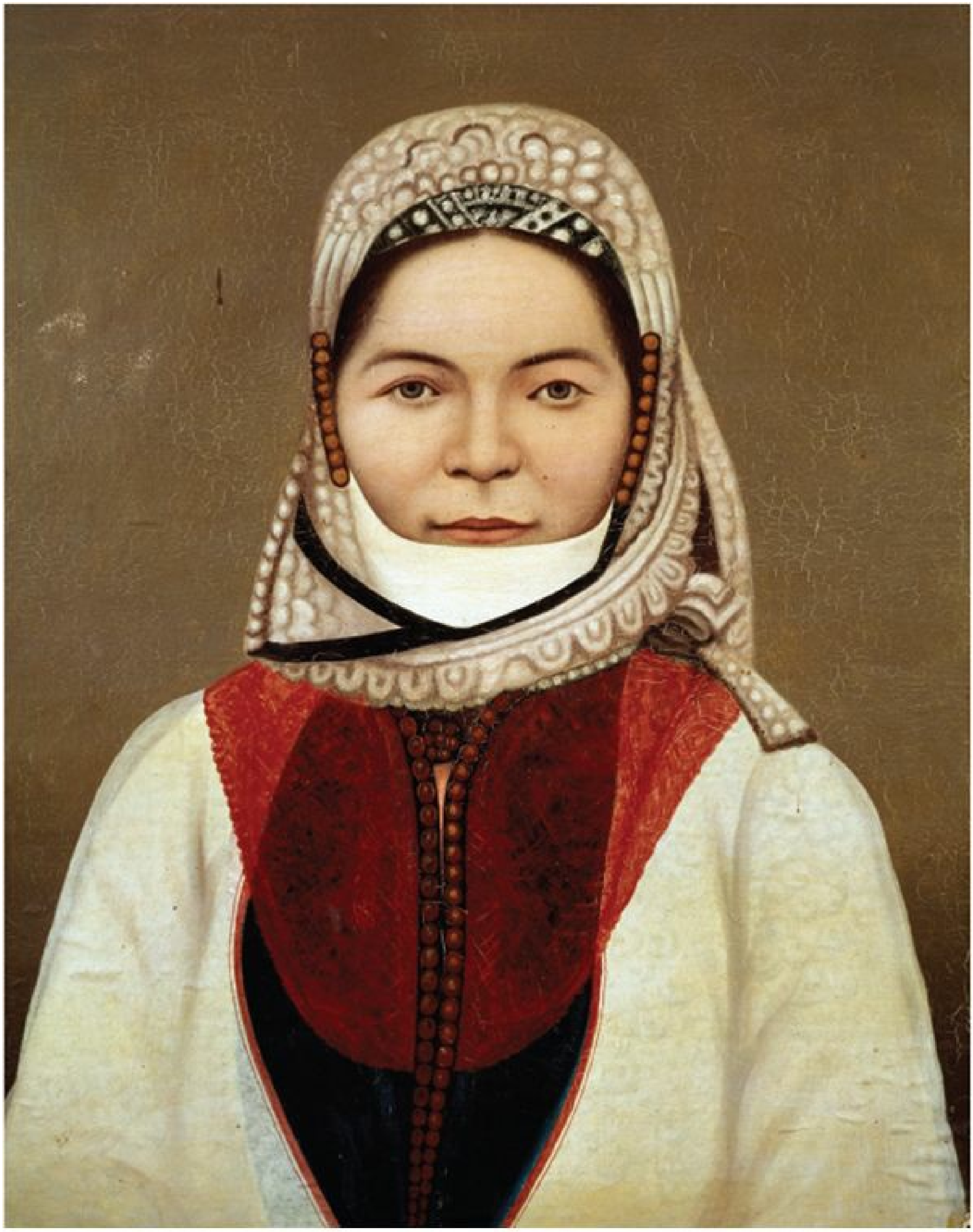
Historians and others writing about history have adopted the citation guidelines from the *Chicago Manual of Style* (CMS). The citations are indicated by superscript numbers within the text that refer to a note with a corresponding number either at the bottom of the page (footnote) or at the end of the paper (endnote). Here are just a few brief examples of CMS-style notes.

Book:	David Brion Davis, *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 73.
Journal Article:	Alden T. Vaughan and Virginia Mason Vaughan, “Before Othello: Elizabethan Representations of Sub-Saharan Africans,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 54 (January 1997): 19–44.

Instructors: For more information on the **Bedford Tutorials for History**, contact your Bedford/St. Martin’s representative, or visit **macmillanlearning.com/historytutorials.**

About the Cover Image

Armenian woman from Isfahan, painting, 20th century



Armenian Woman from Isfahan, painting, 20th century / Armenian Cathedral and Museum, Julfa, Isfahan, Iran / De Agostini Picture Library / G. Dagli Orti / Bridgeman Images

In this painting by an unknown artist from the early twentieth century, an Armenian woman wearing an elaborate headdress and brocade jacket gazes serenely at the viewer. Her clothing is what became defined as "Armenian national dress," one of many national and ethnic costumes largely invented during the period of growing nationalism in the nineteenth century but claimed as part of much older traditions. Armenia was a kingdom in southwest Asia that adopted Christianity in the fourth century. Conquered by various empires over the centuries, Armenians scattered and developed global trading networks that for a time centered on Isfahan (now in Iran), where this painting is located. Many Armenians remained in Armenia, which became part of the Ottoman Empire, until Ottoman authorities during World War I ordered their mass deportation to the Syrian Desert, a genocidal policy through which hundreds of thousands died from exhaustion, starvation, or massacre.

A History of

World Societies

A History of World Societies

ELEVENTH EDITION

MERRY E. WIESNER-HANKS
University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee

PATRICIA BUCKLEY EBREY
University of Washington

ROGER B. BECK
Eastern Illinois University

JERRY DÁVILA
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

CLARE HARU CROWSTON
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

JOHN P. McKAY
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

bedford/st.martin's
Macmillan Learning
Boston | New York

FOR BEDFORD/ST. MARTIN'S

Vice President, Editorial, Macmillan Learning Humanities: Edwin Hill
Program Director for History: Michael Rosenberg
Senior Program Manager for History: William J. Lombardo
History Marketing Manager: Melissa Rodriguez
Director of Content Development: Jane Knetzger
Senior Developmental Editor: Heidi L. Hood
Senior Content Project Manager: Christina M. Horn
Senior Workflow Manager: Jennifer Wetzel
Production Assistant: Brianna Lester
Senior Media Project Manager: Michelle Camisa
Media Editor: Tess Fletcher
Associate Editor: Mary Posman Starowicz
Copy Editor: Jennifer Brett Greenstein
Indexer: Leoni Z. McVey
Composition: Jouve
Cartographer: Mapping Specialists, Ltd.
Photo Editor: Christine Buese
Photo Researcher: Bruce Carson
Permissions Editor: Eve Lehmann
Senior Art Director: Anna Palchik
Text Design: Boynton Hue Studio
Cover Design: William Boardman
Cover Art: Armenian Woman from Isfahan, painting, 20th century/Armenian Cathedral and Museum, Julfa, Isfahan, Iran/De Agostini Picture Library/G. Dagli Orti/Bridgeman Images

Copyright © 2018, 2015, 2012, 2009 by Bedford/St. Martin's

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, except as may be expressly permitted by the applicable copyright statutes or in writing by the Publisher.

2 1 0 9 8 7
f e d c b a

For information, write: Bedford/St. Martin's, 75 Arlington Street, Boston, MA

02116

ISBN 978-1-319-06986-5 (Combined Edition) (epub)

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Acknowledgments and copyrights appear on the same page as the text and art selections they cover; these acknowledgments and copyrights constitute an extension of the copyright page.

Preface

Why This Book This Way

The world is becoming ever more interconnected, and the eleventh edition of *A History of World Societies* responds to this reality. To the social and cultural focus, comprehensive regional organization, and global perspective that have long been its hallmarks, we have added features that emphasize connections and parallel developments. Each of the authors on our collaborative team is a regional expert with deep experience in teaching world history, who brings insights into the text from the classroom, as well as from new secondary works and his or her own research in archives and libraries. In response to the growing emphasis on historical thinking skills in the teaching of history at all levels, as well as to requests from our colleagues and current adopters, we have significantly expanded the book’s primary source program to offer a wide variety of sources, both written and visual, presented in several ways. Every chapter now includes Thinking Like a Historian, which groups approximately five sources around a central question; Global Viewpoints, which presents two sources from different parts of the world on the same issue; and Analyzing the Evidence, which features an individual text or visual source. We now have more primary sources than ever before and innovative tools — both print and digital — designed to help students think historically and master the material.

The Story of *A History of World Societies*

In this age of global connections, with their influence on the economy, migration patterns, popular culture, and climate change, among other aspects of life, the study of world history is more vital and urgent than ever before. An understanding of the broad sweep of the human past helps us comprehend today’s dramatic changes and enduring continuities. People now migrate enormous distances and establish new lives far from their places of birth, yet migration has been a constant in history since the first humans walked out of Africa. Satellites and cell phones now link nearly every inch of the planet, yet the expansion of communication networks is a process that is thousands of years old. Children who speak different languages at home now sit side by side in schools and learn from one another, yet intercultural encounters have long been a source of innovation, transformation, and at times, unfortunately, conflict.

This book is designed for twenty-first-century students who will spend their lives on this small interconnected planet and for whom an understanding of only local or national history will no longer be sufficient. We believe that the study of world history in a broad and comparative context is an exciting, important, and highly practical pursuit. It is our conviction, based on considerable experience in introducing large numbers of students to world history, that a book reflecting current trends in scholarship can excite readers and inspire an enduring interest in the long human experience.

Our strategy has been twofold. First, we have made social and cultural history the core elements of our narrative. We know that engaging students' interest in the past is often a challenge, but we also know that the emphasis on individual experience in its social and cultural dimensions connects with students and makes the past vivid and accessible. We seek to re-create the lives of ordinary people in appealing human terms and also to highlight the interplay between men's and women's lived experiences and the ways they reflect on these to create meaning. Thus, in addition to foundational works of philosophy and literature, we include popular songs and stories. We present objects along with texts as important sources for studying history, and this has allowed us to incorporate the growing emphasis on material culture in the work of many historians. At the same time, we have been mindful of the need to give great economic, political, and intellectual developments the attention they deserve. We want to give individual students and instructors an integrated perspective so that they can pursue — on their own or in the classroom — the themes and questions that they find particularly exciting and significant.

Second, we have made every effort to strike an effective global and regional balance. The whole world interacts today, and to understand the interactions and what they mean for today's citizens, we must study the whole world's history. Thus we have adopted a comprehensive regional organization with a global perspective that is clear and manageable for students. For example, Chapter 7 introduces students in depth to East Asia, and at the same time the chapter highlights the cultural connections that occurred via the Silk Road and the spread of Buddhism. We study all geographical areas, conscious of the separate histories of many parts of the world, particularly in the earliest millennia of human development. We also stress the links among cultures, political units, and economic systems, for these connections have made the world what it is today. We make comparisons and connections across time as well as space, for understanding the unfolding of the human story in time is the central task of history. We further students' understanding of these connections with the addition of new timelines in each chapter that put regional developments into a global context.

Primary Sources for Historical Thinking

A History of World Societies offers an extensive program of primary source assignments to help students master a number of key learning outcomes, among them **critical thinking**, **historical thinking**, **analytical thinking**, and **argumentation**, as well as learning about the **diversity of world cultures**. For this eleventh edition, we have added a new feature, **Thinking Like a Historian** (one in each chapter), which typically groups five or six textual or visual sources around a central question, with additional questions to guide students' analysis of the evidence and a "Putting It All Together" assignment that asks them to synthesize the sources with what they have learned in class and use the evidence to create an argument. Topics include "Slavery in Roman and Germanic Society" (Chapter 8), "When and Why Did Foot Binding Begin?" (Chapter 13), "Forced Relocation of Armenians to Persia" (Chapter 17), "The Rights of Which Men?" (Chapter 22), and "The Relationships Between Mosquitoes, People, and Epidemics" (Chapter 33).

To encourage comparisons across chapters and across cultures, we have sharpened the focus of the **Global Viewpoints** feature, which provides students with perspectives from two cultures on a key issue. This feature offers a pair of primary documents on a topic that illuminates the human experience, allowing us to provide more concrete examples of differences in the ways people thought. Anyone teaching world history has to emphasize larger trends and developments, but students sometimes get the wrong impression that everyone in a society thought alike. We hope that teachers can use these passages to get students thinking about diversity within and across societies. The 33 Global Viewpoints assignments — one in each chapter — introduce students to working with sources, encourage critical analysis, and extend the narrative while giving voice to the people of the past. Each includes a brief introduction and questions for analysis. Carefully chosen for accessibility, each pair of documents presents views on a diverse range of topics such as "Roman and Chinese Officials in Times of Disaster" (Chapter 6), "Early Descriptions of Africa from Egypt" (Chapter 10), "Aztec and Spanish Views on Christian Conversion in New Spain" (Chapter 16), "Declarations of Independence: The United States and Venezuela” (Chapter 22), and “Gandhi and Mao on Revolutionary Means” (Chapter 29).

A third type of original source feature, **Analyzing the Evidence** (two in each chapter), features an individual visual or written source, longer and more substantial than those in other features, chosen to extend and illuminate a major historical issue considered in each chapter, with headnotes and questions that help students understand the source and connect it to the information in the rest of the chapter. Selected for their interest and carefully integrated into their historical context, these in-depth looks at sources provide students with firsthand encounters with people of the past and should, we believe, help students “hear” and “see” the past. Topics include “The Teachings of Confucius” (Chapter 4), “Orthodox Icon of Jesus” (Chapter 8), “Abu Hamid al-Ghazali on the Etiquette of Marriage” (Chapter 9), “Courtly Love Poetry” (Chapter 14), “Lamu Old Town, Lamu Island, Kenya” (Chapter 20), “*Rain, Steam, and Speed — the Great Western Railway*” (Chapter 23), “Reyita Castillo Bueno on Slavery and Freedom in Cuba” (Chapter 27), “C. L. R. James on Pan African Liberation” (Chapter 31), “A Member of China’s Red Guards on Democratic Reform” (Chapter 32), and “A Brazilian Band on Globalization” (Chapter 33).

Taken together, the primary source features in this book offer the tools for building historical skills, including **chronological reasoning**, **explaining causation**, **evaluating context**, and **assessing perspective**. The suggestions for essays based on the primary sources encourage students to further expand their skills as they use their knowledge to develop historical arguments and write historical analyses. In LaunchPad these features are each accompanied by autograded questions that test students on their basic understanding of the sources so instructors can ensure students read the sources, quickly identify and help students who may be struggling, and focus more class time on thoughtful discussion and instruction.

In addition, our **primary source documents collection**, *Sources of World Societies*, includes written and visual sources that closely align the readings with the chapter topics and themes of this edition. The documents are available in a fully assignable and assessable electronic format within each chapter in LaunchPad, and the multiple-choice questions — now accompanying each source — measure comprehension and hold students accountable for their reading.

Finally, our new **Bedford Document Collections** modules in LaunchPad, which are also available for customizing the print text, provide a flexible repository of discovery-oriented primary source projects ready to assign. Each curated project — written by a historian about a favorite topic — poses a historical question and guides students through analysis of the sources. Examples include “The Silk Road: Travel and Trade in Premodern Inner Asia”; “The Spread of Christianity in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries”; “The Singapore Mutiny of 1915: Understanding World War I from a Global Perspective”; and “Living Through Perestroika: The Soviet Union in Upheaval, 1985–1991.”

Student Engagement with Biography

In our years of teaching world history, we have often noted that students come alive when they encounter stories about real people in the past. To give students a chance to see the past through ordinary people’s lives, each chapter includes one of the popular **Individuals in Society** biographical essays, each of which offers a brief study of an individual or group, informing students about the societies in which the individuals lived. This feature grew out of our long-standing focus on people’s lives and the varieties of historical experience, and we believe that readers will empathize with these human beings who themselves were seeking to define their own identities. The spotlighting of individuals, both famous and obscure, perpetuates the book’s continued attention to cultural and intellectual developments, highlights human agency, and reflects changing interests within the historical profession as well as the development of “micro-history.” **NEW** features include essays on Catarina de San Juan, an Indian woman who was enslaved by Portuguese traders and transported to Mexico (Chapter 16); Rebecca Protten, a former slave from Antigua who was part of a mixed-race marriage with a German Moravian missionary (Chapter 19); and Samuel Crompton, inventor of the spinning mule (Chapter 23).

Geographic Literacy

We recognize students’ difficulties with geography, and the new edition retains our **Mapping the Past map activities**. Included in each chapter, these activities ask students to analyze a map and make connections to the larger processes discussed in the narrative, giving them valuable practice in reading and interpreting maps. In LaunchPad, these maps come with new assignable activities. Throughout the textbook and online in LaunchPad, nearly **100 full-size maps** illustrate major developments in the chapters. In addition, **75 spot maps** are embedded in the narrative to show specific areas under discussion.

Chronological Literacy in a Global Context

The increased attention to global connections and comparisons that marks this edition can also be seen in new timelines at the end of each chapter. Along with graphically displaying major events and developments from the chapter, they also include key developments in other regions with cross-references to the chapters in which they are discussed. These comparisons situate events in the global story and help students identify similarities and differences among regions and societies.

Helping Students Understand the Narrative

We know firsthand and take seriously the challenges students face in understanding, retaining, and mastering so much material that is often unfamiliar. With the goal of making this the most student-centered edition yet, we continued to enhance the book’s pedagogy on many fronts. To focus students’ reading, each chapter opens with a chapter preview with focus questions keyed to the main chapter headings. These questions are repeated within the chapter and again in the “Review and Explore” section at the end of each chapter that provides helpful guidance for reviewing key topics. “Review and Explore” also includes “Make Comparisons and Connections” questions that prompt students to assess larger developments across chapters, thus allowing them to develop skills in evaluating change and continuity, making comparisons, and analyzing context and causation.

Within the narrative, a chapter summary reinforces key chapter events and ideas for students. This is followed by the chapter-closing **Connections** feature, which synthesizes main developments and makes connections and comparisons between countries and regions to explain how events relate to larger global processes, such as the influence of the Silk Road, the effects of the transatlantic slave trade, and the ramifications of colonialism. This also serves as a bridge to the subsequent chapters.

Key terms are bolded in the text, defined in the margin, and listed in the “Review and Explore” section to promote clarity and comprehension, and **phonetic spellings** — increased in this edition — are located directly after terms that readers are likely to find hard to pronounce.

The chapter ends with **Suggested Resources**, which includes up-to-date readings on the vast amount of new work being done in many fields, as well as recommended documentaries, feature films, television, and websites.

The high-quality art and map program has been thoroughly revised and features **hundreds of contemporaneous illustrations**. To make the past tangible, and as an extension of our attention to cultural history, we include numerous artifacts — from weapons and armor to dishes, furnishings, and figurines. As in earlier editions, all illustrations have been carefully selected to complement the text, and all include captions that inform students while encouraging them to read the text more deeply. **Numerous high-quality full-size maps** illustrate major developments in the narrative, and helpful spot maps are embedded in the narrative to locate areas under discussion.

In addition, whenever an instructor assigns the **LaunchPad e-Book** (which can be bundled for free with the print book), students get full access to **LearningCurve**, an online adaptive learning tool that promotes mastery of the book's content and diagnoses students' trouble spots. With this adaptive quizzing, students accumulate points toward a target score as they go, giving the interaction a game-like feel. Feedback for incorrect responses explains why the answer is incorrect and directs students back to the text to review before they attempt to answer the question again. The end result is a better understanding of the key elements of the text. Instructors who actively assign LearningCurve report their students come to class prepared for discussion and their students enjoy using it. In addition, LearningCurve's reporting feature allows instructors to quickly diagnose which concepts students in their classes are struggling with so they can adjust lectures and activities accordingly. The LaunchPad e-Book with LearningCurve is thus an invaluable asset for instructors who need to support students in all settings, from traditional lectures to hybrid, online, and newer "flipped" classrooms. In LaunchPad, instructors can also assign the **Guided Reading Exercise** for each chapter, which prompts students to read actively to collect information that answers a broad analytic question central to the chapter as a whole. Through these tools and more, LaunchPad can make the textbook even easier for students to understand and use. To learn more about the benefits of LearningCurve and LaunchPad's other features, see the "Versions and Supplements" section on page x.

All our changes to the book, large and small, are intended to give students and instructors an integrated perspective so that they can pursue — on their own or in the classroom — the historical questions that they find particularly exciting and significant.

Textual Changes

This edition is enhanced by the incorporation of new scholarship and subject areas that immerse students in the dynamic and ongoing work of history. Updates to the eleventh edition include more about Byzantium, Hungary, the Balkans, and the Ottomans (Chapters 14–15); more about technology acquisition and the role of technology in European exploration and more comparisons of Portuguese and Spanish colonization (Chapter 16); more global context for the “little ice age” and more information on the economic and social crises and the popular revolts that occurred in Europe and Asia partly as a result of the climate change (Chapter 18); new coverage on the religious repression of Huguenots under Louis XIII and Cardinal Richelieu (Chapter 18); new material on differences among English, Spanish, and French interactions with indigenous people in the Americas as well as more about the Indians who allied with the French (Chapter 18); reorganized and expanded coverage of the Enlightenment with two new sections covering major thinkers, currents of Enlightenment thought, key debates, global aspects of Enlightenment thought, and the role of women (Chapter 19); new coverage of how colonial contact forged European national identities (Spanish, French, English) as well as “Indian” and “African” identities (Chapter 19); revised coverage of Latin American revolutions with more on the background to the revolutions, the emergence and spread of liberal political ideas, the abolition of slavery, and the events of the revolutions in different parts of Latin America (Chapter 22); new material on the Congress of Vienna and the new “neutral” states of some territories, the neglect of small states, subject peoples, and the question of the future of the European territories of the Ottoman Empire (Chapter 24); revised and expanded coverage of social and economic conflicts that helped spark the 1848 revolutions (Chapter 24); revised discussion of export-led growth in the Americas, giving added focus to social movements (Chapter 27); a sharpened focus on the Cold War as a global phenomenon, enhanced discussion of U.S. intervention in Guatemala and of the Cuban Revolution, enhanced discussion of the Vietnam War as a conflict with global ramifications, and revised treatment of the postwar reconstruction of Japan (Chapter 31); updated discussion of the European Union in the context of the Greek economic crisis, the refugee crisis, and Britain’s vote to exit the European Union (Chapter 32); expanded discussion of China’s emergence as a global economic power and updated treatment of the Arab Spring (Chapter 32); updated and expanded discussion of nuclear proliferation, global health in the context of the Zika outbreak, the role of the Islamic State (ISIS) in the contemporary Middle East, the refugee crisis in Europe, and smartphone use in the developing world (Chapter 33).

Helping Instructors Teach with Digital Resources

As noted, *A History of World Societies* is offered in Macmillan’s premier learning platform, **LaunchPad**, an intuitive and interactive e-Book and course space. Free when packaged with the print book or available at a low price when used on its own, LaunchPad grants students and teachers access to a wealth of online tools and resources built specifically for this text to enhance reading comprehension and promote in-depth study. LaunchPad's course space and interactive e-Book are ready to use as is (or can be edited and customized with your own material) and can be assigned right away.

Developed with extensive feedback from history instructors and students, **LaunchPad for *A History of World Societies*** includes the complete narrative of the print book; the companion reader, *Sources of World Societies*; and **LearningCurve**, an adaptive learning tool designed to get students to read before they come to class. With **an expanded set of source-based questions in the test bank and in LearningCurve**, instructors now have more ways to test students on their understanding of sources and narrative in the book. The addition of the **new Bedford Document Collections modules in LaunchPad** means instructors have a flexible repository of discovery-oriented primary source projects to assign and to extend the text, making LaunchPad for *A History of World Societies* a one-stop shop for working with sources and thinking critically in a multitude of modes.

LaunchPad also offers several other distinctly useful assignment options to help students get the most from their reading, including **Guided Reading Exercises** that prompt students to be active readers of the chapter narrative and autograded **primary source quizzes** to test comprehension of written and visual sources in the book, the companion reader, and the Bedford Document Collections modules. These features, plus **additional primary source documents**, **video sources and tools for making video assignments**, **map activities**, **flashcards**, and **customizable test banks**, make Launchpad a great asset for any instructor who wants to enliven world history for students.

With training and support just a click away, LaunchPad can help you take your teaching into a new era. To learn more about the benefits of LearningCurve and LaunchPad, see "Versions and Supplements" on page x.

Acknowledgments

It is a pleasure to thank the many instructors who critiqued the book in preparation for this revision: Gene Barnett, Calhoun Community College; Amanda Carr-Wilcoxson, Pellissippi State Community College; Ted Cohen, Lindenwood University; Fiona Foster, Tidewater Community College; Paul J. Fox, Kennesaw State University; Duane Galloway, Rowan-Cabarrus Community College; Margaret Genvert, Salisbury University; Richard Bach Jensen, Northwestern State University; Kelly Kennington, Auburn University; Alex Pavuk, Morgan State University; Franklin Rausch, Lander University; Ryan L. Ruckel, Pearl River Community College; Dr. Anthony R. Santoro, Christopher Newport University; Chuck Smith, University of the Cumberlands; Molly E. Swords, University of Idaho; Scott N. West, University of Dayton; Dr. Kari Zimmerman, University of St. Thomas; and Michael Andrew Žmolek, University of Iowa.

It is also a pleasure to thank the many editors who have assisted us over the years, first at Houghton Mifflin and now at Bedford/St. Martin's (Macmillan Learning). At Bedford/St. Martin's, these include senior development editor Heidi Hood, associate editor Mary Posman Starowicz, program manager Laura Arcari, director of development Jane Knetzger, senior program director Michael Rosenberg, photo researcher Bruce Carson, text permissions editor Eve Lehmann, and senior content project manager Christina Horn, with the guidance of senior managing editor Michael Granger. Other key contributors were designer Cia Boynton, copy editor Jennifer Brett Greenstein, proofreaders Angela Morrison and Susan Zorn, indexer Leoni McVey, and cover designer William Boardman.

Many of our colleagues at the University of Illinois, the University of Washington, the University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee, and Eastern Illinois University continue to provide information and stimulation, often without even knowing it. We thank them for it. The authors recognize John P. McKay, Bennett D. Hill, and John Buckler, the founding authors of this textbook, whose vision set a new standard for world history textbooks. The authors also thank the many students over the years with whom we have used earlier editions of this book. Their reactions and opinions helped shape our revisions to this edition, and we hope it remains worthy of the ultimate praise they bestowed, that it is "not boring like most textbooks." Merry Wiesner-Hanks would, as always, like to thank her husband, Neil, without whom work on this project would not be possible. Patricia Ebrey thanks her husband, Tom. Clare Haru Crowston thanks her husband, Ali, and her children, Lili, Reza, and Kian, who are a joyous reminder of the vitality of life that we try to showcase in this book. Roger Beck thanks Ann for supporting him through five editions now, and for sharing his love of history. He is also grateful to the World History Association for all past, present, and future contributions to his understanding of world history. Jerry Dávila thanks Liv, Ellen, and Alex, who are reminders of why history matters.

Each of us has benefited from the criticism of his or her coauthors, although each of us assumes responsibility for what he or she has written. Merry Wiesner-Hanks has written and revised Chapters 1, 2, 5, 6, 8, 14, and 15; Patricia Buckley Ebrey has written and revised Chapters 3, 4, 7, 9, 12, 13, 17, 21, and 26; Roger B. Beck has written and revised Chapters 10, 20, 25, and 28–30; Clare Haru Crowston has written and revised Chapters 16, 18, 19, and 22–24; and Jerry Dávila has written and revised Chapters 11, 27, and 31–33.

MERRY E. WIESNER-HANKS
PATRICIA BUCKLEY EBREY
ROGER B. BECK
JERRY DÁVILA
CLARE HARU CROWSTON

Versions and Supplements

Adopters of *A History of World Societies* and their students have access to abundant print and digital resources and tools, the acclaimed *Bedford Series in History and Culture* volumes, and much more. The LaunchPad course space for *A History of World Societies* provides access to the narrative as well as a wealth of primary sources and other features, along with assignment and assessment opportunities at the ready. See below for more information, visit the book’s catalog site at **macmillanlearning.com**, or contact your local Bedford/St. Martin’s sales representative.

Get the Right Version for Your Class

To accommodate different course lengths and course budgets, *A History of World Societies* is available in several different versions and formats to best suit your course needs. The comprehensive *A History of World Societies* includes a full-color art program and a robust set of features. Offered now for the first time, *A History of World Societies*, Concise Edition, also provides the full narrative, with a streamlined art and feature program, at a lower price. *A History of World Societies*, Value Edition, offers a trade-sized two-color option with the full narrative and selected art and maps at a steeper discount. The Value Edition is also offered at the lowest price point in loose-leaf, and all versions are available as e-Books. For the best value of all, package a new print book with LaunchPad at no additional charge to get the best each format offers — a print version for easy portability with a LaunchPad interactive e-Book and course space with LearningCurve and loads of additional assignment and assessment options.

- **Combined Volume** (Chapters 1–33): available in paperback, Concise, Value, loose-leaf, and e-Book formats and in LaunchPad
- **Volume 1: To 1600** (Chapters 1–16): available in paperback, Concise, Value, loose-leaf, and e-Book formats and in LaunchPad
- **Volume 2: Since 1450** (Chapters 16–33): available in paperback, Concise, Value, loose-leaf, and e-Book formats and in LaunchPad

As noted below, any of these volumes can be packaged with additional titles for a discount. To get ISBNs for discount packages, visit **macmillanlearning.com** or contact your Bedford/St. Martin’s representative.

LaunchPad
macmillan learning

Assign LaunchPad — an Assessment-Ready Interactive e-Book and Course Space

Available for discount purchase on its own or for packaging with new books at no additional charge, LaunchPad is a breakthrough solution for history courses. Intuitive and easy to use for students and instructors alike, LaunchPad is ready to use as is, and can be edited, customized with your own material, and assigned quickly. LaunchPad for *A History of World Societies* includes Bedford/St. Martin's high-quality content all in one place, including the full interactive e-Book and the companion reader *Sources of World Societies*, plus LearningCurve formative quizzing, guided reading activities designed to help students read actively for key concepts, autograded quizzes for each primary source, and chapter summative quizzes. Through a wealth of formative and summative assessments, including the adaptive learning program of LearningCurve (see the full description ahead), students gain confidence and get into their reading before class. Through the Bedford Document Collections for World History (see full description ahead), embedded within LaunchPad, instructors get a flexible repository of discovery-oriented primary source projects ready to assign. These features, plus additional primary source documents, video sources and tools for making video assignments, map activities, flashcards, and customizable test banks, make LaunchPad an invaluable asset for any instructor.

LaunchPad easily integrates with course management systems, and with fast ways to build assignments, rearrange chapters, and add new pages, sections, or links, it lets teachers build the courses they want to teach and hold students accountable. For more information, visit **launchpadworks.com** or to arrange a demo, contact us at **history@macmillan.com**.

LearningCurve
macmillan learning

Assign LearningCurve So Your Students Come to Class Prepared

Students using LaunchPad receive access to LearningCurve for *A History of World Societies*. Assigning LearningCurve in place of reading quizzes is easy for instructors, and the reporting features help instructors track overall class trends and spot topics that are giving students trouble so they can adjust their lectures and class activities. This online learning tool is popular with students because it was designed to help them rehearse content at their own pace in a nonthreatening, game-like environment. The feedback for wrong answers provides instructional coaching and sends students back to the book for review. Students answer as many questions as necessary to reach a target score, with repeated chances to revisit material they haven't mastered. When LearningCurve is assigned, students come to class better prepared.

iClicker, Active Learning Simplified

iClicker offers simple, flexible tools to help you give students a voice and facilitate active learning in the classroom. Students can participate with the devices they already bring to class using our iClicker Reef mobile apps (which work with smartphones, tablets, or laptops) or iClicker remotes. We've now integrated iClicker with Macmillan's LaunchPad to make it easier than ever to synchronize grades and promote engagement — both in and out of class. iClicker Reef access cards can also be packaged with LaunchPad or your textbook at a significant savings for your students. To learn more, talk to your Macmillan Learning representative or visit us at **www.iclicker.com**.

Take Advantage of Instructor Resources

Bedford/St. Martin's has developed a rich array of teaching resources for this book and for this course. They range from lecture and presentation materials and assessment tools to course management options. Most can be found in LaunchPad or can be downloaded or ordered at **macmillanlearning.com**.

Bedford Coursepack for Blackboard, Canvas, Brightspace by D2L, or Moodle. We can help you integrate our rich content into your course management system. Registered instructors can download coursepacks that include our popular free resources and book-specific content for *A History of World Societies*. Visit **macmillanlearning.com** to find your version or download your coursepack.

Instructor's Resource Manual. The instructor's manual offers both experienced and first-time instructors tools for presenting textbook material in engaging ways. It includes content learning objectives, annotated chapter outlines, and strategies for teaching with the textbook, plus suggestions on how to get the most out of LearningCurve and a survival guide for first-time teaching assistants.

Guide to Changing Editions. Designed to facilitate an instructor's transition from the previous edition of *A History of World Societies* to this new edition, this guide presents an overview of major changes as well as of changes in each chapter.

Online Test Bank. The test bank includes a mix of fresh, carefully crafted multiple-choice, matching, short-answer, and essay questions for each chapter. Many of the multiple-choice questions feature a map, an image, or a primary source excerpt as the prompt. All questions appear in Microsoft Word format and in easy-to-use test bank software that allows instructors to add, edit, resequence, filter by question type or learning objective, and print questions and answers. Instructors can also export questions into a variety of course management systems.

The Bedford Lecture Kit*: Lecture Outlines, Maps, and Images.** Look good and save time with ***The Bedford Lecture Kit. These presentation materials include fully customizable multimedia presentations built around chapter outlines that are embedded with maps, figures, and images from the textbook and are supplemented by more detailed instructor notes on key points and concepts.

Print, Digital, and Custom Options for More Choice and Value

For information on free packages and discounts up to 50%, visit **macmillanlearning.com**, or contact your local Bedford/St. Martin's sales representative.

NEW *Sources of World Societies*, Third Edition. Designed to accompany *A History of World Societies*, each chapter of this primary source collection contains approximately five written and visual sources that present history from the perspectives of well-known figures and ordinary individuals alike. *Sources of World Societies* provides a broad selection of 165 primary source documents and images as well as editorial apparatuses to help students understand the sources. Each chapter also includes a selection of sources dedicated to varied viewpoints on a specific topic. This companion reader is an exceptional value for students and offers plenty of assignment options for instructors. Available free when packaged with the print text and included in the LaunchPad e-Book with autograded quizzes for each source. Also available on its own as a downloadable e-Book.

NEW The Bedford Document Collections for World History. Found in the

LaunchPad for *A History of World Societies* and available to customize the print text, this collection provides a flexible repository of discovery-oriented primary source projects ready to assign. Each curated project — written by a historian about a favorite topic — poses a historical question and guides students through analysis of the sources. Examples include “The Silk Road: Travel and Trade in Premodern Inner Asia”; “The Spread of Christianity in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries”; “The Singapore Mutiny of 1915: Understanding World War I from a Global Perspective”; and “Living Through Perestroika: The Soviet Union in Upheaval, 1985–1991.” For more information, visit **macmillanlearning.com**.

NEW The Bedford Document Collections for World History Custom Print Modules. Choose one or two document projects from the collection (see above) and add them in print to a Bedford/St. Martin’s title, or select several to be bound together in a custom reader created specifically for your course. Either way, the modules are affordably priced. For more information, contact your Bedford/St. Martin’s representative.

NEW Bedford Tutorials for History. Designed to customize textbooks with resources relevant to individual courses, this collection of brief units, each 16 pages long and loaded with examples, guides students through basic skills such as using historical evidence effectively, working with primary sources, taking effective notes, avoiding plagiarism and citing sources, and more. Up to two tutorials can be added to a Bedford/St. Martin’s history survey title at no additional charge, freeing you to spend your class time focusing on content and interpretation. For more information, visit **macmillanlearning.com/historytutorials**.

The Bedford Series in History and Culture. More than 100 titles in this highly praised series combine first-rate scholarship, historical narrative, and important primary documents for undergraduate courses. Each book is brief, inexpensive, and focused on a specific topic or period. New titles in the series include *Apartheid in South Africa: A Brief History with Documents* by David M. Gordon; *Politics and Society in Japan’s Meiji Restoration: A Brief History with Documents* by Anne Walthall and M. William Steele; and *The Congo Free State and the New Imperialism: A Brief History with Documents* by Kevin Grant. For a complete list of titles, visit **macmillanlearning.com**. Package discounts are available.

Rand McNally Atlas of World History. This collection of almost 70 full-color maps illustrates the eras and civilizations in world history from the emergence of human societies to the present. Free when packaged.

The Bedford Glossary for World History. This handy supplement for the survey course gives students historically contextualized definitions for hundreds of terms — from *abolitionism* to *Zoroastrianism* — that they will encounter in lectures, reading, and exams. Free when packaged.

Trade Books. Titles published by sister companies Hill and Wang; Farrar, Straus and Giroux; Henry Holt and Company; St. Martin's Press; Picador; and Palgrave Macmillan are available at a 50% discount when packaged with Bedford/St. Martin's textbooks. For more information, visit **macmillanlearning.com/tradeup**.

A Pocket Guide to Writing in History. Updated to reflect changes made in the 2017 *Chicago Manual of Style* revision, this portable and affordable reference tool by Mary Lynn Rampolla provides reading, writing, and research advice useful to students in all history courses. Concise yet comprehensive advice on approaching typical history assignments, developing critical reading skills, writing effective history papers, conducting research, using and documenting sources, and avoiding plagiarism — enhanced with practical tips and examples throughout — has made this slim reference a bestseller. Package discounts are available.

A Student's Guide to History. This complete guide to success in any history course provides the practical help students need to be successful. In addition to introducing students to the nature of the discipline, author Jules Benjamin teaches a wide range of skills from preparing for exams to approaching common writing assignments, and explains the research and documentation process with plentiful examples. Package discounts are available.

Brief Contents

Chapter 1 The Earliest Human Societies to 2500 B.C.E.

Chapter 2 Complex Societies in Southwest Asia and the Nile Valley 3800–500 B.C.E.

Chapter 3 The Foundation of Indian Society to 300 C.E.

Chapter 4 China’s Classical Age to 221 B.C.E.

Chapter 5 The Greek Experience 3500–30 B.C.E.

Chapter 6 The World of Rome ca. 1000 B.C.E.–400 C.E.

Chapter 7 East Asia and the Spread of Buddhism 221 B.C.E.–845 C.E.

Chapter 8 Continuity and Change in Europe and Western Asia 250–850

Chapter 9 The Islamic World 600–1400

Chapter 10 African Societies and Kingdoms 1000 B.C.E.–1500 C.E.

Chapter 11 The Americas 3200 B.C.E.–1500 C.E.

Chapter 12 Cultural Exchange in Central and Southern Asia 300–1400

Chapter 13 States and Cultures in East Asia 800–1400

Chapter 14 Europe and Western Asia in the Middle Ages 800–1450

Chapter 15 Europe in the Renaissance and Reformation 1350–1600

Chapter 16 The Acceleration of Global Contact 1450–1600

Chapter 17 The Islamic World Powers 1300–1800

Chapter 18 European Power and Expansion 1500–1750

Chapter 19 New Worldviews and Ways of Life 1540–1790

Chapter 20 Africa and the World 1400–1800

Chapter 21 Continuity and Change in East Asia 1400–1800

Chapter 22 Revolutions in the Atlantic World 1775–1825

Chapter 23 The Revolution in Energy and Industry 1760–1850

Chapter 24 Ideologies of Change in Europe 1815–1914

Chapter 25 Africa, the Ottoman Empire, and the New Imperialism 1800–1914

Chapter 26 Asia and the Pacific in the Era of Imperialism 1800–1914

Chapter 27 The Americas in the Age of Liberalism 1810–1917

Chapter 28 World War and Revolution 1914–1929

Chapter 29 Nationalism in Asia 1914–1939

Chapter 30 The Great Depression and World War II 1929–1945

Chapter 31 Decolonization, Revolution, and the Cold War 1945–1968

Chapter 32 Liberalization 1968–2000s

Chapter 33 The Contemporary World in Historical Perspective

Glossary

Index

Timeline A History of World Societies: An Overview

About the Authors

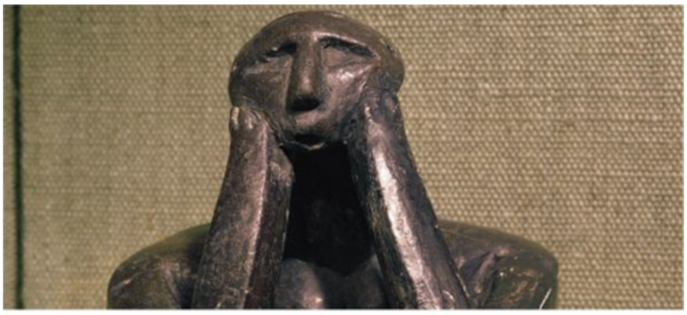
Contents

Preface

Versions and Supplements

Maps, Figures, and Tables

Special Features



National Museum of Art of Romania, Bucharest, Romania/Bridgeman Images

1 The Earliest Human Societies to 2500 B.C.E.

Evolution and Migration
Understanding the Early Human Past • Hominid Evolution • *Homo Sapiens*, "Thinking Humans" • Migration and Differentiation

Later Paleolithic Society, ca. 200,000–9000 B.C.E.
Foraging for Food • Family and Kinship Relationships • Cultural Creations and Spirituality

The Development of Agriculture in the Neolithic Era, ca. 9000 B.C.E.
The Development of Horticulture • Animal Domestication and the Rise of Pastoralism • Plow Agriculture

Neolithic Society
Social Hierarchies and Slavery • Gender Hierarchies and Inheritance • Trade and Cross-Cultural Connections

Chapter Summary

Connections

Review and Explore

Mapping the Past Human Migration in the Paleolithic and Neolithic Eras

Analyzing the Evidence Paleolithic Venus Figures

Thinking Like a Historian Paleolithic Hand Markings

Analyzing the Evidence Bison and Human in Lascaux Cave

Global Viewpoints Stone Age Houses in Chile and China

Individuals in Society The Iceman

Louvre, Paris, France/Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY

2 Complex Societies in Southwest Asia and the Nile Valley

3800–500 B.C.E.

Writing, Cities, and States
- Written Sources and the Human Past • Cities and the Idea of Civilization • The Rise of States, Laws, and Social Hierarchies

Mesopotamia from Sumer to Babylon
- Environmental Challenges, Irrigation, and Religion • Sumerian Politics and Society • Writing, Mathematics, and Poetry • Empires in Mesopotamia • Life Under Hammurabi

The Egyptians
- The Nile and the God-King • Egyptian Society and Work • Migrations, Revivals, and Collapse • Iron and the Emergence of New States

The Hebrews
The Hebrew State • The Jewish Religion • Hebrew Society

The Assyrians and the Persians
Assyria, the Military Monarchy • The Rise and Expansion of the Persian Empire • The Religion of Zoroaster

Chapter Summary

Connections

Review and Explore

Analyzing the Evidence Gilgamesh's Quest for Immortality

Thinking Like a Historian Addressing the Gods

Mapping the Past Empires and Migrations in the Eastern Mediterranean

Analyzing the Evidence Egyptian Families

Individuals in Society Hatshepsut and Nefertiti

Global Viewpoints Rulers and Divine Favor for Babylonians and Hebrews

De Agostino Picture Library/G. Nimatallah/Bridgeman Images

3 The Foundation of Indian Society to 300 C.E.

The Land and Its First Settlers, ca. 3000–1500 B.C.E.

The Aryans During the Vedic Age, ca. 1500–500 B.C.E.
Aryan Dominance in North India • Life in Early India • Brahmanism

India's Great Religions
Jainism • Siddhartha Gautama and Buddhism • Hinduism

Western Contact and the Mauryan Unification of North India, ca. 513–185 B.C.E.

Encounters with the West • Chandragupta and the Founding of the Mauryan Empire • The Reign of Ashoka, ca. 269–232 B.C.E.

Small States and Trading Networks, 185 B.C.E.–300 C.E.

Chapter Summary

Connections

Review and Explore

Thinking Like a Historian Harappan Artifacts

Global Viewpoints Divine Martial Prowess in India and Sumer

Analyzing the Evidence Conversations Between Rama and Sita from the *Ramayana*

Analyzing the Evidence Gandharan Frieze Depicting the Buddha's Enlightenment

Individuals in Society Sudatta, Lay Follower of the Buddha

Mapping the Past The Mauryan Empire, ca. 250 B.C.E.

Chinese, bronze and jade figure: Eastern Zhou, Warring States, 4th–3rd century B.C./Museum of Fine Arts, Boston/Maria Antoinette Evans Fund, 31.976/Bridgeman Images

4 China's Classical Age

to 221 B.C.E.

The Emergence of Civilization in China
The Impact of Geography • Early Agricultural Societies of the Neolithic Age

The Shang Dynasty, ca. 1500–1050 B.C.E.
Shang Society • Bronze Metalworking • The Development of Writing

The Early Zhou Dynasty, ca. 1050–400 B.C.E.

Zhou Politics • Life During the Early Zhou Dynasty

The Warring States Period, 403–221 B.C.E.
New Technologies for War • The Victorious States

Confucius and His Followers
Confucius • The Spread of Confucian Ideas

Daoism, Legalism, and Other Schools of Thought
Daoism • Legalism • Yin and Yang

Chapter Summary

Connections

Review and Explore

Mapping the Past The Geography of Historical China

Global Viewpoints The Inglorious Side of War in the *Book of Songs* and the *Patirruppattu*

Individuals in Society Lord Mengchang

Thinking Like a Historian Ideas About the Divine Realm

Analyzing the Evidence The Teachings of Confucius

Analyzing the Evidence Inscribed Bamboo Slips

Glyptothek, Stalliche Antikensammlung,
Munich, Germany/© Vanni Archive/
Art Resource, NY

5 The Greek Experience

3500–30 B.C.E.

Greece in the Bronze Age, ca. 3000–800 B.C.E.
The Minoans and Mycenaeans • The “Dark Age”

The Development of the Polis in the Archaic Age, ca. 800–500 B.C.E.

Organization of the Polis • Overseas Expansion • The Growth of Sparta • The Evolution of Athens

Turmoil and Culture in the Classical Period, 500–338 B.C.E.
The Deadly Conflicts, 499–404 B.C.E. • Athenian Arts in the Age of Pericles • Families and Sexual Relations • Public and Personal Religion • The Flowering of Philosophy

Hellenistic Society, 323–30 B.C.E.
From Polis to Monarchy, 404–200 B.C.E. • Building a Hellenized Society • The Growth of Trade and Commerce

Hellenistic Religion, Philosophy, and Science
Religion in the Hellenistic World • Philosophy and Its Guidance for Life • Hellenistic Science and Medicine

Chapter Summary

Connections

Review and Explore

Analyzing the Evidence Hesiod, *Works and Days*

Analyzing the Evidence The Acropolis of Athens

Thinking Like a Historian Gender Roles in Classical Athens

Mapping the Past Alexander’s Conquests, 336–324 B.C.E.

Global Viewpoints Hellenistic and Chinese Spells

Individuals in Society Archimedes, Scientist and Inventor

Detail of the Initiate, from the Catechism Scene, North Wall, fresco/Villa dei Misteri, Pompeii, Italy/Bridgeman Images

6 The World of Rome

CA. 1000 B.C.E.–400 C.E.

The Romans in Italy
  The Etruscans • The Founding of Rome • The Roman Conquest of Italy • The Roman State • Social Conflict in Rome

Roman Expansion and Its Repercussions
  Overseas Conquests and the Punic Wars, 264–133 B.C.E. • New Influences and Old Values in Roman Culture • The Late Republic and the Rise of Augustus, 133–27 B.C.E. • The Successes of Augustus

Rome and the Provinces
  Political and Military Changes in the Empire • Life in Imperial Rome • Prosperity in the Roman Provinces • Eastward Expansion and Contacts Between Rome and China

The Coming of Christianity
  Factors Behind the Rise of Christianity • The Life and Teachings of Jesus • The Spread of Christianity • The Growing Acceptance and Evolution of Christianity

Turmoil and Reform
  Political Measures • Economic Issues • The Acceptance of Christianity

Chapter Summary

Connections

Review and Explore

Individuals in Society Queen Cleopatra

Analyzing the Evidence Ara Pacis

Mapping the Past Roman Expansion, 262 B.C.E.–180 C.E.

Global Viewpoints Roman and Chinese Officials in Times of Disaster

Thinking Like a Historian Army and Empire

Analyzing the Evidence The Edict of Toleration and the Edict of Milan

© Panorama/The Image Works

7 East Asia and the Spread of Buddhism

221 B.C.E.–845 C.E.

The Age of Empire in China: The Qin and Han Dynasties
The Qin Unification, 221–206 B.C.E. • The Han Dynasty, 206 B.C.E.–220 C.E. • Han Intellectual and Cultural Life • Inner Asia and the Silk Road • Life in Han China • China and Rome • The Fall of the Han and the Age of Division

The Spread of Buddhism Out of India
Buddhism's Path Through Central Asia • The Appeal and Impact of Buddhism in China

The Chinese Empire Re-created: Sui (581–618) and Tang (618–907)
The Sui Dynasty, 581–618 • The Tang Dynasty, 618–907 • Tang Culture

The East Asian Cultural Sphere
Vietnam • Korea • Japan

Chapter Summary

Connections

Review and Explore

Thinking Like a Historian Who Made the Chinese Silks Found Along the Silk Road?

Individuals in Society The Ban Family

Analyzing the Evidence Sixth-Century Biographies of Buddhist Nuns

Mapping the Past The Spread of Buddhism, ca. 500 B.C.E.–800 C.E.

Analyzing the Evidence Hōryūji Temple

Global Viewpoints Coping with Epidemics in Japan and Byzantium

Lodh
Anri
Rex dux
Alaman
norum

Private Collection/Photo © Tallandier/Bridgeman Images

8 Continuity and Change in Europe and Western Asia

250–850

The Byzantine Empire

Sources of Byzantine Strength • The Sassanid Empire and Conflicts with Byzantium • Justinian’s Code of Law • Byzantine Intellectual Life • Life in Constantinople

The Growth of the Christian Church

The Evolution of Church Leadership and Orthodoxy • The Western Church and the Eastern Church • Christian Monasticism

Christian Ideas and Practices

Christianity and Classical Culture • Saint Augustine on Sin, Grace, and Redemption • The Iconoclastic Controversy

Migrating Peoples

Social and Economic Structures • Tribes, Warriors, and Laws • Migrations and Political Change

Christian Missionaries and Conversion

Missionaries’ Actions • The Process of Conversion

Frankish Rulers and Their Territories

The Merovingians and Carolingians • The Warrior-Ruler Charlemagne

Chapter Summary

Connections

Review and Explore

Thinking Like a Historian Slavery in Roman and Germanic Society

Individuals in Society Theodora of Constantinople

Analyzing the Evidence Orthodox Icon of Jesus

Global Viewpoints Roman and Byzantine Views of Barbarians

Mapping the Past The Spread of Christianity, ca. 300–800

Analyzing the Evidence The Capitulary de Villis

photo: Islamic Art Museum, Cairo, Egypt/De Agostini Picture Library/Gianni Dagli Orti/Bridgeman Images

9 The Islamic World

600–1400

The Origins of Islam
Arabian Social and Economic Structure • Muhammad's Rise as a Religious Leader • The Tenets of Islam

Islamic States and Their Expansion
Islam's Spread Beyond Arabia • Reasons for the Spread of Islam • The Caliphate and the Split Between Shi'a and Sunni Alliances • The Abbasid Caliphate • Administration of the Islamic Territories

Fragmentation and Military Challenges, 900–1400
Breakaway Territories and Shi'a Gains • The Ascendancy of the Turks • The Mongol Invasions

Muslim Society: The Life of the People
The Social Hierarchy • Slavery • Women in Classical Islamic Society • Marriage, the Family, and Sexuality

Trade and Commerce

Cultural Developments
The Cultural Centers of Baghdad and Córdoba • Education and

Intellectual Life • The Mystical Tradition of Sufism

Muslim-Christian Encounters

Chapter Summary

Connections

Review and Explore

Mapping the Past The Expansion of Islam, 622–900

Analyzing the Evidence Abu Hamid al-Ghazali on the Etiquette of Marriage

Thinking Like a Historian The Risks and Rewards of Indian Ocean Seaborne Trade

Individuals in Society Ibn Battuta

Global Viewpoints Amusing Animal Stories by Syrian and Greek Authors

Analyzing the Evidence Sufi Collective Ritual

Pictures from History/Bridgeman Images

10 African Societies and Kingdoms

1000 B.C.E.–1500 C.E.

The Land and Peoples of Africa

Early African Societies
Agriculture and Its Impact • Bantu Migrations • Life in the Kingdoms of the Western Sudan, ca. 1000 B.C.E.–800 C.E.

The Trans-Saharan Trade
The Berbers of North Africa • Effects of Trade on West African Society • The Spread of Islam in Africa

African Kingdoms and Empires, ca. 800–1500
The Kingdom of Ghana, ca. 900–1100 • The Kingdom of Mali, ca.

    1200–1450 • Ethiopia: The Christian Kingdom of Aksum • The East African City-States • Southern Africa and Great Zimbabwe

Chapter Summary

Connections

Review and Explore

Global Viewpoints Early Descriptions of Africa from Egypt

Mapping the Past African Kingdoms and Trade, ca. 800–1500

Individuals in Society Amda Siyon

Analyzing the Evidence The Queen of Sheba and King Solomon

Analyzing the Evidence A Tenth-Century Muslim Traveler Describes Parts of the East African Coast

Thinking Like a Historian Great Zimbabwe

Werner Forman/Universal Images Group/Getty Images

11 The Americas

3200 B.C.E.–1500 C.E.

Societies of the Americas in a Global Context
- Trade and Technology • Settlement and Environment

Ancient Societies
- Olmec Agriculture, Technology, and Religion • Hohokam, Hopewell, and Mississippian Societies • Kinship and Ancestors in the Andes

The Incas
- The Inca Model of Empire • Inca Imperial Expansion • Imperial Needs and Obligations

The Maya and Teotihuacan

Maya Agriculture and Trade • Maya Science and Religion • Teotihuacan and the Toltecs

The Aztec Empire
The Mexica: From Vassals to Masters • Life in the Aztec Empire • The Limits of the Aztec Empire

American Empires and the Encounter
The Last Day of the Aztecs • The Fall of the Incas

Chapter Summary

Connections

Review and Explore

Mapping the Past The Inca Empire, 1532

Analyzing the Evidence Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *The First New Chronicle and Good Government*

Analyzing the Evidence The Maya Calendar

Thinking Like a Historian Feathers, Snakes, and Humans

Individuals in Society Tlacaelel

Global Viewpoints Inca and Spanish Views on Religion, Authority, and Tribute

Granger, NYC — All rights reserved

12 Cultural Exchange in Central and Southern Asia

300–1400

Central Asian Nomads
Nomadic Society • The Turks • The Mongols

Chinggis Khan and the Mongol Empire
Chinggis Khan • Chinggis's Successors • The Mongols as Rulers

East-West Communication During the Mongol Era
The Movement of Peoples • The Spread of Disease, Goods, and Ideas

India, Islam, and the Development of Regional Cultures, 300–1400
The Gupta Empire, ca. 320–480 • India's Medieval Age and the First Encounter with Islam • The Delhi Sultanate • Life in Medieval India

Southeast Asia, the Pacific Islands, and the Growth of Maritime Trade
State Formation and Indian Influences • The Srivijayan Maritime Trade Empire • The Spread of Indian Culture in Comparative Perspective • The Settlement of the Pacific Islands

Chapter Summary

Connections

Review and Explore

Analyzing the Evidence The Abduction of Women in *The Secret History of the Mongols*

Mapping the Past The Mongol Empire

Thinking Like a Historian The Mongol Army

Global Viewpoints Explaining the Workings of Paper Money in China, Persia, and Europe

Individuals in Society Bhaskara the Teacher

Analyzing the Evidence Bayon Relief at Angkor Thom

Granger, NYC — All rights reserved

13 States and Cultures in East Asia

800–1400

The Medieval Chinese Economic Revolution, 800–1100

China During the Song and Yuan Dynasties, 960–1368
  The Song Dynasty • The Scholar-Officials and Neo-Confucianism • Women’s Lives in Song Times • China Under Mongol Rule

Korea Under the Koryŏ Dynasty, 935–1392

Japan’s Heian Period, 794–1185
  Fujiwara Rule • Aristocratic Culture

The Samurai and the Kamakura Shogunate, 1185–1333
  Military Rule • Cultural Trends

Chapter Summary

Connections

Review and Explore

Global Viewpoints Painters of Uncanny Skill in China and Rome

Mapping the Past East Asia in 1000 and 1200

Analyzing the Evidence Ma Yuan’s Painting *On a Mountain Path in Spring*

Individuals in Society Shen Gua

Thinking Like a Historian When and Why Did Foot Binding Begin?

Analyzing the Evidence *The Pillow Book* of Sei Shonagon

Court workshop of Duke Ludwig I of Liegnitz and Brieg, 1364–1398. Tempera colors, colored washes and ink on parchment/Liszt Collection/Quint & Lox akg-images

14 Europe and Western Asia in the Middle Ages

800–1450

Political Developments

Invasions and Migrations • “Feudalism” and Manorialism • The Restoration of Order • Law and Justice

The Christian Church

Papal Reforms • Monastic Life • Popular Religion • The Expansion of Western and Eastern Christianity

The Crusades

Background and Motives • The Course of the Crusades • Consequences of the Crusades

The Life of the People

The Life and Work of Peasants • The Life and Work of Nobles • Towns, Cities, and the Growth of Commercial Interests • The Expansion of Trade and the Commercial Revolution

Learning and Culture

Universities and Scholasticism • Cathedrals and a New Architectural Style • Vernacular Literature and Drama

Crises of the Later Middle Ages

The Great Famine and the Black Death • The Hundred Years’ War • Challenges to the Christian Church • Peasant and Urban Revolts

Chapter Summary

Connections

Review and Explore

Mapping the Past Invasions and Migrations of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries

Individuals in Society Hildegard of Bingen

Thinking Like a Historian Christian and Muslim Views of the Crusades

Analyzing the Evidence Courtly Love Poetry

Global Viewpoints Italian and English Views of the Plague

Analyzing the Evidence The Battle of Nicopolis

Louvre, Paris, France/Bridgeman Images

15 Europe in the Renaissance and Reformation

1350–1600

Renaissance Culture

Wealth and Power in Renaissance Italy • The Rise of Humanism • Christian Humanism • Printing and Its Social Impact • Art and the Artist

Social Hierarchies

Race and Slavery • Wealth and the Nobility • Gender Roles

Politics and the State in the Renaissance

France • England • Spain • The Habsburgs

The Protestant Reformation

Criticism of the Church • Martin Luther • Protestant Thought and Its Appeal • The Radical Reformation and the German Peasants' War • Marriage and Women's Roles • The Reformation and German Politics • England's Shift Toward Protestantism • Calvinism and Its Moral Standards

The Catholic Reformation

Papal Reforms and the Council of Trent • New Religious Orders

Religious Violence

French Religious Wars • Civil Wars in the Netherlands • The Great European Witch-Hunt

Chapter Summary

Connections

Review and Explore

Individuals in Society Cosimo and Lorenzo de' Medici

Thinking Like a Historian Humanist Learning

Analyzing the Evidence Titian, *Laura de Dianti*

Analyzing the Evidence Martin Luther, *On Christian Liberty*

Global Viewpoints Chinese and European Views on Proper Behavior

Mapping the Past Religious Divisions in Europe, ca. 1555

From *Codex Ixtlilxochitl*, 1582, pigment on European paper/Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, France/De Agostini Picture Library/akg-images

16 The Acceleration of Global Contact

1450–1600

The Afroeurasian Trade World

The Trade World of the Indian Ocean • Peoples and Cultures of the Indian Ocean • Trade with Africa and the Middle East • Genoese and Venetian Middlemen

The European Voyages of Discovery

Causes of European Expansion • Technology and the Rise of Exploration • The Portuguese in Africa and Asia • Spain's Voyages to the Americas • Spain "Discovers" the Pacific • Early Exploration by Northern European Powers

Conquest and Settlement

Spanish Conquest of the Aztec and Inca Empires • Portuguese Brazil • Colonial Administration • Indigenous Population Loss and Economic Exploitation • Patterns of Settlement

The Era of Global Contact

The Columbian Exchange • Sugar and Early Transatlantic Slavery • Spanish Silver and Its Economic Effects • The Birth of the Global Economy

Changing Attitudes and Beliefs
Religious Conversion • European Debates About Indigenous Peoples • New Ideas About Race

Chapter Summary

Connections

Review and Explore

Mapping the Past Overseas Exploration and Conquest in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

Analyzing the Evidence Columbus Describes His First Voyage

Thinking Like a Historian Who Was Doña Marina?

Individuals in Society Catarina de San Juan

Global Viewpoints Aztec and Spanish Views on Christian Conversion in New Spain

Analyzing the Evidence Mixed Races

Chehel Sotoun, or *The 40 Columns*, Isfahan, Iran/Bridgeman Images

17 The Islamic World Powers

1300–1800

The Turkish Ruling Houses: The Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals
The Expansion of the Ottoman Empire • The Ottoman Empire’s Use of Slaves • The Safavid Empire in Persia • The Mughal Empire in India

Cultural Flowering
The Arts • City and Palace Building • Gardens • Intellectual Advances and Religious Trends • Coffeehouses and Their Social

Impact

Non-Muslims Under Muslim Rule

Shifting Trade Routes and European Penetration
European Rivalry for Trade in the Indian Ocean • Merchant Networks in the Islamic Empires • From the British East India Company to the British Empire in India

Political Decline

Chapter Summary

Connections

Review and Explore

Mapping the Past The Ottoman Empire at Its Height, 1566

Individuals in Society Hürrem

Global Viewpoints Mughal and French Views on Priorities for Monarchs

Analyzing the Evidence Coffee Drinking

Analyzing the Evidence Katib Chelebi on Tobacco

Thinking Like a Historian Forced Relocation of Armenians to Persia

Peace Treaty of Nijmegen, 1678/Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, Hungary/Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY

18 European Power and Expansion

1500–1750

The Protestant and Catholic Reformations
The Protestant Reformation • The Catholic Reformation • Religious Violence

Seventeenth-Century Crisis and Rebuilding

The Social Order and Peasant Life • Economic Crisis and Popular Revolts • The Thirty Years' War • European Achievements in State-Building

Absolutist States in Western and Central Europe

Spain • The Foundations of French Absolutism • Louis XIV and Absolutism • The Wars of Louis XIV • The Economic Policy of Mercantilism • The Austrian Habsburgs • The Absolutist Palace

Constitutionalism and Empire in England and the Dutch Republic

Religious Divides and Civil War • The Puritan Protectorate • Constitutional Monarchy • The Dutch Republic

Colonial Expansion and Empire

The Dutch Trading Empire • Colonial Empires of England and France • Mercantilism and Colonial Wars • People Beyond Borders

The Russian Empire

Mongol Rule in Russia and the Rise of Moscow • Building the Russian Empire • Peter the Great and Russia's Turn to the West

Chapter Summary

Connections

Review and Explore

Global Viewpoints Descriptions of Louis XIV of France and the Kangxi Emperor of China

Thinking Like a Historian What Was Absolutism?

Mapping the Past Europe After the Peace of Utrecht, 1715

Analyzing the Evidence Gonzales Coques, *The Young Scholar and His Wife*

Individuals in Society Glückel of Hameln

Analyzing the Evidence Peter the Great and Foreign Experts

Portrait of a Young Woman, by an unknown artist, previously attributed to Jean-Etienne Liotard (1702–1789) (pastel on paper)/Saint Louis Art Museum/Bridgeman Images

19 New Worldviews and Ways of Life

1540–1790

The Scientific Revolution

- Why Europe? • Scientific Thought to 1550 • Astronomy and Physics • Newton’s Synthesis • Natural History and Empire • Magic and Alchemy

Important Changes in Scientific Thinking and Practice

- The Methods of Science • Medicine, the Body, and Chemistry • Science and Religion • Science and Society

The Rise and Spread of the Enlightenment

- The Early Enlightenment • The Influence of the Philosophes • Enlightenment Movements Across Europe

Key Issues of Enlightenment Debate

- Shifting Views of the Non-Western World • New Definitions of Race • Women and the Enlightenment • Enlightened Absolutism and Its Limits

Economic Change and the Atlantic World

- Economic and Demographic Change • The Atlantic Economy • Urban Life and the Public Sphere • Culture and Community in the Atlantic World • The Atlantic Enlightenment

Chapter Summary

Connections

Review and Explore

Analyzing the Evidence Denis Diderot, “Supplement to Bougainville’s

Voyage”

Analyzing the Evidence Enlightenment Culture

Mapping the Past The Partition of Poland, 1772–1795

Thinking Like a Historian The Enlightenment Debate on Religious Tolerance

Global Viewpoints Malachy Postlethwayt and Olaudah Equiano on the Abolition of Slavery

Individuals in Society Rebecca Protten

Hip Ornament: Portuguese Face, 16th–19th century. Brass, iron. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Klaus G. Perls, 1991 (1991.162.9)/The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York/ Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Image source: Art Resource, NY

20 Africa and the World

1400–1800

West Africa in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

The West Coast: Senegambia and Benin • The Sudan: Songhai, Kanem-Bornu, and Hausaland • The Lives of the People of West Africa • Trade and Industry

Cross-Cultural Encounters Along the East African Coast

Muslim and European Incursions in Ethiopia, ca. 1500–1630 • The Swahili City-States and the Arrival of the Portuguese, ca. 1500–1600

The African Slave Trade

The Institution of Slavery in Africa • The Transatlantic Slave Trade • Impact on African Societies

Chapter Summary

Connections

Review and Explore

Mapping the Past West African Societies, ca. 1500–1800

Global Viewpoints European Descriptions of Timbuktu and Jenne

Analyzing the Evidence Lamu Old Town, Lamu Island, Kenya

Analyzing the Evidence Duarte Barbosa on the Swahili City-States

Individuals in Society Olaudah Equiano

Thinking Like a Historian Perspectives on the African Slave Trade

Detail, *Portrait of the Imperial Bodyguard Zhanyinbao*, China, 18th century, Qing Dynasty (1644–1911). Hanging scroll; ink and color on silk. Purchase, The Dillon Fund Gift, 1986 (1986.206)/The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York/Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Image source: Art Resource, NY

21 Continuity and Change in East Asia

1400–1800

Ming China, 1368–1644

The Rise of Zhu Yuanzhang and the Founding of the Ming Dynasty • Problems with the Imperial Institution • The Mongols and the Great Wall • The Examination Life • Everyday Life in Ming China • Ming Decline

The Manchus and Qing China, to 1800

The Rise of the Manchus • Competent and Long-Lived Emperors • Imperial Expansion

Japan’s Middle Ages, ca. 1400–1600

Muromachi Culture • Civil War • The Victors: Nobunaga and Hideyoshi

The Tokugawa Shogunate, to 1800

Tokugawa Government • Commercialization and the Growth of

Towns • The Life of the People in the Edo Period

Maritime Trade, Piracy, and the Entry of Europe into the Asian Maritime Sphere

Zheng He's Voyages • Piracy and Japan's Overseas Adventures • Europeans Enter the Scene • Christian Missionaries • Learning from the West • The Shifting International Environment in the Eighteenth Century

Chapter Summary

Connections

Review and Explore

Individuals in Society Tan Yunxian, Woman Doctor

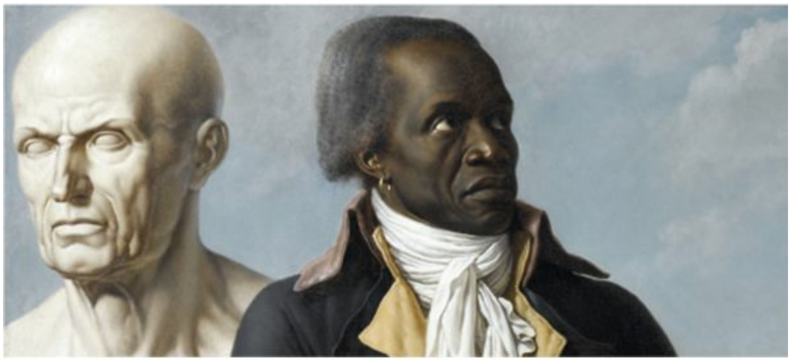
Global Viewpoints Chinese and European Commentators on Urban Amusements

Mapping the Past The Qing Empire, ca. 1800

Analyzing the Evidence Interior View of a Kabuki Theater

Thinking Like a Historian Attention to Dress in Edo Japan

Analyzing the Evidence Keinen's Poetic Diary of the Korea Campaign



Jean-Baptiste Belley (1747–1805), Deputy of Santo Domingo at the French Convention, 1797, by Anne-Louis Girodet de Roussy-Trioson (1767–1824) (oil on canvas). Inv. MV4616. Photo: Gerard Blot/Château de Versailles, France/© RMN–Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY

22 Revolutions in the Atlantic World

1775–1825

Background to Revolution

Social Change • Demands for Liberty and Equality • The Seven Years' War

The American Revolutionary Era, 1775–1789

The Origins of the Revolution • Independence from Britain • Framing the Constitution • Limitations of Liberty and Equality

Revolution in France, 1789–1799

Breakdown of the Old Order • The National Assembly • Constitutional Monarchy • The National Convention • The Directory

Napoleon’s Europe, 1799–1815

Napoleon’s Rule of France • Napoleon’s Expansion in Europe • The Grand Empire and Its End

The Haitian Revolution, 1791–1804

Revolutionary Aspirations in Saint-Domingue • The Outbreak of Revolt • The War of Haitian Independence

Revolutions in Latin America

The Origins of the Revolutions Against Colonial Powers • Resistance, Rebellion, and Independence • The Aftermath of Revolution in the Atlantic World

Chapter Summary

Connections

Review and Explore

Thinking Like a Historian The Rights of Which Men?

Analyzing the Evidence Abbé Sieyès, *What Is the Third Estate?*

Analyzing the Evidence Contrasting Visions of the Sans-Culottes

Mapping the Past Napoleonic Europe in 1812

Individuals in Society Toussaint L’Ouverture

Global Viewpoints Declarations of Independence: The United States and Venezuela

Interior of a Furnace, 1865 (oil on canvas) (detail) by Charles Housez (1822–1888)/BOURNE GALLERY ARCHIVE/© Bourne Gallery, Reigate, Surrey, UK/ Bridgeman Images

23 The Revolution in Energy and Industry

1760–1850

The Industrial Revolution in Britain
  Why Britain? • Technological Innovations and Early Factories • The Steam Engine Breakthrough • Steam-Powered Transportation • Industry and Population

Industrialization in Europe and the World
  National and International Variations • Industrialization in Continental Europe • Agents of Industrialization • The Global Picture

New Patterns of Working and Living
  Work in Early Factories • Working Families and Children • The Sexual Division of Labor • Living Standards for the Working Class

Relations Between Capital and Labor
  The New Class of Factory Owners • Responses to Industrialization • The Early Labor Movement in Britain • The Impact of Slavery

Chapter Summary

Connections

Review and Explore

Individuals in Society Samuel Crompton

Analyzing the Evidence *Rain, Steam, and Speed — the Great Western Railway*

Mapping the Past Continental Industrialization, ca. 1850

Global Viewpoints Indian Cotton Manufacturers

Analyzing the Evidence The Testimony of Young Mine Workers

Thinking Like a Historian Making the Industrialized Worker

© Maurice Branger/Roger-Viollet/The Image Works

24 Ideologies of Change in Europe

1815–1914

A Conservative Peace Gives Way to Radical Ideas
The Political and Social Situation After 1815 • Conservatism After 1815 • Liberalism and the Middle Class • The Growing Appeal of Nationalism • The Birth of Socialism

Reforms and Revolutions, 1815–1850
Social and Economic Conflict • Liberal Reform in Great Britain • Revolutions in France • The Revolutions of 1848 in Central Europe

Nation Building in Italy, Germany, and Russia
Cavour, Garibaldi, and the Unification of Italy • Bismarck and German Unification • The Modernization of Russia

Urban Life in the Age of Ideologies
Urban Development • Social Inequality and Class • The Changing Family • Science for the Masses • Cultural Shifts

Nationalism and Socialism, 1871–1914
Trends in Suffrage • The German Empire • Republican France • Great Britain and the Austro-Hungarian Empire • Jewish Emancipation and Modern Anti-Semitism • The Socialist Movement

Chapter Summary

Connections

Review and Explore

Mapping the Past Europe in 1815

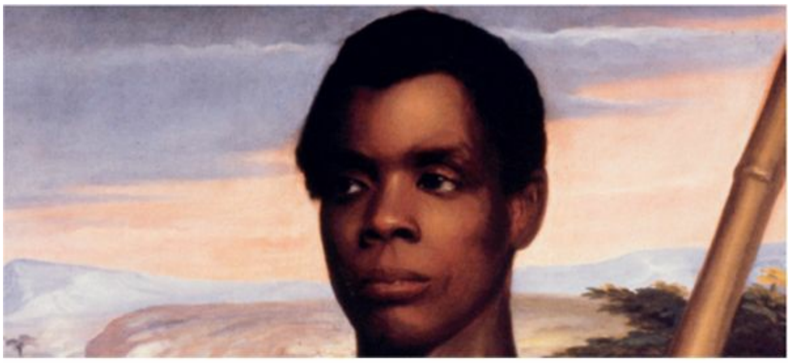
Analyzing the Evidence The Triumph of Democratic Republics

Global Viewpoints German and Italian Views on Nationalism

Individuals in Society Giuseppe Garibaldi

Analyzing the Evidence Stefan Zweig on Middle-Class Youth and Sexuality

Thinking Like a Historian The Promise of Electricity



Portrait, 1839, by Nathaniel Jocelyn (1796–1881) (oil on canvas)/Granger, NY — All rights reserved

25 Africa, the Ottoman Empire, and the New Imperialism

1800–1914

Africa: From the Slave Trade to European Colonial Rule
- Trade and Social Change • Islamic Revival and Expansion in Africa • The Scramble for Africa, 1880–1914 • Southern Africa in the Nineteenth Century • Colonialism’s Impact After 1900

The New Imperialism, 1880–1914
- Causes of the New Imperialism • A “Civilizing Mission” • Critics of Imperialism • African and Asian Resistance

The Islamic Heartland Under Pressure
- Decline and Reform in the Ottoman Empire • Egypt: From Reform to British Occupation

The Expanding World Economy
    The Rise of Global Inequality • The World Market

The Great Global Migration

Chapter Summary

Connections

Review and Explore

Mapping the Past The Partition of Africa

Global Viewpoints The Congo Free State

Analyzing the Evidence A French Leader Defends Imperialism

Analyzing the Evidence Pears’ Soap Advertisement

Thinking Like a Historian African Views of the Scramble for Africa

Individuals in Society Muhammad Ali

Victoria and Albert Museum, London, UK/V&A Images/Art Resource, NY

26 Asia and the Pacific in the Era of Imperialism

1800–1914

India and the British Empire in Asia
    The Evolution of British Rule • The Socioeconomic Effects of British Rule • The British and the Indian Educated Elite

Competition for Southeast Asia
    The Dutch East Indies • Mainland Southeast Asia • The Philippines

China Under Pressure
    The Opium War • Internal Problems • The Self-Strengthening

Movement • Republican Revolution

Japan’s Rapid Transformation
The “Opening” of Japan • The Meiji Restoration • Industrialization • Japan as an Imperial Power

The Pacific Region and the Movement of People
Settler Colonies in the Pacific: Australia and New Zealand • Asian Emigration

The Countries of Asia in Comparative Perspective

Chapter Summary

Connections

Review and Explore

Thinking Like a Historian English-Language Education for Indians

Mapping the Past Asia in 1914

Individuals in Society José Rizal

Global Viewpoints Chinese and British Efforts to Reduce Infant Deaths

Analyzing the Evidence Fukuzawa Yukichi, “Escape from Asia”

Analyzing the Evidence Japan’s First Skyscraper

Edward S. Curtis Collection/Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C./LC-USZ62-1044492

27 The Americas in the Age of Liberalism

1810–1917

New Nations
Liberalism and Caudillos in Spanish America • Mexico and the United States • Liberal Reform in Mexico • Brazil: A New World

Monarchy

Slavery and Abolition
Slave Societies in the Americas • Independence and Abolition • Abolition in Cuba and Brazil

Export-Led Growth and Social Unrest
Latin America Re-enters the World Economy • Liberal Consolidation in South America • The Porfiriato and Liberal Stability in Mexico • The Mexican Revolution

Immigration
Immigration to Latin America • Immigration to the United States • Immigration to Canada

A New American Empire
U.S. Intervention in Latin America • The Spanish-American War • The Panama Canal

Chapter Summary

Connections

Review and Explore

Global Viewpoints Perspectives on the Mexican-American War

Analyzing the Evidence Slaves Sold South from Richmond, 1853

Mapping the Past Abolition in the Americas

Thinking Like a Historian The Abolition of Slavery in Brazil, from Above and Below

Individuals in Society Henry Meiggs, Promoter and Speculator

Analyzing the Evidence Reyita Castillo Bueno on Slavery and Freedom in Cuba

Private Collection/Archives Charmet/Bridgeman Images

28 World War and Revolution

1914–1929

The First World War, 1914–1918

Origins and Causes of the Great War • The Outbreak of War • Stalemate and Slaughter • The War Becomes Global

The Home Front

Mobilizing for Total War • The Social Impact of War • Growing Political Tensions

The Russian Revolution

The Fall of Imperial Russia • The Provisional Government • Lenin and the Bolshevik Revolution • Dictatorship and Civil War

The War's Consequences

The End of the War • The Paris Peace Treaties • American Rejection of the Versailles Treaty

The Search for Peace and Political Stability, 1919–1929

Germany and the Western Powers • Hope in Foreign Affairs • Hope in Democratic Government

The Age of Anxiety

Uncertainty in Philosophy and Religion • The New Physics • Freudian Psychology • Twentieth-Century Literature • Modern Architecture, Art, and Music • Movies and Radio

Chapter Summary

Connections

Review and Explore

Global Viewpoints British and Canadian Poetry of the Great War

Analyzing the Evidence The Experience of War

Individuals in Society Vera Brittain

Analyzing the Evidence "Never Forget!"

Thinking Like a Historian Russian Views of War and Revolution

Mapping the Past Territorial Changes in Europe After World War I

© Dinodia Photo Library/The Image Works

29 Nationalism in Asia

1914–1939

The First World War's Impact on Nationalist Trends
Asian Reaction to the War in Europe • The Mandates System • Nationalism's Appeal

Nationalist Movements in the Middle East
The Arab Revolt • The Turkish Revolution • Modernization Efforts in Persia and Afghanistan • Gradual Independence in the Arab States • Arab-Jewish Tensions in Palestine

Toward Self-Rule in India
British Promises and Repression • The Roots of Militant Nonviolence • Gandhi's Resistance Campaign in India

Nationalist Struggles in East and Southeast Asia
The Rise of Nationalist China • China's Intellectual Revolution • From Liberalism to Ultranationalism in Japan • Japan Against China • Striving for Independence in Southeast Asia

Chapter Summary

Connections

Review and Explore

Mapping the Past The Partition of the Ottoman Empire, 1914–1923

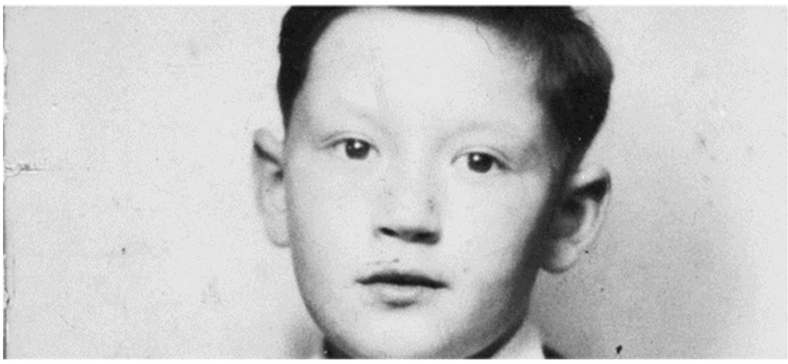
Analyzing the Evidence Resolution of the General Syrian Congress at Damascus

Global Viewpoints Gandhi and Mao on Revolutionary Means

Analyzing the Evidence The Fate of a Chinese Patriot

Individuals in Society Ning Lao, a Chinese Working Woman

Thinking Like a Historian Interpreting the May Fourth Movement



United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, courtesy of Israel Lichtenstein

30 The Great Depression and World War II

1929–1945

The Great Depression, 1929–1939
The Economic Crisis • Mass Unemployment • The New Deal in the United States • The European Response to the Depression • Worldwide Effects

Authoritarian States
Conservative Authoritarianism • Radical Totalitarian Dictatorships

Stalin's Soviet Union
From Lenin to Stalin • The Five-Year Plans • Life and Culture in Soviet Society • Stalinist Terror and the Great Purges

Mussolini and Fascism in Italy
The Seizure of Power • The Regime in Action

Hitler and Nazism in Germany
The Roots of Nazism • Hitler's Road to Power • The Nazi State and Society • Hitler's Popularity • Aggression and Appeasement, 1933–1939

The Second World War, 1939–1945
Hitler's Empire in Europe, 1939–1942 • The Holocaust • Japan's Asian Empire • The Grand Alliance • The War in Europe, 1942–1945 • The War in the Pacific, 1942–1945

Chapter Summary

Connections

Review and Explore

Analyzing the Evidence British Conservative Party Poster

Global Viewpoints Socialism and the Working Class

Thinking Like a Historian Peasant Resistance to Stalin’s Collectivization Plan

Individuals in Society Primo Levi

Analyzing the Evidence Ultranationalist Pamphlet for Japanese Students

Mapping the Past World War II in the Pacific

Pictures from History/Bridgeman Images

31 Decolonization, Revolution, and the Cold War

1945–1968

The World Remade
  The Cold War • The United Nations • The Politics of Liberation • Dependency and Development Theories • Interpreting the Postcolonial Experience

Nationalism in South Asia and the Middle East
  Independence in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh • Arab Socialism in the Middle East • The Arab-Israeli Conflict

Revolution and Resurgence in East and Southeast Asia
  The Communist Victory in China • Conflict in Korea • Japan’s American Reconstruction • The Vietnam War

Decolonization in Africa

The Growth of African Nationalism • Ghana Shows the Way • French-Speaking Regions

Populist and Revolutionary Pathways in Latin America
Economic Nationalism in Mexico • Populism in Argentina and Brazil • Communist Revolution in Cuba

The Limits of Postwar Prosperity
The Soviet Union Struggles to Move Beyond Stalin • Postwar Challenges in Western Europe and the United States • The World in 1968

Chapter Summary

Connections

Review and Explore

Global Viewpoints U.S. and Latin American Views on Development

Analyzing the Evidence Poster Art in Communist China

Thinking Like a Historian Global Perspectives on the Vietnam War

Mapping the Past Decolonization in Africa, 1947 to the Present

Analyzing the Evidence C. L. R. James on Pan-African Liberation

Individuals in Society Eva Perón

Thalia Watmough/aliki image library/Alamy Stock Photo

32 Liberalization

1968–2000s

Oil Shocks and Liberalization
The OPEC Oil Embargo • Mexico Under the PRI • Nigeria, Africa’s Giant

War and Revolution in the Middle East
  The Palestinian-Israeli Conflict • Egypt: Arab World Leader • Revolution and War in Iran and Iraq

Latin America: Dictatorship, Debt, and Democratization
  Civil Wars in Central America • Boom and Bust in Chile • The Dirty War in Argentina • Development and Dictatorship in Brazil

Resistance to White Rule in Southern Africa
  Portuguese Decolonization and Rhodesia • South Africa Under Apartheid • Political Change in Africa Since 1990

Growth and Development in Asia
  Japan’s Economic Miracle and the Emergence of the “Asian Tigers” • China’s Economic Resurgence • Development Versus Democracy in India and Pakistan

The End of the Cold War
  The Limits of Reform in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe • Recasting Russia Without Communism • Integration and Reform in Europe

Chapter Summary

Connections

Review and Explore

Mapping the Past Abrahamic Religions in the Middle East and Surrounding Regions

Thinking Like a Historian The Struggle for Freedom in South Africa

Analyzing the Evidence Tiananmen Square

Analyzing the Evidence A Member of China’s Red Guards on Democratic Reform

Global Viewpoints Dissidents in Burma and China

Individuals in Society Václav Havel

Masterfile/Royalty-Free

33 The Contemporary World in Historical Perspective

The End of History?
Complexity and Violence in a Multipolar World • An Expanding Atomic Age • Al-Qaeda and Afghanistan

Global Circulation and Exchange
Migration • Urbanization • Multinational Corporations

Social Movements
Environmentalism • Lesbian, Gay, and Transgender Rights • Women’s Right to Equality • Children: The Right to Childhood

Science and Technology: Changes and Challenges
Intensified Agriculture and the Green Revolution • The Medical Revolution • A Digital Revolution

Chapter Summary

Connections

Review and Explore

Individuals in Society Sieng, a Mnong Refugee in an American High School

Mapping the Past The Global Distribution of Wealth, ca. 2010

Analyzing the Evidence A Brazilian Band on Globalization

Analyzing the Evidence Protest Against Genetically Modified Foods

Global Viewpoints Women Activists in Chiapas, Mexico

Thinking Like a Historian The Relationships Between Mosquitoes, People, and Epidemics

Glossary

Index

Timeline A History of World Societies: An Overview

About the Authors

Maps, Figures, and Tables

Maps

CHAPTER 1

Map 1.1 Human Migration in the Paleolithic and Neolithic Eras
Map 1.2 The Spread of Agriculture and Pastoralism
Spot Map The Great Rift Valley
Spot Map Land Bridge Across the Bering Strait, ca. 15,000 B.C.E.
Spot Map The Fertile Crescent

CHAPTER 2

Map 2.1 Spread of Cultures in Southwest Asia and the Nile Valley, ca. 3000–1640 B.C.E.
Map 2.2 Empires and Migrations in the Eastern Mediterranean
Map 2.3 The Assyrian and Persian Empires, ca. 1000–500 B.C.E.
Spot Map Phoenician Settlements in the Mediterranean
Spot Map The Hebrew Exodus and State, ca. 1250–800 B.C.E.

CHAPTER 3

Map 3.1 Harappan Civilization, ca. 2500 B.C.E.
Map 3.2 The Mauryan Empire, ca. 250 B.C.E.
Spot Map Indo-European Migrations and the Vedic Age
Spot Map The Kushan Empire, ca. 200 C.E.

CHAPTER 4

Map 4.1 The Geography of Historical China
Map 4.2 The Shang and Early Zhou Dynasties, ca. 1500–400 B.C.E.
Spot Map The Warring States, 403–221 B.C.E.

CHAPTER 5

Map 5.1 Classical Greece, ca. 450 B.C.E.
Map 5.2 Greek Colonization, ca. 750–550 B.C.E.
Map 5.3 Alexander’s Conquests, 336–324 B.C.E.

Spot Map The Persian Wars, 499–479 B.C.E.
Spot Map The Delian League, ca. 478–431 B.C.E.
Spot Map The Hellenistic World, ca. 263 B.C.E.

CHAPTER 6

Map 6.1 Roman Italy and the City of Rome, ca. 218 B.C.E.
Map 6.2 Roman Expansion, 262 B.C.E.–180 C.E.
Spot Map The Etruscans, ca. 500 B.C.E.
Spot Map The Carthaginian Empire and the Roman Republic, 264 B.C.E.
Spot Map The Division of the Roman World, 293

CHAPTER 7

Map 7.1 The Han Empire, 206 B.C.E.–220 C.E.
Map 7.2 The Silk Trade in the Seventh Century C.E.
Map 7.3 The Spread of Buddhism, ca. 500 B.C.E.–800 C.E.
Map 7.4 Korea and Japan, ca. 600 C.E.
Spot Map Tang China, ca. 750 C.E.
Spot Map The Kingdom of Nam Viet, ca. 150 B.C.E.

CHAPTER 8

Map 8.1 The Byzantine and Sassanid Empires, ca. 600
Map 8.2 The Barbarian Migrations, ca. 340–500
Map 8.3 The Spread of Christianity, ca. 300–800
Spot Map Charlemagne’s Conquests, ca. 768–814
Spot Map The Treaty of Verdun, 843

CHAPTER 9

Map 9.1 The Expansion of Islam, 622–900
Map 9.2 The Expansion of Islam and Its Trading Networks in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries
Spot Map The Fatimid Caliphate, 909–1171
Spot Map The Seljuk Empire in 1000

CHAPTER 10

Map 10.1 The Geography of Africa
Map 10.2 African Kingdoms and Trade, ca. 800–1500
Spot Map Bantu Migrations, ca. 1000 B.C.E.–1500 C.E.
Spot Map The Spread of Islam in Africa
Spot Map The Expansion of Mali, ca. 1200–1450

Spot Map The Kingdom of Aksum, ca. 600

CHAPTER 11

Map 11.1 The Olmecs, ca. 1500–300 B.C.E.
Map 11.2 Major North American Agricultural Societies, ca. 600–1500 C.E.
Map 11.3 The Inca Empire, 1532
Map 11.4 The Maya World, 300–900 C.E.
Map 11.5 The Aztec (Mexica) Empire in 1519
Spot Map The Toltecs, ca. 900–1200 C.E.

CHAPTER 12

Map 12.1 The Mongol Empire
Map 12.2 South and Southeast Asia in the Thirteenth Century
Map 12.3 The Spice Trade, ca. 100 B.C.E.–1500 C.E.
Spot Map The Gupta Empire, ca. 320–480
Spot Map Settlement of the Pacific Islands

CHAPTER 13

Map 13.1 East Asia in 1000 and 1200
Spot Map The Koryŏ Dynasty, 935–1392
Spot Map Kamakura Shogunate, 1185–1333

CHAPTER 14

Map 14.1 Invasions and Migrations of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries
Map 14.2 The Crusades, 1096–1270
Map 14.3 The Course of the Black Death in Fourteenth-Century Europe
Spot Map The Norman Conquest, 1066
Spot Map The Reconquista, ca. 750–1492
Spot Map The Hanseatic League, ca. 1300–1400
Spot Map The Great Schism, 1378–1417

CHAPTER 15

Map 15.1 The Global Empire of Charles V, ca. 1556
Map 15.2 Religious Divisions in Europe, ca. 1555
Spot Map Italian States, 1494

CHAPTER 16

Map 16.1 The Fifteenth-Century Afroeurasian Trading World
Map 16.2 Overseas Exploration and Conquest in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth

Centuries
Map 16.3 Seaborne Trading Empires in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries
Spot Map Columbus's First Voyage to the New World, 1492–1493
Spot Map Invasion of Tenochtitlan, 1519–1521
Spot Map The Conquest of Peru, 1532–1533
Spot Map The Transatlantic Slave Trade

CHAPTER 17

Map 17.1 The Ottoman Empire at Its Height, 1566
Map 17.2 The Safavid Empire, 1587–1629
Map 17.3 India, 1707–1805
Map 17.4 The Muslim World, ca. 1700
Spot Map Empire of Timur, ca. 1405
Spot Map The Mughal Empire, 1526–1857

CHAPTER 18

Map 18.1 Religious Divisions, ca. 1555
Map 18.2 Europe After the Thirty Years' War
Map 18.3 Europe After the Peace of Utrecht, 1715
Map 18.4 Seventeenth-Century Dutch Commerce
Map 18.5 The Expansion of Russia, 1462–1689
Spot Map Austrian Expansion, to 1699
Spot Map The English Civil War, 1642–1649
Spot Map European Claims in North America, 1714

CHAPTER 19

Map 19.1 The Partition of Poland, 1772–1795
Map 19.2 The Atlantic Economy, 1701
Spot Map The Pale of Settlement, 1791

CHAPTER 20

Map 20.1 West African Societies, ca. 1500–1800
Map 20.2 East Africa in the Sixteenth Century
Spot Map West African Trade Routes
Spot Map Cape Colony, ca. 1750
Spot Map The Slave Coast of West Africa

CHAPTER 21

Map 21.1 The Qing Empire, ca. 1800

Map 21.2 Tokugawa Japan, 1603–1867
Map 21.3 East Asia, ca. 1600
Spot Map Ming China, ca. 1600
Spot Map Hideyoshi's Campaigns in Japan and Korea, 1592–1598

CHAPTER 22

Map 22.1 The Seven Years' War in Europe, North America, and India, 1755–1763
Map 22.2 Napoleonic Europe in 1812
Map 22.3 The War of Haitian Independence, 1791–1804
Map 22.4 Latin America, ca. 1780 and 1830
Spot Map Loyalist Strength in the Colonies, ca. 1774–1776
Spot Map Areas of French Insurrection, 1793
Spot Map German Confederation of the Rhine, 1806

CHAPTER 23

Map 23.1 The Industrial Revolution in Great Britain, ca. 1850
Map 23.2 Continental Industrialization, ca. 1850
Spot Map Cottage Industry and Transportation in Great Britain in the 1700s

CHAPTER 24

Map 24.1 Europe in 1815
Map 24.2 The Unification of Italy, 1859–1870
Map 24.3 The Unification of Germany, 1866–1871
Spot Map The Crimean War, 1853–1856
Spot Map The Russian Revolution of 1905

CHAPTER 25

Map 25.1 The Partition of Africa
Spot Map The South African War, 1899–1902
Spot Map Ottoman Decline in the Balkans, 1818–1830
Spot Map The Suez Canal, 1869

CHAPTER 26

Map 26.1 Asia in 1914
Map 26.2 Australia
Map 26.3 Emigration Out of Asia, 1820–1914
Spot Map The Great Mutiny / Great Revolt, 1857
Spot Map Chinese Rebellions, 1851–1911
Spot Map Japanese Expansion, 1875–1914

CHAPTER 27

Map 27.1 Displacement of Indigenous Peoples, 1780s–1910s
Map 27.2 Abolition in the Americas
Map 27.3 The Dominion of Canada, 1871

CHAPTER 28

Map 28.1 European Alliances at the Outbreak of World War I, 1914
Map 28.2 The Balkans, 1878–1914
Map 28.3 The First World War in Europe
Map 28.4 Territorial Changes in Europe After World War I
Spot Map The Schlieffen Plan
Spot Map The Russian Civil War, 1917–1922
Spot Map French Occupation of the Ruhr, 1923–1925

CHAPTER 29

Map 29.1 The Partition of the Ottoman Empire, 1914–1923
Map 29.2 The Chinese Communist Movement and the War with Japan, 1927–1938
Spot Map Afghanistan Under Amanullah Khan
Spot Map India, ca. 1930
Spot Map The Spanish-American War in the Philippines, 1898

CHAPTER 30

Map 30.1 The Growth of Nazi Germany, 1933–1939
Map 30.2 World War II in Europe and Africa, 1939–1945
Map 30.3 World War II in the Pacific
Spot Map Italy’s Ethiopian Campaign, 1935–1936
Spot Map Vichy France, 1940
Spot Map The Holocaust, 1941–1945

CHAPTER 31

Map 31.1 Cold War Europe in the 1950s
Map 31.2 The Partition of British India, 1947
Map 31.3 The Middle East After 1947
Map 31.4 Decolonization in Asia
Map 31.5 Decolonization in Africa, 1947 to the Present
Spot Map The Korean War
Spot Map The Vietnam War
Spot Map Cuba

CHAPTER 32

Map 32.1 Abrahamic Religions in the Middle East and Surrounding Regions
Map 32.2 The Breakup of Yugoslavia
Map 32.3 Russia and the Successor States
Map 32.4 The European Union, 2017
Spot Map Asian "Economic Tigers"

CHAPTER 33

Map 33.1 The Global Distribution of Wealth, ca. 2010
Map 33.2 People Living with HIV/AIDS Worldwide, ca. 2010
Spot Map Iraq, ca. 2010

Figures and Tables

Figure 2.1 Sumerian Writing
Thematic Chronology Periods of Egyptian History
Figure 2.2 Origins of the Alphabet
Table 4.1 Pronouncing Chinese Words
Table 10.1 Estimated Magnitude of Trans-Saharan Slave Trade, 650–1500
Figure Maya Calendar
Thematic Chronology Mongol Conquests
Thematic Chronology Major Contributors to the Scientific Revolution
Thematic Chronology Major Figures of the Enlightenment
Figure 19.1 Exports of English Manufactured Goods, 1700–1774
Figure 20.1 Estimated Slave Imports by Destination, 1501–1866
Figure 20.2 The Transatlantic Slave Trade, 1501–1866
Thematic Chronology Key Events of the American Revolution
Thematic Chronology Key Events of the French Revolution
Thematic Chronology Key Events of the Haitian Revolution
Thematic Chronology Key Events in Early Latin American Revolutions
Figure 23.1 Railroad Track Mileage, 1890
Table 23.1 Per Capita Levels of Industrialization, 1750–1913
Figure 25.1 The Growth of Average Income per Person Worldwide, 1750–1914
Thematic Chronology Key Events of the Russian Revolution
Thematic Chronology Events Leading to World War II
Table 33.1 Urban Population as a Percentage of Total Population in the World and in Eight Major Areas, 1925–2025

Special Features

THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN

Chapter 1 Paleolithic Hand Markings
Chapter 2 Addressing the Gods
Chapter 3 Harappan Artifacts
Chapter 4 Ideas About the Divine Realm
Chapter 5 Gender Roles in Classical Athens
Chapter 6 Army and Empire
Chapter 7 Who Made the Chinese Silks Found Along the Silk Road?
Chapter 8 Slavery in Roman and Germanic Society
Chapter 9 The Risks and Rewards of Indian Ocean Seaborne Trade
Chapter 10 Great Zimbabwe
Chapter 11 Feathers, Snakes, and Humans
Chapter 12 The Mongol Army
Chapter 13 When and Why Did Foot Binding Begin?
Chapter 14 Christian and Muslim Views of the Crusades
Chapter 15 Humanist Learning
Chapter 16 Who was Doña Marina?
Chapter 17 Forced Relocation of Armenians to Persia
Chapter 18 What was Absolutism?
Chapter 19 The Enlightenment Debate on Religious Tolerance
Chapter 20 Perspectives on the African Slave Trade
Chapter 21 Attention to Dress in Edo Japan
Chapter 22 The Rights of Which Men?
Chapter 23 Making the Industrialized Worker
Chapter 24 The Promise of Electricity
Chapter 25 African Views of the Scramble for Africa
Chapter 26 English-Language Education for Indians
Chapter 27 The Abolition of Slavery in Brazil, from Above and Below
Chapter 28 Russian Views of War and Revolution
Chapter 29 Interpreting the May Fourth Movement
Chapter 30 Peasant Resistance to Stalin’s Collectivization Plan

Chapter 31 Global Perspectives on the Vietnam War
Chapter 32 The Struggle for Freedom in South Africa
Chapter 33 The Relationships Between Mosquitoes, People, and Epidemics

GLOBAL VIEWPOINTS

Chapter 1 Stone Age Houses in Chile and China
Chapter 2 Rulers and Divine Favor for Babylonians and Hebrews
Chapter 3 Divine Martial Prowess in India and Sumer
Chapter 4 The Inglorious Side of War in the *Book of Songs* and the *Patirruppattu*
Chapter 5 Hellenistic and Chinese Spells
Chapter 6 Chinese and Roman Officials in Times of Disaster
Chapter 7 Coping with Epidemics in Japan and Byzantium
Chapter 8 Roman and Byzantine Views of Barbarians
Chapter 9 Amusing Animal Stories by Syrian and Greek Authors
Chapter 10 Early Descriptions of Africa from Egypt
Chapter 11 Inca and Spanish Views on Religion, Authority, and Tribute
Chapter 12 Explaining the Workings of Paper Money in China, Persia, and Europe
Chapter 13 Painters of Uncanny Skill in China and Rome
Chapter 14 Italian and English Views of the Plague
Chapter 15 Chinese and European Views on Proper Behavior
Chapter 16 Aztec and Spanish Views on Christian Conversion in New Spain
Chapter 17 Mughal and French Views on Priorities for Monarchs
Chapter 18 Descriptions of Louis XIV of France and the Kangxi Emperor of China
Chapter 19 Malachy Postlethwayt and Olaudah Equiano on the Abolition of Slavery
Chapter 20 European Descriptions of Timbuktu and Jenne
Chapter 21 Chinese and European Commentators on Urban Amusements
Chapter 22 Declarations of Independence: The United States and Venezuela
Chapter 23 Indian Cotton Manufacturers
Chapter 24 German and Italian Views on Nationalism
Chapter 25 The Congo Free State
Chapter 26 Chinese and British Efforts to Reduce Infant Deaths
Chapter 27 Perspectives on the Mexican-American War
Chapter 28 British and Canadian Poetry of the Great War
Chapter 29 Gandhi and Mao on Revolutionary Means
Chapter 30 Socialism and the Working Class

Chapter 31 U.S. and Latin American Views on Development
Chapter 32 Dissidents in Burma and China
Chapter 33 Women Activists in Chiapas, Mexico

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

Chapter 1 Paleolithic Venus Figures
Chapter 1 Bison and Human in Lascaux Cave
Chapter 2 Gilgamesh's Quest for Immortality
Chapter 2 Egyptian Families
Chapter 3 Conversations Between Rama and Sita from the *Ramayana*
Chapter 3 Gandharan Frieze Depicting the Buddha's Enlightenment
Chapter 4 The Teachings of Confucius
Chapter 4 Inscribed Bamboo Slips
Chapter 5 Hesiod, *Works and Days*
Chapter 5 The Acropolis of Athens
Chapter 6 Ara Pacis
Chapter 6 The Edict of Toleration and the Edict of Milan
Chapter 7 Sixth-Century Biographies of Buddhist Nuns
Chapter 7 Hōryūji Temple
Chapter 8 Orthodox Icon of Jesus
Chapter 8 The Capitulary de Villis
Chapter 9 Abu Hamid al-Ghazali on the Etiquette of Marriage
Chapter 9 Sufi Collective Ritual
Chapter 10 The Queen of Sheba and King Solomon
Chapter 10 A Tenth-Century Muslim Traveler Describes Parts of the East African Coast
Chapter 11 Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *The First New Chronicle and Good Government*
Chapter 11 The Maya Calendar
Chapter 12 The Abduction of Women in *The Secret History of the Mongols*
Chapter 12 Bayon Relief at Angkor Thom
Chapter 13 Ma Yuan's Painting *On a Mountain Path in Spring*
Chapter 13 *The Pillow Book* of Sei Shonagon
Chapter 14 Courtly Love Poetry
Chapter 14 The Battle of Nicopolis
Chapter 15 Titian, *Laura de Dianti*
Chapter 15 Martin Luther, *On Christian Liberty*
Chapter 16 Columbus Describes His First Voyage

Chapter 16 Mixed Races
Chapter 17 Coffee Drinking
Chapter 17 Katib Chelebi on Tobacco
Chapter 18 Gonzales Coques, *The Young Scholar and His Wife*
Chapter 18 Peter the Great and Foreign Experts
Chapter 19 Denis Diderot, “Supplement to Bougainville’s Voyage”
Chapter 19 Enlightenment Culture
Chapter 20 Lamu Old Town, Lamu Island, Kenya
Chapter 20 Duarte Barbosa on the Swahili City-States
Chapter 21 Interior View of a Kabuki Theater
Chapter 21 Keinen’s Poetic Diary of the Korea Campaign
Chapter 22 Abbé Sieyès, *What Is the Third Estate?*
Chapter 22 Contrasting Visions of the Sans-Culottes
Chapter 23 *Rain, Steam, and Speed — the Great Western Railway*
Chapter 23 The Testimony of Young Mine Workers
Chapter 24 The Triumph of Democratic Republics
Chapter 24 Stefan Zweig on Middle-Class Youth and Sexuality
Chapter 25 A French Leader Defends Imperialism
Chapter 25 Pears’ Soap Advertisement
Chapter 26 Fukuzawa Yukichi, “Escape from Asia”
Chapter 26 Japan’s First Skyscraper
Chapter 27 Slaves Sold South from Richmond, 1853
Chapter 27 Reyita Castillo Bueno on Slavery and Freedom in Cuba
Chapter 28 The Experience of War
Chapter 28 “Never Forget!”
Chapter 29 Resolution of the General Syrian Congress at Damascus
Chapter 29 The Fate of a Chinese Patriot
Chapter 30 British Conservative Party Poster
Chapter 30 Ultranationalist Pamphlet for Japanese Students
Chapter 31 Poster Art in Communist China
Chapter 31 C. L. R. James on Pan-African Liberation
Chapter 32 Tiananmen Square
Chapter 32 A Member of China’s Red Guards on Democratic Reform
Chapter 33 A Brazilian Band on Globalization
Chapter 33 Protest Against Genetically Modified Foods

INDIVIDUALS IN SOCIETY

Chapter 1 The Iceman

Chapter 2 Hatshepsut and Nefertiti
Chapter 3 Sudatta, Lay Follower of the Buddha
Chapter 4 Lord Mengchang
Chapter 5 Archimedes, Scientist and Inventor
Chapter 6 Queen Cleopatra
Chapter 7 The Ban Family
Chapter 8 Theodora of Constantinople
Chapter 9 Ibn Battuta
Chapter 10 Amda Siyon
Chapter 11 Tlacaelel
Chapter 12 Bhaskara the Teacher
Chapter 13 Shen Gua
Chapter 14 Hildegard of Bingen
Chapter 15 Cosimo and Lorenzo de' Medici
Chapter 16 Catarina de San Juan
Chapter 17 Hürrem
Chapter 18 Glückel of Hameln
Chapter 19 Rebecca Protten
Chapter 20 Olaudah Equiano
Chapter 21 Tan Yunxian, Woman Doctor
Chapter 22 Toussaint L'Ouverture
Chapter 23 Samuel Crompton
Chapter 24 Giuseppe Garibaldi
Chapter 25 Muhammad Ali
Chapter 26 José Rizal
Chapter 27 Henry Meiggs, Promoter and Speculator
Chapter 28 Vera Brittain
Chapter 29 Ning Lao, a Chinese Working Woman
Chapter 30 Primo Levi
Chapter 31 Eva Perón
Chapter 32 Václav Havel
Chapter 33 Sieng, a Mnong Refugee in an American High School

MAPPING THE PAST

Map 1.1 Human Migration in the Paleolithic and Neolithic Eras
Map 2.2 Empires and Migrations in the Eastern Mediterranean
Map 3.2 The Mauryan Empire, ca. 250 B.C.E.
Map 4.1 The Geography of Historical China

Map 5.3 Alexander’s Conquests, 336–324 B.C.E.
Map 6.2 Roman Expansion, 262 B.C.E.–180 C.E.
Map 7.3 The Spread of Buddhism, ca. 500 B.C.E.–800 C.E.
Map 8.3 The Spread of Christianity, ca. 300–800
Map 9.1 The Expansion of Islam, 622–900
Map 10.2 African Kingdoms and Trade, ca. 800–1500
Map 11.3 The Inca Empire, 1532
Map 12.1 The Mongol Empire
Map 13.1 East Asia in 1000 and 1200
Map 14.1 Invasions and Migrations of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries
Map 15.2 Religious Divisions in Europe, ca. 1555
Map 16.2 Overseas Exploration and Conquest in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries
Map 17.1 The Ottoman Empire at Its Height, 1566
Map 18.3 Europe After the Peace of Utrecht, 1715
Map 19.1 The Partition of Poland, 1772–1795
Map 20.1 West African Societies, ca. 1500–1800
Map 21.1 The Qing Empire, ca. 1800
Map 22.2 Napoleonic Europe in 1812
Map 23.2 Continental Industrialization, ca. 1850
Map 24.1 Europe in 1815
Map 25.1 The Partition of Africa
Map 26.1 Asia in 1914
Map 27.2 Abolition in the Americas
Map 28.4 Territorial Changes in Europe After World War I
Map 29.1 The Partition of the Ottoman Empire, 1914–1923
Map 30.3 World War II in the Pacific
Map 31.5 Decolonization in Africa, 1947 to the Present
Map 32.1 Abrahamic Religions in the Middle East and Surrounding Regions
Map 33.1 The Global Distribution of Wealth, ca. 2010

1

The Earliest Human Societies

to 2500 B.C.E.

National Museum of Art of Romania, Bucharest, Romania/Bridgeman Images

The Thinker of Cernavoda

This small terra-cotta figure, created about 5000 B.C.E. and unearthed at Cernavoda in Romania, is the oldest known sculpture to show human introspection, the distinction that led archaeologists

to give it its name. The figure sits on a low stool, head in hands, in what looks like deep thought or perhaps grief, as it was deposited in a grave beside the body.

When does history begin? Previous generations of historians generally answered that question with “when writing begins.” Thus they started their histories with the earliest-known invention of writing, which happened about 3500–3200 B.C.E. in the Tigris and Euphrates River Valleys of Mesopotamia, in what is now Iraq. Anything before that was “prehistory.” That focus on only the last five thousand years leaves out most of the human story, however, and today historians no longer see writing as such a sharp dividing line. They explore all eras of the human past through many different types of sources, and some push the beginning of history back to the formation of the universe, when time itself began. This very new conceptualization of “big history” is actually similar in scope to the world’s oldest histories, because for thousands and perhaps tens of thousands of years many peoples have narrated histories of their origins that also begin with the creation of the universe.

Exploring the entire human past means beginning in Africa, where millions of years ago humans evolved from a primate ancestor. They migrated out of Africa in several waves, walking along coasts and over land, eventually spreading across much of the earth. Their tools were initially multipurpose sharpened stones and sticks, but gradually they invented more specialized tools that enabled them to obtain food more easily, make clothing, build shelters, and decorate their surroundings. Environmental changes, such as the advance and retreat of the glaciers, shaped life dramatically and may have led to the most significant change in all of human history, the domestication of plants and animals.

CHAPTER PREVIEW

EVOLUTION AND MIGRATION
How did humans evolve, and where did they migrate?

LATER PALEOLITHIC SOCIETY, CA. 200,000–9000 B.C.E.
What were the key features of Paleolithic society?

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE IN THE NEOLITHIC ERA, CA. 9000 B.C.E.
How did plant and animal domestication develop, and what effects did it have on human society?

NEOLITHIC SOCIETY

How did growing social and gender hierarchies and expanding networks of trade increase the complexity of human society in the Neolithic period?

Evolution and Migration

How did humans evolve, and where did they migrate?

Studying the earliest era of human history involves methods that seem simple — looking carefully at an object — as well as new high-tech procedures, such as DNA analysis. Through such research, scholars have examined early human evolution, traced the expansion of the human brain, and studied migration out of Africa and across the planet. Combined with spoken language, that larger brain enabled humans to adapt to many different environments and to be flexible in their responses to new challenges.

Understanding the Early Human Past

People throughout the world have developed systems of classification that help them understand things: earth and sky; seen and unseen; animal, vegetable, and mineral; past, present, and future. Among these systems of classification was one invented in eighteenth-century Europe that divided all living things on earth into groups. Each of these divisions — such as that between plants and animals — is further subdivided into smaller and smaller groups, such as class, order, family, and genus. The final important division is the species, which is generally defined as a group of organisms that can interbreed with one another and produce fertile offspring of both sexes.

In their natural state, members of a species resemble one another, but over time they can become increasingly dissimilar. (Think of Chihuahuas and Great Danes, both members of the same species.) Ever since humans began shaping the world around them, this process has often been the result of human action. But in the long era before humans, the increasing dissimilarity resulted, in the opinion of most scientists, from the process of natural selection. Small variations within individuals in one species enabled them to acquire more food and better living conditions and made them more successful in breeding, thus allowing them to pass their genetic material on to the next generation. When a number of individuals within a species became distinct enough that they could no longer interbreed successfully with others, they became a new species. Species also become extinct, particularly during periods of mass extinctions such as the one that killed the dinosaurs about 65 million years ago. Natural processes of species formation and extinction continue, although today changes in the biosphere — the living matter in the world — result far more from human action than from natural selection.

The scientists who developed this system of organizing the world placed humans within it, using the same means of classification that they used for all other living things. Humans were in the animal kingdom, the order of Primates, the family Hominidae, and the genus *Homo*. Like all classifications, this was originally based on externally visible phenomena: humans were placed in the Primates order because, like other primates, they have hands that can grasp, eyes facing forward to allow better depth perception, and relatively large brains; they were placed in the **hominid** (HOM-uh-nid) family along with chimpanzees, gorillas, and orangutans because they shared even more features with these great apes. Over 98 percent of human DNA is the same as that of chimpanzees, which indicates to most scientists that humans and chimpanzees share a common ancestor. That common ancestor probably lived between 5 million and 7 million years ago.

hominids Members of the family Hominidae that contains humans, chimpanzees, gorillas, and orangutans.

David R. Frazier/Science Source

Archaeologists at a Dig These researchers at a Native American site in the Boise National Forest in Idaho follow careful procedures to remove objects from the soil and note their location. The soil itself may also yield clues, such as seeds or pollen, about what was growing in the area, allowing better understanding of the people who once lived at the site.

Physical remains were the earliest type of evidence studied to learn about the distant human past, and scholars used them to develop another system of classification, one that distinguished between periods of time rather than types of living creatures. (Constructing models of time is called “periodization.”) They gave labels to eras according to the primary materials out of which tools that survived were made. Thus the earliest human era became the Stone Age, the next era the Bronze Age, and the next the Iron Age. They further divided the Stone Age into the Old Stone Age, or **Paleolithic era**, the long period that began when hominids first made tools about 2.5 million years ago, during which people used stone, bone, and other natural products to make their tools and gained food largely by **foraging** — that is, by gathering plant products, trapping or catching small animals and birds, and hunting larger prey. This was followed by the New Stone Age, or **Neolithic era**, which saw the beginning of agricultural and animal domestication. People around the world adopted agriculture at various times, and some never did, but the transition between the Paleolithic (pay-lee-oh-LITH-ik) and the Neolithic (nee-oh-LITH-ik) is usually set at about 9000 B.C.E., the point at which agriculture was first developed.[*]

[*] **A note on dates:** This book generally uses **B.C.E.** (Before the Common Era) and **C.E.** (Common Era) when giving dates, a system of chronology based on the Christian calendar and now used widely around the world. Scholars who study the very earliest periods of hominid and human history usually use the phrase “years ago” to date their subjects, as do astrophysicists and geologists; this is often abbreviated as **B.P.** (Before the Present). Because the scale of time covered in Chapter 1 is so vast, a mere two thousand years does not make much difference, and so **B.C.E.** and “years ago” have similar meaning in this chapter.

Paleolithic era Period before 9000 B.C.E. during which humans used tools of stone, bone, and wood and obtained food by gathering and hunting.

foraging A style of life in which people gain food by gathering plant products, trapping or catching small animals and birds, and hunting larger prey.

Neolithic era Period beginning in 9000 B.C.E. during which humans obtained food by raising crops and animals and continued to use tools primarily of stone, bone, and wood.

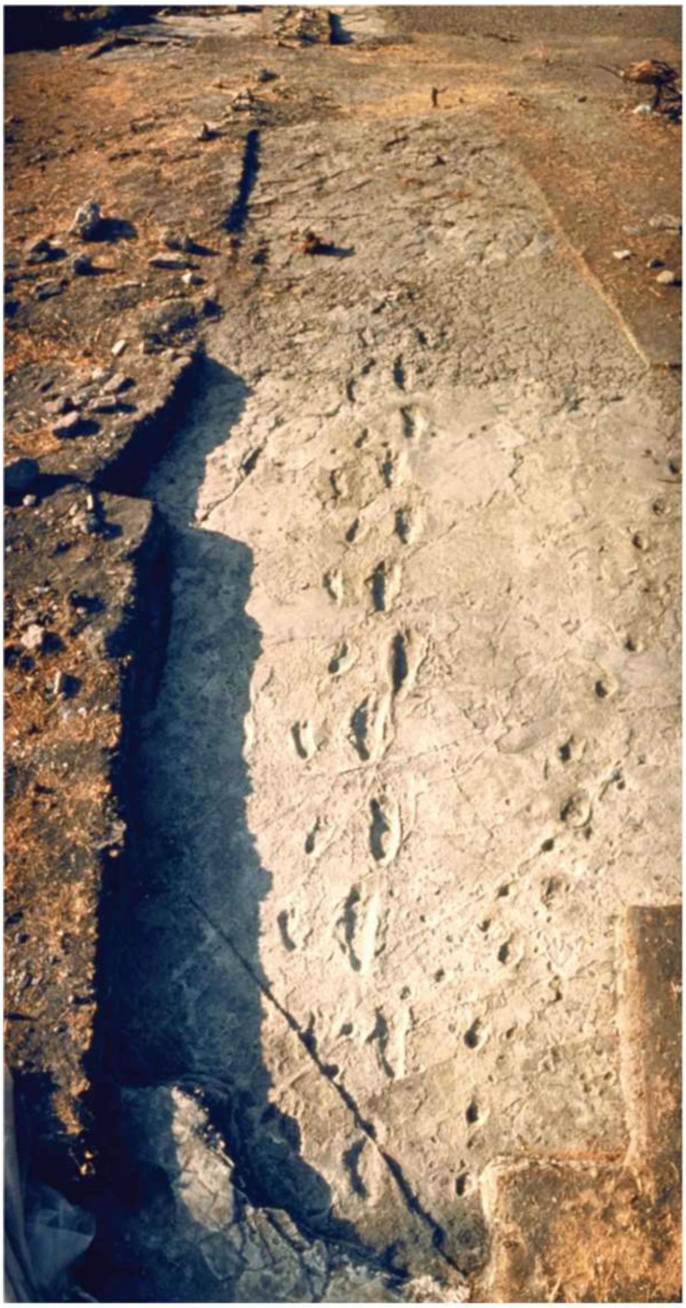
Geologists refer to the last twelve thousand years as the Holocene (meaning very recent) epoch. The entire history of the human species fits well within the Holocene and the previous geologic epoch, the Pleistocene (PLIGH-stuh-seen), which began about 2.5 million years ago.

The Pleistocene was marked by repeated advances in glaciers and continental ice sheets. Glaciers tied up huge quantities of the earth's water, leading to lower sea levels, making it possible for animals and eventually humans to walk between places that were separated by oceans during interglacial times. Animals and humans were also prevented from migrating to other places by the ice sheets themselves, however, and the colder climate made large areas unfit to live in. Climate thus dramatically shaped human cultures.

Hominid Evolution

Using many different pieces of evidence from all over the world, archaeologists, paleontologists, and other scholars have developed a view of human evolution whose basic outline is widely shared, though there are disagreements about details. Most primates, including other hominids such as chimpanzees and gorillas, have lived primarily in trees, but at some point a group of hominids in East Africa began to spend more time on the ground, and between 6 and 7 million years ago they began to walk upright at least some of the time.

Over many generations, the skeletal and muscular structure of some hominids evolved to make upright walking easier, and they gradually became fully bipedal. The earliest fully bipedal hominids, whom paleontologists place in the genus *Australopithecus* (aw-strah-loh-PITH-uh-kuhs), lived in southern and eastern Africa between 2.5 and 4 million years ago. Walking upright allowed australopithecines (aw-strah-loh-PITH-uh-seens) to carry and use things, which allowed them to survive better and may have also spurred brain development.

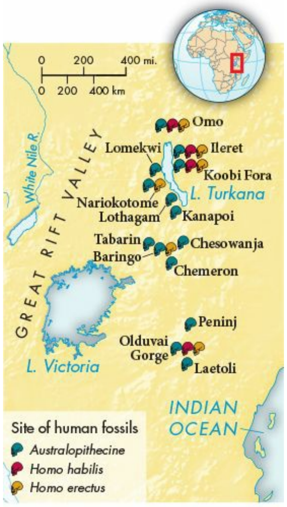


John Reader/Science Source

Fossil Footprints from Laetoli in Tanzania About 3.5 million years ago, several australopithecines walked in wet ash from a volcanic eruption. Their footprints, discovered by the archaeologist Mary Leakey, indicate that they walked fully upright and suggest that they were not solitary creatures, for they walked close together.

About 3.4 million years ago some hominids began to use naturally occurring objects as tools, and sometime around 2.5 million years ago one group of australopithecines in East Africa began to make and use simple tools, evolving into a different type of hominid that later paleontologists judged to be the first in the genus *Homo*. Called *Homo habilis* (HOH-moh HAB-uh-luhs) ("handy human"), they made sharpened stone pieces, which archaeologists call hand axes, and used them for various tasks. This suggests greater intelligence, and the skeletal remains support this, for *Homo habilis* had a larger brain than did the australopithecines.

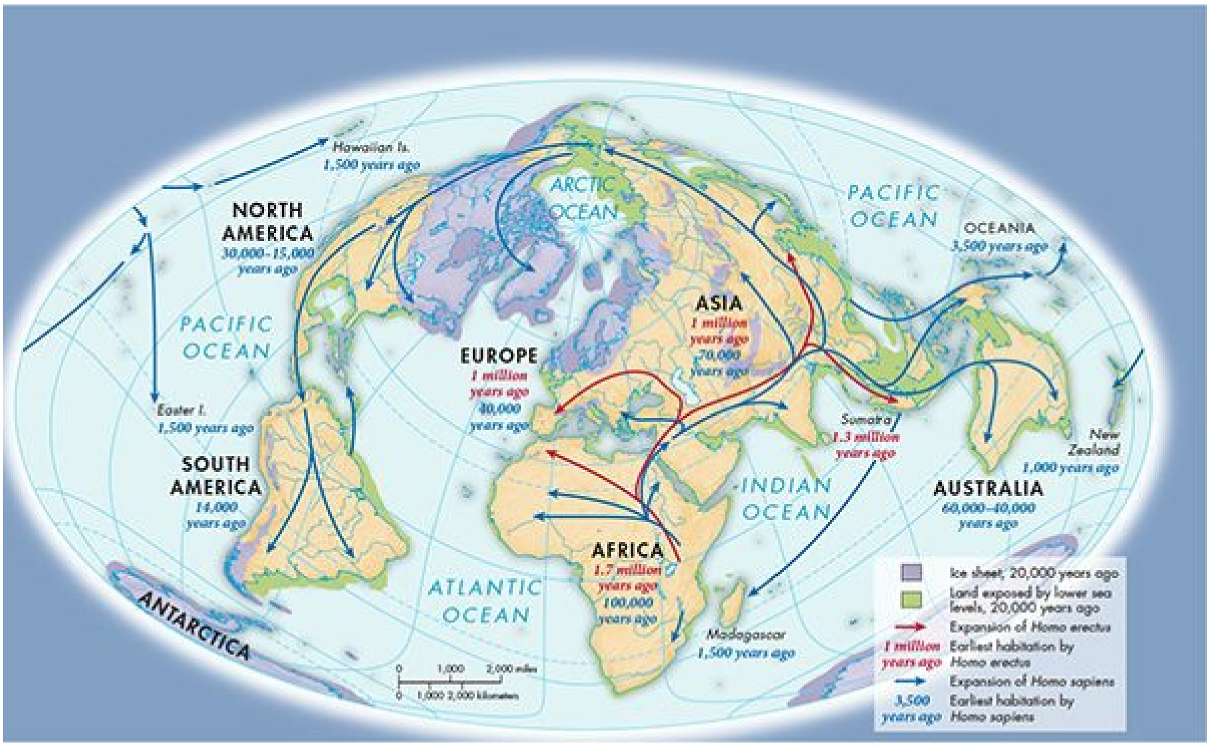
About 2 million years ago, another species, called *Homo erectus* (HOH-moh ee-REHK-tuhs) ("upright human"), evolved in East Africa. *Homo erectus* had still larger brains and made tools that were slightly specialized for various tasks, such as handheld axes, cleavers, and scrapers. Archaeological remains indicate that *Homo erectus* lived in larger groups than had earlier hominids and engaged in cooperative gathering, hunting, and food preparation. The location and shape of the larynx suggest that members of this species were able to make a wider range of sounds than were earlier hominids, so they may have relied more on vocal sounds than on gestures to communicate ideas to one another.


0 200 400 mi.
0 200 400 km
Omo
Lomekwi
Ileret
Koobi Fora
L. Turkana
White Nile R.
GREAT RIFT VALLEY
Nariokotome
Lothagam
Kanapoi
Tabarin
Baringo
Chesowanja
Chemeron
Peninj
Olduvai Gorge
Laetoli
L. Victoria
INDIAN OCEAN
Site of human fossils
Australopithecine
Homo habilis
Homo erectus

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/ St. Martin's

The Great Rift Valley

One of the activities that *Homo erectus* carried out most successfully was moving (Map 1.1). Gradually small groups migrated out of East Africa onto the open plains of central Africa, and from there into northern Africa. From 1 million to 2 million years ago, the earth's climate was in a warming phase, and these hominids ranged still farther, moving into western Asia by as early as 1.8 million years ago. Bones and other materials from China and the island of Java in Indonesia indicate that *Homo erectus* had reached there by about 1.5 million years ago, migrating over large landmasses as well as along the coasts. (Sea levels were lower than they are today, and Java could be reached by walking.) *Homo erectus* also walked north, reaching what is now Spain by at least 800,000 years ago and what is now Germany by 500,000 years ago. In each of these places, *Homo erectus* adapted gathering and hunting techniques to the local environment, learning how to find new sources of plant food and how to best catch local animals. Although the climate was warmer than it is today, central Europe was not balmy, and these hominids may have used fire to provide light and heat, cook food, and keep away predators. Many lived in the open or in caves, but some built simple shelters, another indication of increasing flexibility and problem solving.


Hawaiian Is.
1,500 years ago
NORTH AMERICA
30,000–15,000 years ago
ARCTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
OCEANIA
3,500 years ago
PACIFIC OCEAN
ASIA
1 million years ago
70,000 years ago
EUROPE
1 million years ago
40,000 years ago
Easter I.
1,500 years ago
SOUTH AMERICA
14,000 years ago
Sumatra
1.3 million years ago
New Zealand
1,000 years ago
INDIAN OCEAN
AUSTRALIA
60,000–40,000 years ago
AFRICA
1.7 million years ago
100,000 years ago
ATLANTIC OCEAN
ANTARCTICA
Madagascar
1,500 years ago
0 1,000 2,000 miles
0 1,000 2,000 kilometers
Ice sheet, 20,000 years ago
Land exposed by lower sea levels, 20,000 years ago
Expansion of Homo erectus
1 million years ago Earliest habitation by Homo erectus
Expansion of Homo sapiens
3,500 years ago Earliest habitation by Homo sapiens

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Mapping the Past

MAP 1.1 Human Migration in the Paleolithic and Neolithic Eras

ANALYZING THE MAP What were the major similarities and differences between the migrations of *Homo erectus* and those of *Homo sapiens*? How did environmental factors shape human migration?

CONNECTIONS What types of technology were required for the migration patterns seen here? What do these migration patterns suggest about the social organization of early people?

Homo Sapiens, "Thinking Humans"

Homo erectus was remarkably adaptable, but another hominid proved still more so: *Homo sapiens* (HOH-moh SAY-pee-enz) ("thinking humans"). A few scientists think that *Homo sapiens* evolved from *Homo erectus* in a number of places in Afroeurasia, but the majority think that, like hominid evolution from earlier primates, this occurred only in East Africa. The evidence is partly archaeological, but also genetic. One type of DNA, called mitochondrial DNA, indicates that modern humans are so similar genetically that they cannot have been evolving for the last 1 million or 2 million years. This evidence suggests that the evolution of *Homo sapiens* has instead taken place for only about 200,000 years. Because there is greater human genetic variety today in Africa than in other parts of the world, the evidence also suggests that *Homo sapiens* have lived there the longest, so that Africa is where they first emerged.

Although there is some debate about where and when *Homo sapiens* emerged, there is little debate about what distinguished these humans from earlier hominids: a bigger brain, in particular a bigger forebrain, the site of conscious thought. The ability to think reflectively allowed for the creation of symbolic language, that is, for language that follows certain rules and that can refer to things or states of being that are not necessarily present. Greater intelligence allowed *Homo sapiens* to better understand and manipulate the world around them, and symbolic language allowed this understanding to be communicated within a group and passed from one generation to the next. Through spoken language *Homo sapiens* began to develop collective explanations for the world around them that we would now call religion, science, and philosophy. Spoken language also enabled *Homo sapiens* to organize socially into larger groups, thus further enhancing their ability to affect the natural world.

The advantages of a larger brain seem evident to us, so we may not think to ask why hominids evolved this way. Large brains also bring disadvantages, however. They take more energy to run than other parts of the body, which means that large-brained animals have to eat more than small-brained ones. Large brains create particular problems for bipedal mammals because the narrow pelvic structure that works best for upright walking makes giving birth to a large-headed infant difficult and painful.

The question of why hominids developed ever-larger brains might best be answered by looking at how paleontologists think it happened. As *Homo habilis*, *Homo erectus*, and *Homo sapiens* made and used tools, the individuals whose mental and physical abilities allowed them to do so best were able to obtain more food and were more likely to mate and have children who survived. Thus bigger brains led to better tools, but the challenges of using and inventing better tools also created selective pressure that led to bigger brains.

The same thing may have happened with symbolic language and thought. A slightly bigger brain allowed for more complex thought and better language skills. These thinking and speaking skills enabled individuals to better attract mates and fend off rivals, which meant a greater likelihood of passing on the enhanced brain to the next generation. As we know from contemporary research on the brain, learning language promotes the development of specific areas of the brain.

The growth in brain size and complexity may also have been linked to social organization. Individuals who had better social skills were more likely to mate than those who did not — this has been observed in chimpanzees and, of course, in modern humans — and thus to pass on their genetic material. Social skills were particularly important for females because the combination of bipedalism and growing brain size led to selective pressure for hominid infants to be born at an even earlier stage in their development than other primate infants were. Thus the period when human infants are dependent on others is very long, and mothers with good social networks to assist them were more likely to have infants who survived. Humans are unique in the duration and complexity of their care for children. Cooperative child rearing, along with the development of social skills and the adaptability this encouraged, may have been an impetus to brain growth.

All these factors operated together in processes that promoted bigger and better brains. In the Paleolithic period, *Homo sapiens*' brains invented highly specialized tools made out of a variety of materials that replaced the more general-purpose stone tools made by *Homo erectus*: barbed fishhooks and harpoons, snares and traps for catching small animals, bone needles for sewing clothing, awls for punching holes in leather, nets for catching fish, sharpened flint pieces bound to wooden or bone handles for hunting or cutting, and slings for carrying infants. By 25,000 years ago, and perhaps earlier, humans in some parts of the world were weaving cloth, nets, and baskets out of bark, rushes, grasses, and other natural materials, and by 17,000 years ago they were using bows and atlatls (AHT-lah-tuhlz) — notched throwing sticks made of bone, wood, or antler — to launch arrows and barbs with flint points bound to wooden shafts. The archaeological evidence for increasingly sophisticated language and social organization is less direct than that for tool use, but it is hard to imagine how humans could have made the tools they did — or would have chosen to decorate so many of them — without both of these.

Migration and Differentiation

Like *Homo erectus* had earlier, groups of *Homo sapiens* moved. By 200,000 years ago they had begun to spread across Africa, and by 120,000 years ago they had begun to migrate out of Africa to Eurasia (see Map

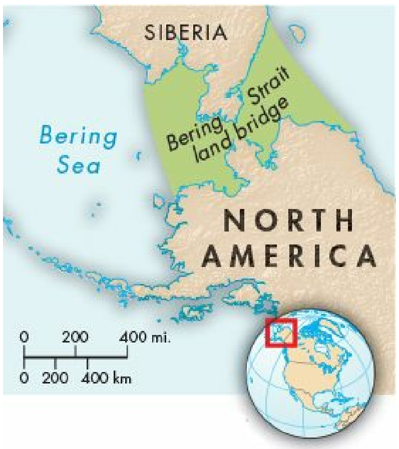
1.1). They most likely walked along the coasts of India and Southeast Asia, and then migrated inland. At the same time, further small evolutionary changes led to our own subspecies of anatomically modern humans, *Homo sapiens sapiens* (which literally translates as "thinking thinking humans"). *Homo sapiens sapiens* moved into areas where there were already *Homo erectus* populations, eventually replacing them and leaving *Homo sapiens* as the only survivors and the ancestors of all modern humans.

The best-known example of interaction between *Homo erectus* and *Homo sapiens sapiens* is that between Neanderthals (named after the Neander Valley in Germany, where their remains were first discovered) and a group of anatomically modern humans called Cro-Magnons. **Neanderthals** (nee-AHN-der-tals) lived throughout Europe and western Asia beginning about 200,000 years ago, had brains as large as those of modern humans, and used tools, including spears and scrapers for animal skins, that enabled them to survive in the cold climate of Ice Age central Europe and Russia. They built freestanding houses and decorated objects and themselves with red ochre, a form of colored clay. They sometimes buried their dead carefully with tools, animal bones, and perhaps flowers, which suggests that they understood death to have a symbolic meaning.

Neanderthals Group of *Homo erectus* with brains as large as those of modern humans that lived in Europe and western Asia between 200,000 and 30,000 years ago.

Cro-Magnon peoples had moved into parts of western Asia where Neanderthals lived by about 70,000 years ago, and into Europe by about 45,000 years ago. The two peoples appear to have lived side by side for millennia, hunting the same types of animals and gathering the same types of plants. The last evidence of Neanderthals as a separate species comes from about 30,000 years ago, and it is not clear exactly how they died out. They may have been killed by Cro-Magnon peoples, or they simply may have lost the competition for food as the climate worsened around 30,000 years ago and the glaciers expanded.

Homo erectus migrated great distances, but *Homo sapiens sapiens* made use of greater intelligence and better toolmaking capabilities to migrate still farther. They had used simple rafts to reach Australia by at least 50,000 years ago, and by 35,000 years ago had reached New Guinea. By at least 15,000 years ago, humans had walked across the land bridges then linking Siberia and North America at the Bering Strait and had crossed into the Americas. Because by 14,000 years ago humans were already in southern South America, ten thousand miles from the land bridges, many scholars now think that people came to the Americas much earlier. They think humans came from Asia to the Americas perhaps as early as 20,000 or even 30,000 years ago, walking or using rafts along the coasts. (See Chapter 11 for a longer discussion of this issue.)



Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Land Bridge Across the Bering Strait, ca. 15,000 B.C.E.

With the melting of glaciers sea levels rose, and parts of the world that had been linked by land bridges, including North America and Asia as well as many parts of Southeast Asia, became separated by water. This cut off migratory paths but also spurred innovation. Humans designed and built ever more sophisticated boats and learned how to navigate by studying wind and current patterns, bird flights, and the position of the stars. They sailed to increasingly remote islands, including those in the Pacific, the last parts of the globe to be settled. The western Pacific islands were inhabited by about 2000 B.C.E., Hawaii by about 500 C.E., and New Zealand by about 1000 C.E. (For more on the settlement of the Pacific islands, see "The Settlement of the Pacific Islands" in Chapter 12.)

© 2015 Polynesian Voyaging Society, photo: OIWI TV

Polynesian Oceangoing Sailing Canoe This is a Hawaiian replica of the type of large double-hulled canoe in which Polynesians sailed around the Pacific as they settled many different island groups. This canoe, called the Hokule'a, has taken many voyages using traditional Pacific techniques of celestial navigation. The two hulls provided greater stability, and canoes designed like this sailed thousands of miles over the open ocean.

Once humans had spread out over much of the globe, groups often became isolated from one another, and people mated only with other members of their own group or those who lived nearby, a practice anthropologists call **endogamy**. Thus, over thousands of generations, although humans remained one species, *Homo sapiens sapiens* came to develop differences in physical features, including skin and hair color, eye and body shape, and amount of body hair. Language also changed over generations, so that thousands of different languages were eventually spoken. Groups created widely varying cultures and passed them on to their children, further increasing diversity among humans.

endogamy The practice of marrying within a certain ethnic or social group.

Beginning in the eighteenth century, European natural scientists sought to develop a system that would explain human differences at the largest scale. They divided people into very large groups by skin color and other physical characteristics and termed these groups “races,” a word that had originally meant lineage. They first differentiated these races by continent of origin — Americanus, Europaeus, Asiaticus, and Africanus — and then by somewhat different geographic areas. The word *Caucasian* was first used by the German anatomist and naturalist Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752–1840) to describe light-skinned people of Europe and western Asia because he thought that their original home was most likely the Caucasus Mountains on the border between Russia and Georgia. He thought that they were the first humans and the most attractive. This meaning of *race* has had a long life, though biologists and anthropologists today do not use it, as it has no scientific meaning or explanatory value. All humans are one species with less genetic variety than chimpanzees.

Later Paleolithic Society, ca. 200,000–9000 B.C.E.

What were the key features of Paleolithic society?

Eventually human cultures became widely diverse, but in the Paleolithic period people throughout the world lived in ways that were similar to one another. Archaeological evidence and studies of modern foragers suggest that people lived in small groups of related individuals and moved throughout the landscape in search of food. Most had few material possessions, only what they could carry, although in areas where food resources were especially rich, such as along seacoasts, they built structures and lived more permanently in one place. In the later Paleolithic, people in many parts of the world created art and music and developed religious ideas that linked the natural world to a world beyond.

Foraging for Food

Paleolithic peoples have often been called hunter-gatherers, but recent archaeological and anthropological research indicates that both historical and contemporary hunter-gatherers have depended much more on gathered foods than on hunted meat. Thus most scholars now call them foragers, a term that highlights the flexibility and adaptability in their search for food. Most of the foods foragers ate were plants, and much of the animal protein in their diet came from foods gathered or scavenged rather than hunted directly: insects, shellfish, small animals caught in traps, fish and other sea creatures caught in weirs and nets, and animals killed by other predators.

Robert Harding Images/Masterfile

Paleolithic Hand Axes Like most Paleolithic stone tools, these two hand axes from Libya in northern Africa were made by chipping flakes off stone to form a sharpened edge. Although they are traditionally called axes, they were used for a variety of purposes, including skinning, cutting, and chopping.

Paleolithic peoples did hunt large game. Groups working together forced animals over cliffs, threw spears, and, beginning about 15,000 B.C.E., used bows and atlatls to shoot projectiles so that they could stand farther away from their prey while hunting. The final retreat of the glaciers also occurred between about 13,000 and 8000 B.C.E., and the warming climate was less favorable to the very large mammals that had roamed the open spaces of many parts of the world. Wooly mammoths, mastodons, and wooly rhinos all died out in Eurasia in this **megafaunal extinction**, as did camels, horses, and sloths in the Americas and giant kangaroos and wombats in Australia. In many places, these extinctions occurred just about the time that modern humans migrated into an area, and increasing numbers of scientists think that they were at least in part caused by human hunting, as many types of large animals vanished in Australia about 45,000 B.C.E., shortly after humans arrived, long before the final climate warming.

megafaunal extinction Die-off of large animals in many parts of the world, 45,000–10,000 B.C.E., caused by climate change and most likely human hunting.

Most foraging societies that exist today, or did so until recently, have some type of **division of labor** by sex, and also by age, with children and older people responsible for different tasks than adult men and women are. Men are more often responsible for hunting and women for gathering plant and animal products. This has led scholars to assume that in Paleolithic society men were also responsible for hunting, and women for gathering, although this may not have been the case. The stone and bone tools that remain from the Paleolithic period give no clear evidence of who used them, and the division of labor may have been somewhat flexible, particularly during periods of scarcity.

division of labor Differentiation of tasks by gender, age, training, status, or other social distinction.

Obtaining food was a constant preoccupation, but it was not a constant job. Studies of recent foragers indicate that, other than in times of environmental disasters such as prolonged droughts, people need only about ten to twenty hours a week to gather food and carry out the other tasks needed to survive, such as locating water and building shelters. Moreover, the diet of foragers is varied and nutritious; it is low in fat and salt, high in fiber, and rich in vitamins and minerals. The slow pace of life and healthy diet did not mean that Paleolithic life spans approached those of the modern world, however. People avoided such contemporary killers as heart disease and diabetes, but they often died at young ages from injuries, infections, animal attacks, and interpersonal violence. Mothers and infants died in childbirth, and many children died before they reached adulthood.

Total human population thus grew very slowly during the Paleolithic, from perhaps half a million humans in the world about 30,000 years ago to about 5 million 10,000 years ago. Moreover, the population was widely scattered, with small bands of people occupying very large territories. The low population density meant that human impact on the environment was relatively small, although still significant. In addition to contributing to the extinction of some large animals, Paleolithic people may have also shaped their environments by setting fires, which encouraged the growth of new plants and attracted animals that fed on them, making hunting or snaring game easier. This practice was a factor in the spread of plants that thrived best with occasional burning, such as the eucalyptus in Australia.

Family and Kinship Relationships

Small bands of humans — twenty or thirty people was a standard size for foragers in harsh environments — were scattered across broad areas, but this did not mean that each group lived in isolation. Their travels in search of food brought them into contact with one another, not simply for talking and celebrating, but also for providing opportunities for the exchange of sexual partners, which was essential to group survival. Mating arrangements varied in their permanence, but many groups seem to have developed a somewhat permanent arrangement whereby a man or woman left his or her original group and joined the group of his or her mate, what would later be termed marriage.

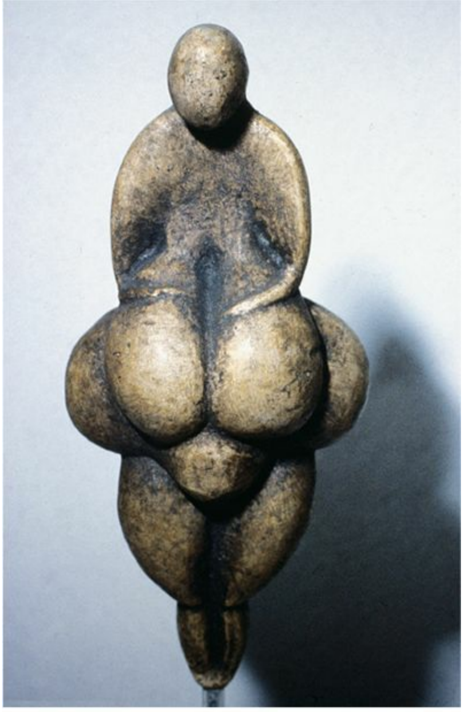
Within each band, and within the larger kin groups, individuals had a variety of identities; they were simultaneously fathers, sons, husbands, and brothers, or mothers, daughters, wives, and sisters. Each of these identities was relational (parent to child, sibling to sibling, spouse to spouse), and some of them, especially parent to child, gave one power over others. Paleolithic people were not differentiated by wealth, for in a foraging society accumulating material goods was not advantageous. But they were differentiated by such factors as age, gender, and position in a family, and no doubt by personal qualities such as intelligence, courage, and charisma.

Stereotypical representations of Paleolithic people often portray men going off to hunt while women and children crouched around a fire, waiting for the men to bring back meat. Studies of the relative importance of gathering to hunting, women’s participation in hunting, and gender relations among contemporary foraging peoples have led some analysts to turn these stereotypes on their heads. They see Paleolithic bands as egalitarian groups in which the contributions of men and women to survival were recognized and valued, and in which both men and women had equal access to the limited amount of resources held by the group. Other scholars argue that this is also a stereotype, overly romanticizing Paleolithic society. They note that, although social relations among foragers were not as hierarchical as they were in other types of societies, many foraging groups had one person who held more power than others, and that person was almost always a man. This debate about gender relations is often part of larger discussions about whether Paleolithic society — and by implication, “human nature” — was primarily peaceful and nurturing or violent and brutal, and whether these qualities are gender related. Like much else about the Paleolithic, sources about gender and about violence are fragmentary and difficult to interpret; there may simply have been a diversity of patterns, as there is among more modern foragers. (See “Analyzing the Evidence: Paleolithic Venus Figures,” page 12.)

Whether peaceful and egalitarian or violent and hierarchical, heterosexual relations produced children, who were cared for as infants by their mothers or other women who had recently given birth. Breast milk was the only food available that infants could easily digest, so mothers nursed their children for several years. Along with providing food for infants, extended nursing brings a side benefit: it suppresses ovulation and thus acts as a contraceptive. Foraging groups needed children to survive, but too many could tax scarce food resources. Other than for feeding, children were most likely cared for by other male and female members of the group as well as by their mothers during the long period of human childhood.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

Paleolithic Venus Figures



Ronald Sheridan/© Ancient Art & Architecture Collection, Ltd.

Written sources provide evidence about the human past only after the development of writing, allowing us to listen to the voices of people long dead. For most of human history, however, there were no written sources, so we “listen” to the past through objects. Interpreting written documents is difficult, and interpreting archaeological evidence about the earliest human belief systems is even more difficult and often contentious. For example, small stone statues of women with enlarged breasts and buttocks dating from the later Paleolithic period (roughly 33,000–9000 B.C.E.) have been found in many parts of Europe. These were dubbed “Venus figures” by nineteenth-century archaeologists, who thought they represented Paleolithic standards of female beauty just as the goddess Venus represented classical standards. A reproduction of one of these statues, the 6-inch-tall Venus of Lespugue made from a mammoth tusk about 25,000 years ago in southern France, is shown here. Venus figures provoke more questions than answers: Are they fertility goddesses, evidence of people’s beliefs in a powerful female deity? Or are they aids to fertility, carried around by women hoping to have children — or perhaps hoping not to have more — and then discarded in the household debris where they have been most commonly found? Or are they sexualized images of women carried around by men, a sort of Paleolithic version of the centerfold in a men’s magazine? Might they have represented different things to different people? Like so much Paleolithic evidence, Venus figurines provide tantalizing evidence about early human cultures, but evidence that is not easy to interpret.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. As you look at this statue, does it seem to link more closely with fertility or with sexuality? How might your own situation as a twenty-first-century person shape your answer to this question?
2. Some scholars see Venus figures as evidence that Paleolithic society was egalitarian or female dominated, but others point out that images of female deities or holy figures are often found in religions that deny women official authority. Can you think of examples of the latter? Which point of view seems most persuasive to you?

Cultural Creations and Spirituality

Beginning in the Paleolithic, human beings expressed themselves through what we would now term the arts or culture: painting and decorating walls and objects, making music with their voices and a variety of instruments, imagining and telling stories, dancing alone or in groups. Evidence from the Paleolithic, particularly from after about 50,000 years ago, includes flutes, carvings, jewelry, and paintings done on cave walls and rock outcroppings that depict animals, people, and symbols. In many places these paintings also show the outline of a human hand — often done by blowing pigment around it — or tracings of the fingers. (See “Thinking Like a Historian: Paleolithic Hand Markings,” page 14.)

At the same time that people marked and depicted the world around them, they also appear to have developed ideas about supernatural forces that controlled some aspects of the natural world and the place of humans in it, what we now term spirituality or religion. Paleolithic burials, paintings, and objects suggest that people may have thought of their world as extending beyond the visible. People, animals, plants, natural occurrences, and other things around them had spirits, an idea called **animism**. The only evidence of Paleolithic animism that survives is physical, of course, but more recent animist traditions carry on this understanding of the spiritual nature and interdependence of all things.

animism Idea that people, animals, plants, natural occurrences, and other parts of the physical world have spirits.

Death took people from the realm of the living, but for Paleolithic groups people continued to inhabit an unseen world, along with spirits and deities, after death; thus kin groups included deceased as well as living members of a family. The unseen world regularly intervened in the visible world, for good and ill, and the actions of dead ancestors, spirits, and gods could be shaped by living people. Concepts of the supernatural pervaded all aspects of life; hunting, birth, death, and natural occurrences such as eclipses, comets, and rainbows all had religious meaning. Supernatural forces were understood to determine the basic rules for human existence, and upsetting these rules could lead to chaos.

Ordinary people learned about the unseen world through dreams and portents, and messages and revelations were also sent more regularly to **shamans**, spiritually adept men and women who communicated with the unseen world. Shamans created complex rituals through which they sought to ensure the health and prosperity of an individual, family, or group. Many cave paintings show herds of prey animals, and several include a masked human figure usually judged to be a shaman performing some sort of ritual. (See “Analyzing the Evidence: Bison and Human in Lascaux Cave,” page 16.) Objects understood to have special power, such as carvings or masks in the form of an animal or person, could give additional protection, as could certain plants or mixtures eaten, sniffed, or rubbed on the skin. Shamans thus also operated as healers, with cures that included what we would term natural medicines and religious healing.

shamans Spiritually adept men and women who communicated with the unseen world.

THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN

Paleolithic Hand Markings

Paleolithic finger and hand markings have been found all over the world and were created in a variety of ways — running fingers over wet or soft stone, dipping a hand in pigment and pressing it onto a surface, or tracing or blowing pigment around a hand. Many were made with red ochre, a naturally occurring mixture of clay and iron oxide that humans have been using for various purposes for more than a hundred thousand years. The oldest have been dated to about 40,000 B.C.E., though most are difficult to date exactly. Why, in your opinion, was the human hand such a common image in Paleolithic art?

1 **Hand stencils from the Kimberley region in Western Australia, ca. 15,000–10,000 B.C.E.** Paintings from 15,000–10,000 B.C.E. in the Kimberley region in Australia include stencils of hands, feet, and boomerangs, and life-size paintings of animals and fish. This painting, made from red ochre, includes several adult hands with amputated fingers and thumbs, which were not uncommon in hand stencils from many parts of the world.

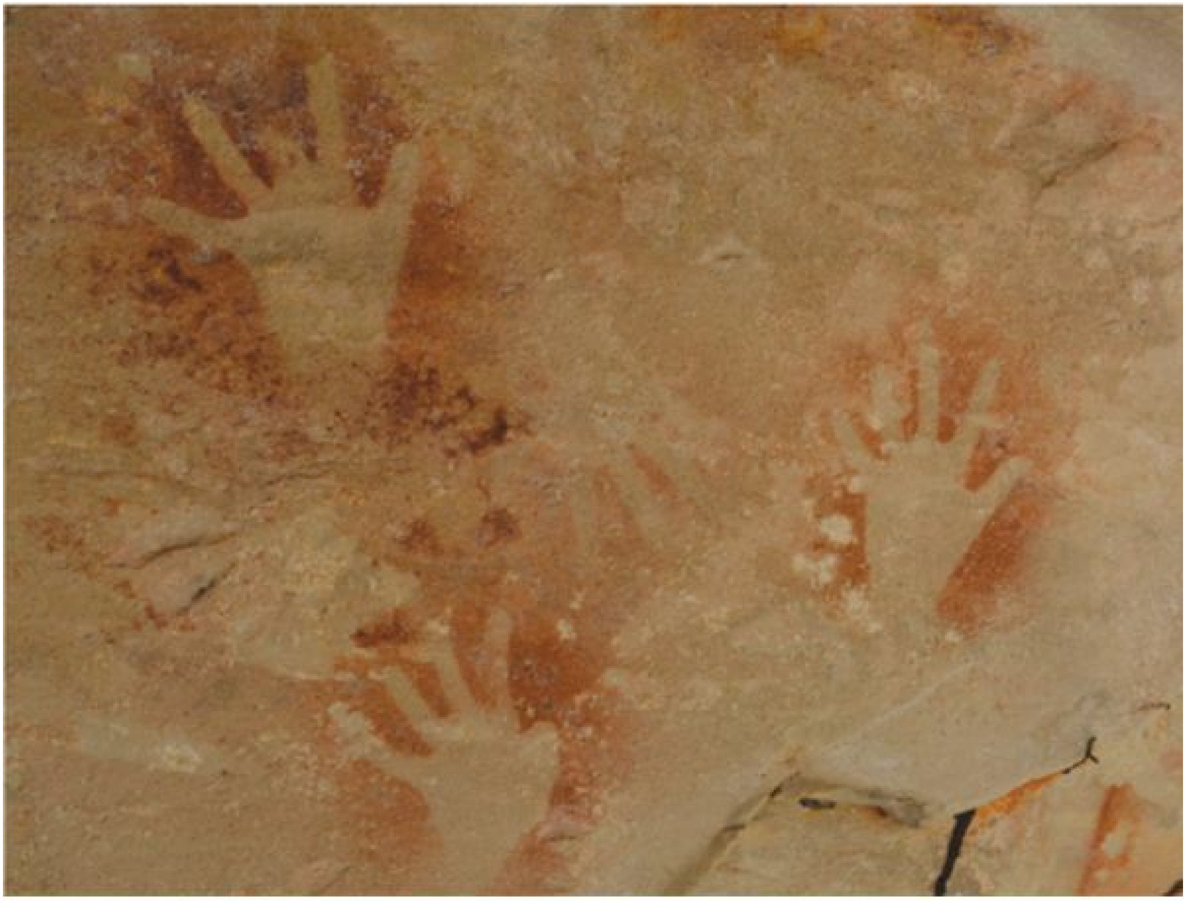
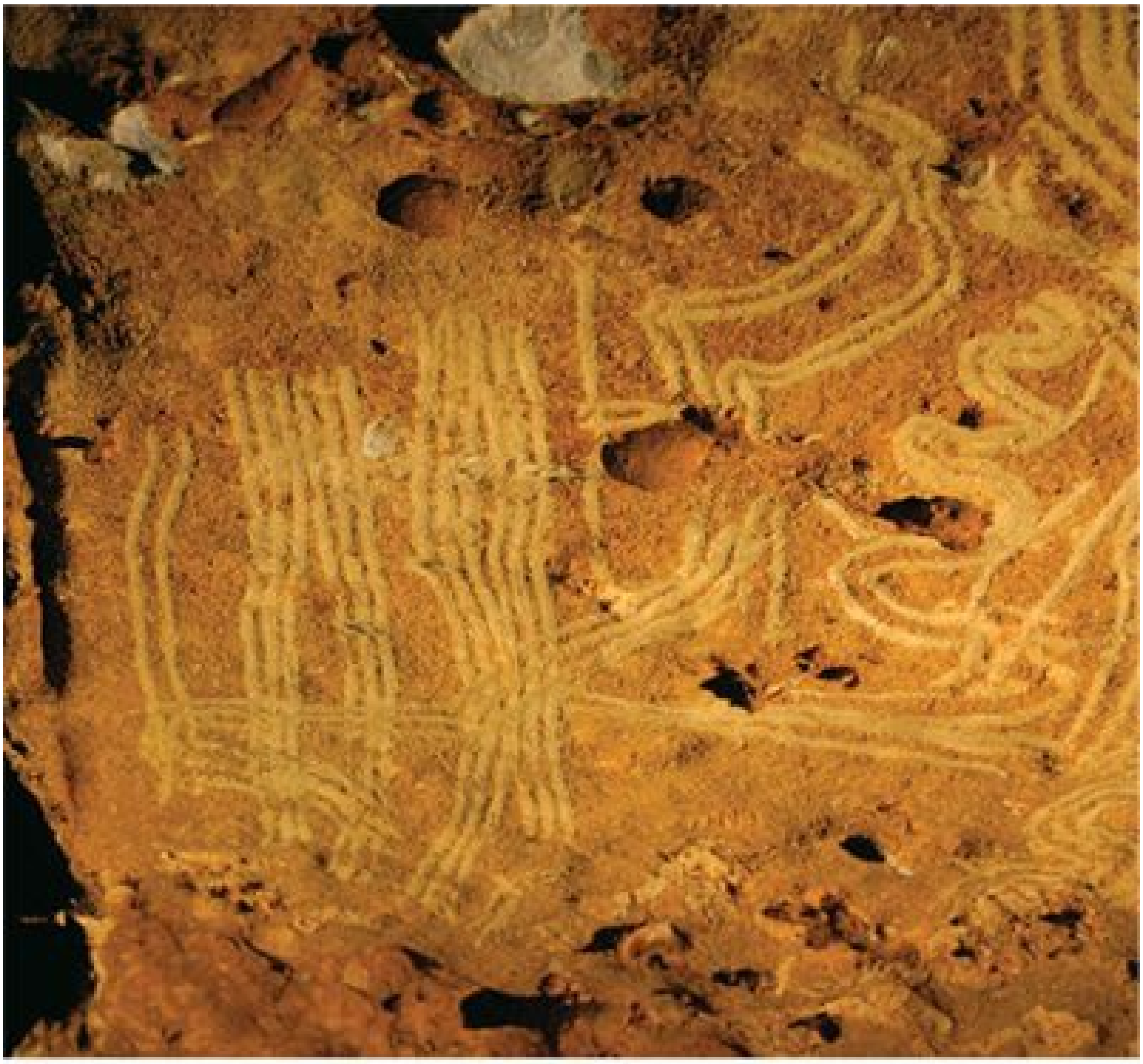


Image courtesy Takarakka Nowan Kas Rock Art Archive.

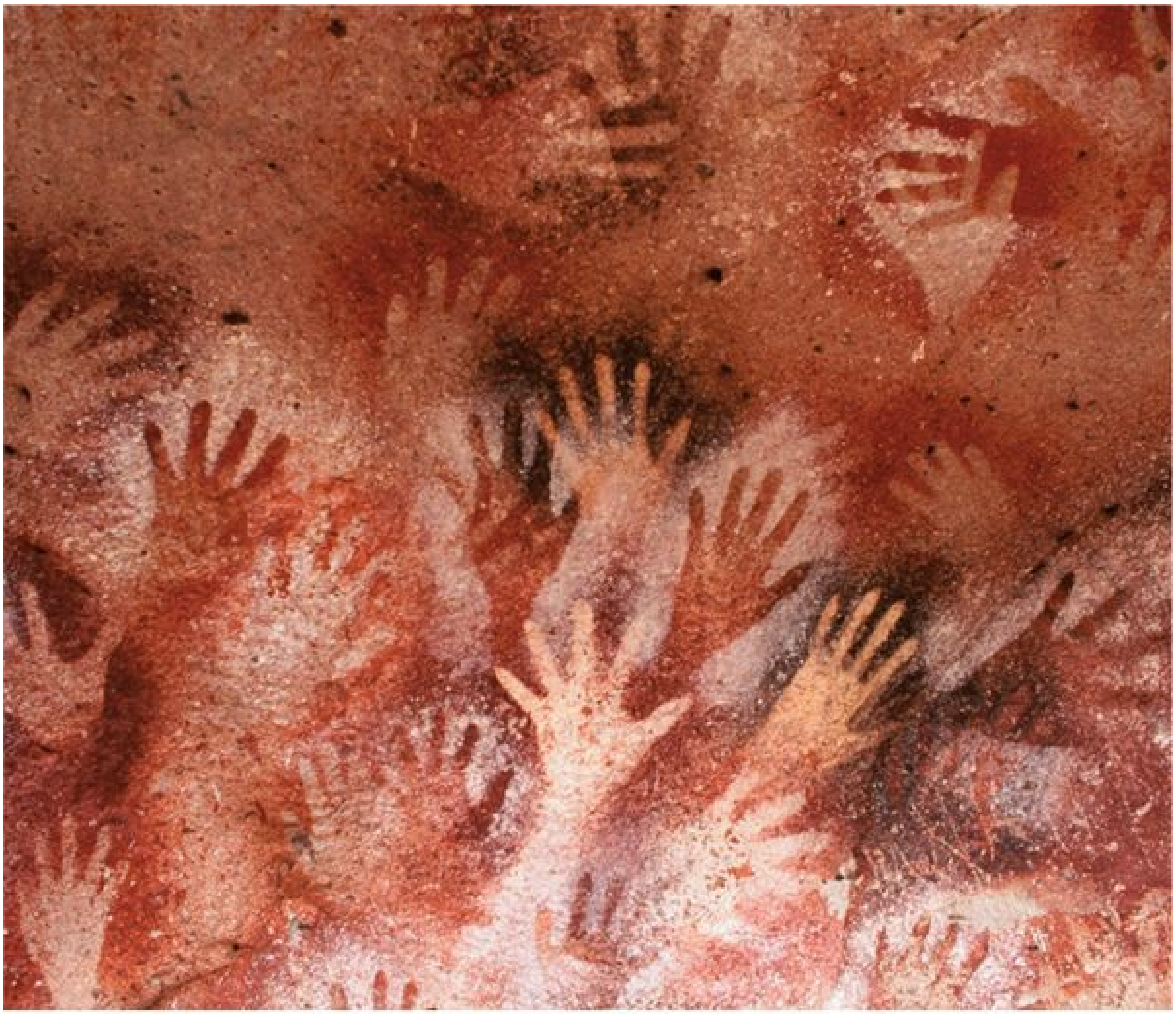
2 **Finger marks from Rouffignac Cave in France, 18,000–9000 B.C.E.** The finger marks of a young child, most likely a girl, along with those of adults, were made in the wet surfaces of the cave, far from the entrance, indicating that the creators would have

used torches as they decorated the walls and ceiling. The child ran the three middle fingers of each hand down the wall at the same time, which meant someone else was holding the torch so the child could see.



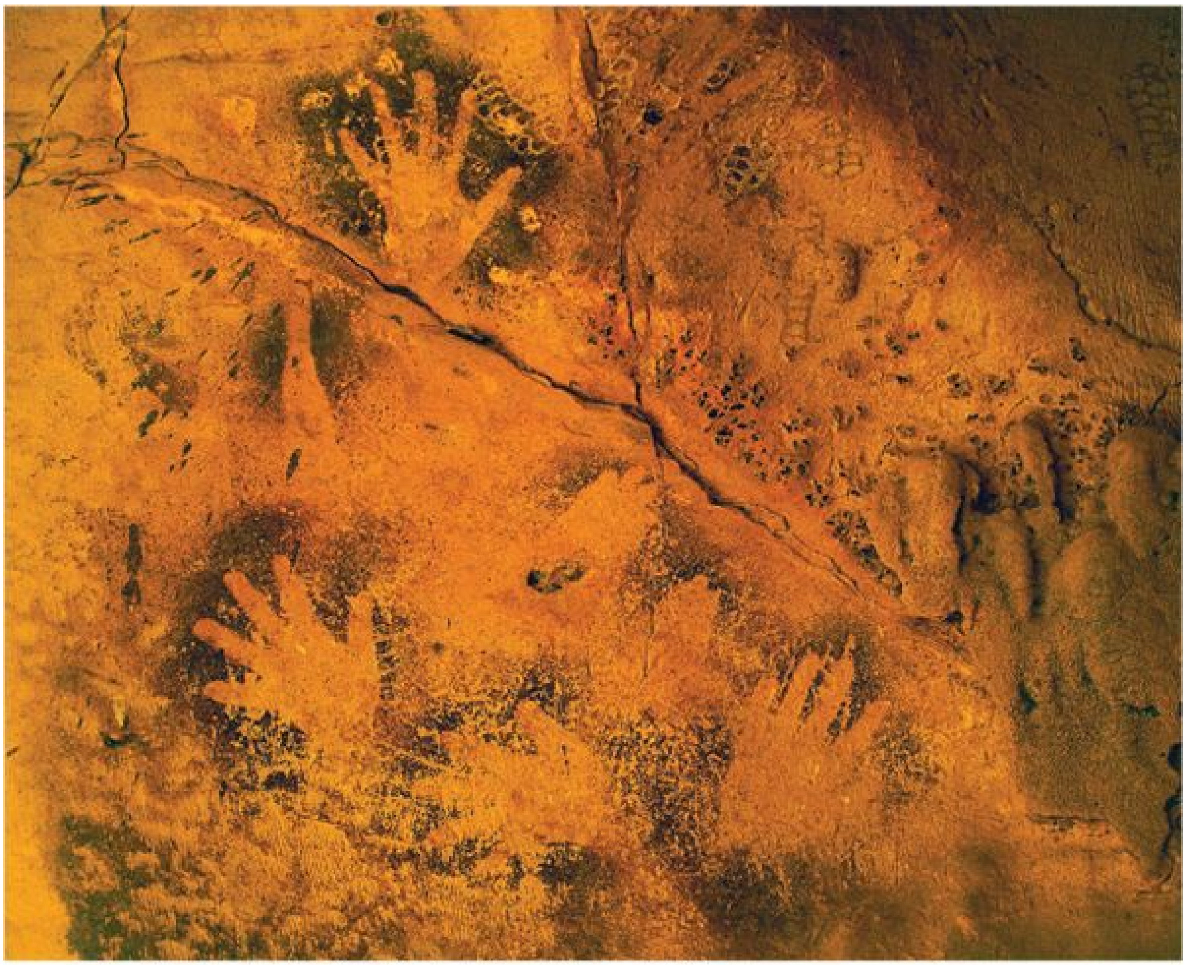
© Leslie Van Gelder

3 **Handprints from Cueva de las Manos (Cave of the Hands) in Argentina, ca. 8000 B.C.E.** These handprints, made by blowing red ochre paint around the hand through a bone pipe, are from different individuals. All are slightly smaller than adult hands, so were most likely made by adolescents. Most are left hands, which indicates that even in the Paleolithic, most people were right-handed, since they would have held the pipe for blowing in the hand they normally used for tasks.



© Hubert Stadler/Corbis Documentary Collection/Getty Images

4 **Handprints from Wadi el-Obeiyd in Egypt, ca. 8000–4000 B.C.E.** Caves near oases in the western deserts of Egypt contain many examples of rock art, including handprints, animals, boats, and symbols. The upper handprint here is surrounded by white circles and, further out, a honeycomb grid pattern. As with many symbols and designs in rock art, the meaning of these is not known.



De Agostini Picture Library/C. Sappa/Bridgeman Images

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

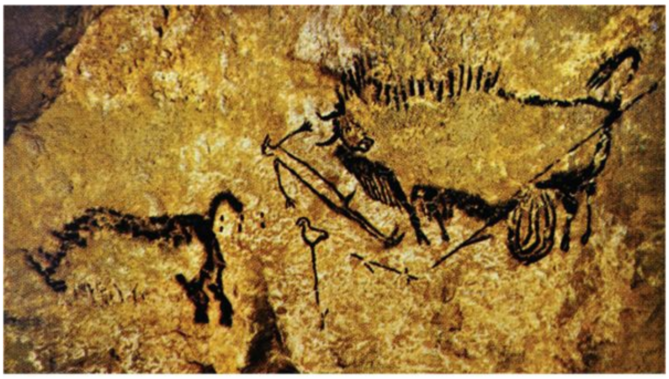
1. Source 1 shows a group of adult hands, some with amputated fingers or thumbs. What possibile reasons can you think of for an amputation? What do each of the possibilities suggest about Paleolithic society?
2. The finger marks in Source 2 were made by a group of people of various ages and, like most cave paintings, are far from the entrance to the cave. What does this suggest about the role of children in Paleolithic society?
3. The handprints in Source 3 were all made by adolescents at the same time in some type of group activity. What might have occasioned this? How and why do adolescents today mark spaces as their own?
4. What might the white circles in Source 4 symbolize? Why do you think artists frequently included symbols along with hands?
5. Along with the fact that red ochre was such a common substance, can you think of other reasons why people might have favored it for the depiction of human hands?

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

Using the sources above, along with what you have learned in class and in this chapter, write a short essay that analyzes why the human hand was such a common image in Paleolithic rock art. What are various reasons people might have wanted to indicate “I was here” or “we were here,” creating a record of their presence? What does the fact that figurative rock art developed independently in many places suggest about technological inventiveness and symbolic thinking?

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

Bison and Human in Lascaux Cave



Universal History Archive/UIG via Getty Images

The interconnected series of caves in the Lascaux region of southwestern France has paintings (dating from about 15,000 B.C.E.) of nearly two thousand figures on its walls, including animals that would have been hunted and eaten, such as deer, bulls, bison, and horses, and those that would have been feared as predators, such as lions, other big cats, and bears, as well as geometric and abstract designs. Most of the paintings, made with colored minerals on surfaces smoothed by the artist, are located far from the cave entrance and are not easily accessible, suggesting they were made for ceremonial or ritual purposes, not as decorations for living spaces. Amid the amazing animals is a depiction, painted near the bottom of a 20-foot shaft in a remote part of the cave, of a human next to a bison spilling its guts out onto the ground. Scholars first interpreted this enigmatic scene as a hunting accident but more recently have proposed that the human is a shaman with a bird mask and a bird-head staff in a state of trance, as his body and limbs are rigid. The figure has what looks like a penis, and is usually described as a man, although some anthropologists have suggested it could have been a woman wearing an artificial penis along with a mask, as gender inversions were often part of rituals and performances. Thus the person may have been biologically female but culturally understood to be male in this ritual. Or the figure — and the actual shaman whom it may have represented — could have been understood as a third gender, neither male nor female, or both at the same time, just as the shaman may have been thought to take on the qualities of the bird represented by the mask but still remain human. Shamans regarded as a third gender could be found in the more recent past than the Paleolithic in many parts of the world, including various regions of Asia, North and South America, and Australia.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Shamans in Paleolithic and more recent societies were understood to harness power that crossed various types of boundaries, including those between the seen and unseen worlds, life and death, animal and human, and sometimes male and female. Why might this be advantageous in hunting rituals or other types of ceremonies? If the person depicted here is a shaman, what boundaries might the shaman depicted here be seen as crossing?
2. Why might Paleolithic people have made cave paintings? What do these paintings

suggest about Old Stone Age culture and society?

The Development of Agriculture in the Neolithic Era, ca. 9000 B.C.E.

How did plant and animal domestication develop, and what effects did it have on human society?

Foraging remained the basic way of life for most of human history. In a few especially fertile areas, however, the natural environment provided enough food that people could become more settled. As they remained in one place, they began to plant seeds as well as gather wild crops, to raise certain animals instead of hunting them, and to selectively breed both plants and animals to make them more useful to humans. This seemingly small alteration was the most important change in human history; because of its impact it is often termed the **Agricultural Revolution**. Plant and animal domestication marked the transition from the Paleolithic to the Neolithic. It allowed the human population to grow far more quickly than did foraging, but it also required more labor, which became increasingly specialized.

Agricultural Revolution Dramatic transformation in human history resulting from the change from foraging to raising crops and animals.

The Development of Horticulture

Areas of the world differed in the food resources available to foragers. In some, acquiring enough food to sustain a group was difficult, and groups had to move constantly. In others, moderate temperatures and abundant rainfall allowed for verdant plant growth; or seas, rivers, and lakes provided substantial amounts of fish and shellfish. Groups in such areas were able to become more settled. About 15,000 years ago, the earth’s climate entered a warming phase, and the glaciers began to retreat. As the earth became warmer, the climate became wetter, and more parts of the world were able to support sedentary or semi-sedentary groups of foragers.

In several of these places, foragers began planting seeds in the ground along with gathering wild grains, roots, and other foodstuffs. By observation, they learned the optimum times and places for planting. They removed unwanted plants through weeding and selected the seeds they planted in order to get crops that had favorable characteristics, such as larger edible parts. Through this human intervention, certain crops became

domesticated, that is, modified by selective breeding so as to serve human needs, in this case to provide a more reliable source of food. Archaeologists trace the development and spread of plant raising by noting when the seeds and other plant parts they discover show evidence of domestication.

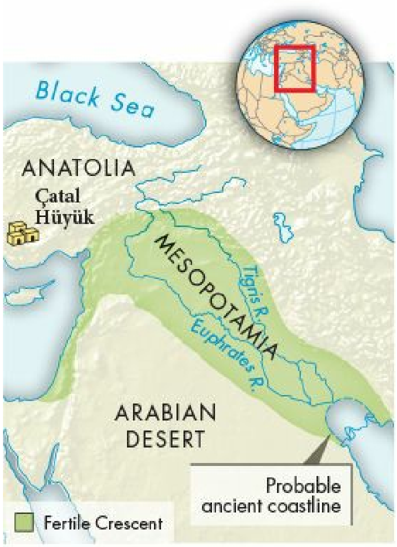
Degeorge/akg-images

Grinding Stones from a Neolithic Village in Jordan, occupied 7200–6500 B.C.E. Paleolithic people used stone tools to crush and grind ochre, nuts, grains, and other materials, but as crops were domesticated in the Neolithic, grinding stones such as these from Jordan in the Fertile Crescent became even more common. Grinding maximizes the amount of digestible food and caloric content derived from grain, providing important nutritional benefits as increasingly sedentary populations relied on limited areas of cultivation for most of their food. Wear patterns in women's wrist bones indicate that hand grinding was often a woman's task, a gender division of labor that continued for millennia in many parts of the world.

domesticated Plants and animals modified by selective breeding so as to serve human needs; domesticated animals will behave in specific ways and breed in captivity.

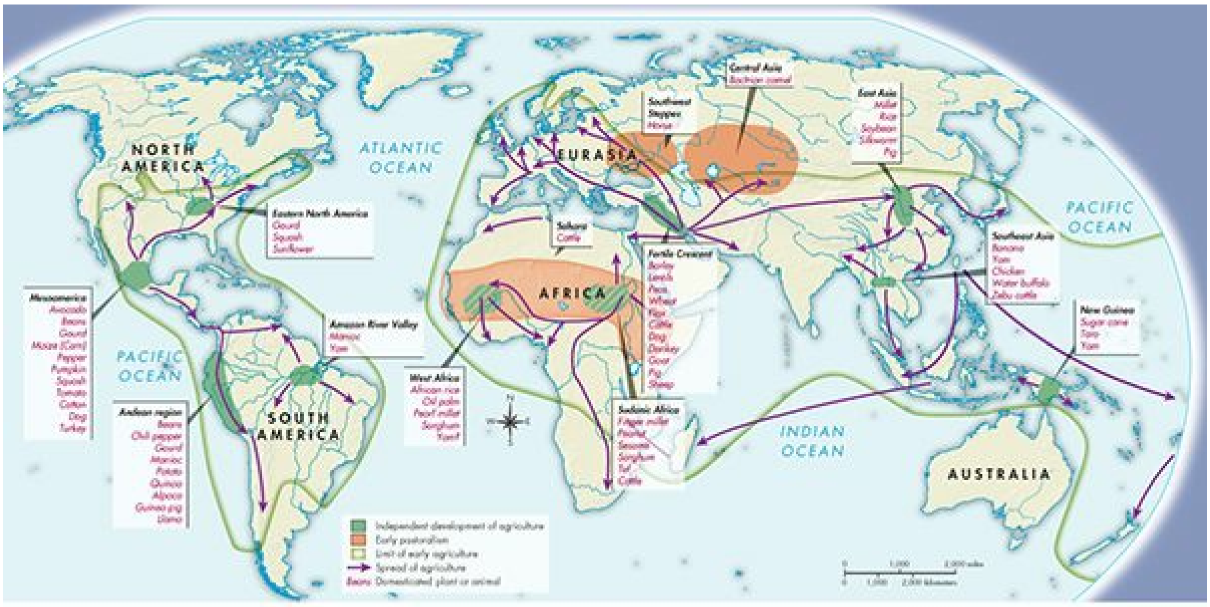
This early crop planting was done by individuals using hoes and digging sticks, and it is often termed **horticulture** to distinguish it from the later agriculture using plows. Intentional crop planting developed first in the part of southwest Asia archaeologists call the Fertile Crescent, which runs from present-day Lebanon, Israel, and Jordan north to Turkey and then south along the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers to the Iran-Iraq border (Map 1.2). About 9000 B.C.E. people there began to plant seeds of the wild wheat and barley they had already been harvesting, along with seeds of legume crops, such as peas and lentils, and of the flax with which they made linen cloth. By about 8000 B.C.E. people were growing sorghum and millet in parts of the Nile River Valley, and perhaps yams in western Africa. By about 7000 B.C.E. they were growing domesticated rice, millet, and legumes in China; yams and taro in Papua New Guinea; and perhaps squash in Mesoamerica. In each of these places, the development of horticulture occurred independently, and it may have happened in other parts of the world as well.

horticulture Crop raising done with hand tools and human power.


Black Sea
ANATOLIA
Çatal Hüyük
MESOPOTAMIA
Tigris R.
Euphrates R.
ARABIAN DESERT
Probable ancient coastline
🟩 Fertile Crescent

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

The Fertile Crescent


NORTH AMERICA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
EURASIA
PACIFIC OCEAN
AFRICA
SOUTH AMERICA
INDIAN OCEAN
AUSTRALIA
Central Asia
Bactrian camel
Southeast Steppes
Horse
East Asia
Millet
Rice
Soybean
Silkworm
Pig
Eastern North America
Gourd
Squash
Sunflower
Sahara
Cattle
Fertile Crescent
Barley
Lentils
Peas
Wheat
Flax
Cattle
Dog
Donkey
Goat
Pig
Sheep
Southeast Asia
Banana
Yam
Chicken
Water buffalo
Zebu cattle
Mesoamerica
Avocado
Beans
Gourd
Maize (Corn)
Pepper
Pumpkin
Squash
Tomato
Cotton
Dog
Turkey
Amazon River Valley
Manioc
Yam
New Guinea
Sugar cane
Taro
Yam
West Africa
African rice
Oil palm
Pearl millet
Sorghum
Yam
Andean region
Beans
Chili pepper
Gourd
Manioc
Potato
Quinoa
Alpaca
Guinea pig
Llama
Sudanic Africa
Finger millet
Peanut
Sesame
Sorghum
Tef
Cattle
N
W
E
S
Independent development of agriculture
Early pastoralism
Limit of early agriculture
Spread of agriculture
Beans Domesticated plant or animal
0 1,000 2,000 miles
0 1,000 2,000 kilometers

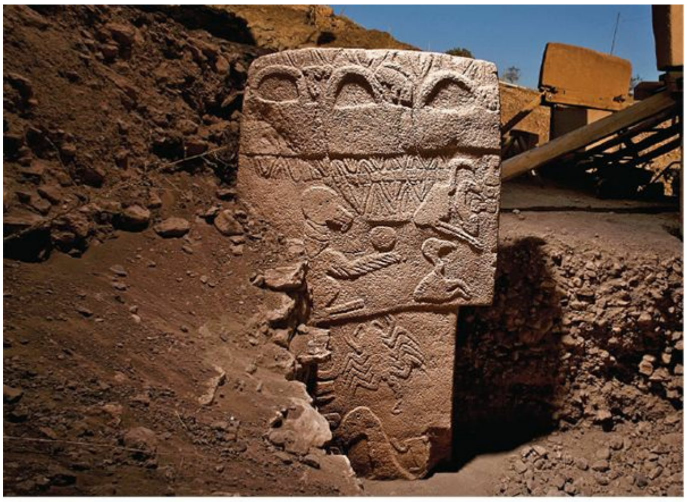
Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 1.2 The Spread of Agriculture and Pastoralism Local plants and animals were domesticated in many different places. Agriculturalists and pastoralists spread the knowledge of how to raise them, and spread the plants and animals themselves through migration, trade, and conquest.

Nowhere do archaeological remains alone answer the question of who within any group first began to cultivate crops, but the fact that, among foragers, women were primarily responsible for gathering plant products suggests that they may also have been the first to plant seeds in the ground. In many parts of the world, crops continued to be planted with hoes and digging sticks for millennia, and crop raising remained primarily women's work, while men hunted or later raised animals.

Why, after living successfully as foragers for tens of thousands of years, did humans in so many parts of the world all begin raising crops at about the same time? The answer to this question is not clear, but crop raising may have resulted from population pressures in those parts of the world where the warming climate provided more food. More food meant lower child mortality and longer life spans, which allowed communities to grow. When population growth outstripped the local food supply, people had a choice: they could move to a new area — the solution that foragers had relied on when faced with the problem of food scarcity — or they could develop ways to increase the food supply to keep up with population growth, a solution that the warming climate was making possible. They chose the latter and began to plant more intensively, beginning cycles of expanding population and intensification of land use that have continued to today.

A recent archaeological find at Göbekli Tepe (gyeh-BEHK-lee TEH-peh) in present-day Turkey, at the northern edge of the Fertile Crescent, suggests that cultural factors may have played a role in the development of agriculture. Here, around 9000 B.C.E. hundreds of people came together to build rings of massive, multi-ton, elaborately carved limestone pillars and then covered them with dirt and built more. The people who created this site lived some distance away, where archaeological evidence indicates they first carved the pillars. The evidence also reveals that they ate wild game and plants, not crops. The project may have unintentionally spurred the development of new methods of food production that would allow the many workers to be fed efficiently. Indeed, it is very near here that evidence of the world's oldest domesticated wheat has been discovered. Archaeologists speculate that the symbolic, cultural, or perhaps religious importance of the structure can help explain why the people building it changed from foraging to agriculture.



Vincent J. Musi/National Geographic Creative

Pillar at Göbekli Tepe The huge limestone pillars arranged in rings at the Paleolithic site Göbekli Tepe are somewhat humanoid in shape, and the carvings are of dangerous animals, including lions, boars, foxes, snakes, vultures, and scorpions. The structure required enormous skill and effort of the people who built it, and clearly had great importance to them.

Whatever the reasons for the move from foraging to crop raising, within several centuries of initial crop planting, people in the Fertile Crescent, parts of China, and the Nile Valley were relying on domesticated food products alone. They built permanent houses near one another in villages surrounded by fields, and they invented new ways of storing foods, such as in pottery made from clay. (See “Global Viewpoints: Stone Age Houses in Chile and China,” page 20.) Villages were closer together than were the camps of foragers, so population density as well as total population grew.

A field of planted and weeded crops yields ten to one hundred times as much food — measured in calories — as the same area of naturally occurring plants. It also requires much more labor, however, which was provided both by the greater number of people in the community and by the longer hours those people worked. Farming peoples were often in the fields from dawn to dusk. Early farmers were also less healthy than foragers were. Their narrower range of foodstuffs made them more susceptible to disease and nutritional deficiencies such as anemia.

Foragers who lived at the edge of horticultural communities appear to have recognized the negative aspects of crop raising, for they did not immediately adopt this new way of life. Instead farming spread when a village became too large and some residents moved to a new area. Because the population of farming communities grew so much faster than that of foragers, however, horticulture quickly spread into fertile areas. By about 6500 B.C.E. farming had spread northward from the Fertile Crescent into Greece, and by 4000 B.C.E. farther northward all the way to Britain; by 4500 B.C.E. it had spread southward into Ethiopia. At the same time, crop raising spread out from other areas in which it was first developed, and slowly larger and larger parts of China, South and Southeast Asia, and East Africa became home to horticultural villages.

People adapted crops to their local environments, choosing seeds that had qualities that were beneficial, such as drought resistance. They also domesticated new kinds of crops. In the Americas, for example, by about 3000 B.C.E. corn was domesticated in southern Mexico and potatoes and quinoa in the Andes region of South America, and by about 2500 B.C.E. squash and beans in eastern North America. These crops then spread, so that by about 1000 B.C.E. people in much of what is now the western United States were raising corn, beans, and squash. In the Indus Valley of South Asia, people were growing dates, mangoes, sesame seeds, and cotton along with grains and legumes by 4000 B.C.E. Accordingly, crop raising led to dramatic human alteration of the environment.

Certain planted crops eventually came to be grown over huge areas of land, so that some scientists describe the Agricultural Revolution as a revolution of codependent domestication: humans domesticated crops, but crops also “domesticated” humans so that they worked long hours spreading particular crops around the world. Of these, corn has probably been the most successful; more than half a million square miles around the world are now planted in corn.

In some parts of the world horticulture led to a dramatic change in the way of life, but in others it did not. Horticulture can be easily combined with gathering and hunting, as plots of land are usually small; many cultures, including some in Papua New Guinea and North America, remained mixed foragers and horticulturists for thousands of years. Especially in deeply wooded areas, people cleared small plots by chopping and burning the natural vegetation, and planted crops in successive years until the soil eroded or lost its fertility, a method termed “slash and burn.” They then moved to another area and began the process again, perhaps returning to the first plot many years later, after the soil had rejuvenated itself. Groups using shifting slash-and-burn cultivation remained small and continued to rely on the surrounding forest for much of their food.

GLOBAL VIEWPOINTS

Stone Age Houses in Chile and China

Courtesy of Tom D. Dillehay

Banpo, China, ca. 4500 B.C.E.

JTB Photo/SuperStock

Monte Verde, Chile, ca. 12,000 B.C.E.

One of the central issues facing most human groups has been shelter from the elements. People’s varying solutions to this issue reflect the environmental challenges and opportunities offered by their particular surroundings. Not only are houses physical structures, however, but they also reflect, communicate, and shape cultural and social values. The photographs on this page show the remains of houses built during the Paleolithic and Neolithic periods in two parts of the world very far from one another.

Monte Verde in Chile dates from about 12,000 B.C.E. The archaeologists who have studied this site have concluded that here, along a creek, a small group of perhaps twenty to thirty people built a 20-foot-long structure of wooden poles covered by animal skins. Within the structure were smaller living quarters separated by skins, each with its own small fire pit, around which archaeologists have found stone tools, rope made of reeds, and many different types of foraged food, including wild potatoes and seaweed that came from coastal areas far away.

The village of Banpo near Xi’an in China dates from about 4500 B.C.E. Archaeologists have concluded that a group of several hundred people built fifty or so houses there, along with kilns for making pottery and cellars for storage. They built each house by digging a shallow hole as a foundation, surrounding this with walls made of stakes interwoven with branches and twigs, and plastering this with mud, which dried to become wind and water resistant. They formed the roof out of thatch made from millet and rice stalks, grains they raised that formed the main part of their diet.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. From the photographs and the descriptions, what similarities and differences do you see in the two types of houses?
2. Monte Verde was a Paleolithic community of foragers, and Banpo a Neolithic community of agriculturalists. How might the differences between the two houses have been shaped by the technology of food production? What other factors might account for the differences?
3. It is easy to see the vast differences between these houses and those of today, but what similarities do you find? What social and cultural values might lie behind these similarities?

Animal Domestication and the Rise of Pastoralism

At roughly the same time that they domesticated certain plants, people also domesticated animals. The earliest animal to be domesticated was the dog, which separated genetically as a subspecies from wolves at least 15,000 years ago and perhaps much earlier. The relationship provided both humans and dogs with benefits: humans gained dogs' better senses of smell and hearing and their body warmth, and dogs gained new food sources and safer surroundings. Not surprisingly, humans and domestic dogs migrated together, including across the land bridges to the Americas and on boats to Pacific islands.

Dogs fit easily into a foraging lifestyle, but humans also domesticated animals that led them to completely alter their way of life. In about 9000 B.C.E., at the same time they began to raise crops, people in the Fertile Crescent domesticated wild goats and sheep, probably using them first for meat, and then for milk, skins, and eventually fleece (see Map 1.2). They learned from observation and experimentation that traits are passed down from generation to generation, and they began to breed the goats and sheep selectively for qualities that they wanted. Sometimes they trained dogs to assist them in herding, and then selectively bred the dogs for qualities that were advantageous for this task.

Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth/Bridgeman Images

Head of a Sheep Carved in sandstone at the southern end of the Tigris and Euphrates Valleys about 3200 B.C.E., this head was originally part of a full sculpture of a sheep. By this time, meat, milk, skins, and fleece from domesticated sheep were essential to settled agriculturalists and nomadic pastoralists in much of southwest Asia, and their importance came to be reflected in material culture.

Sometime after goats and sheep, pigs were domesticated in both the Fertile Crescent and China, as were chickens in southern Asia. Like domesticated crops, domesticated animals eventually far outnumbered their wild counterparts. Animal domestication also shaped human evolution; groups that relied on animal milk and milk products for a significant part of their diet tended to develop the ability to digest milk as adults, while those that did not remained lactose intolerant as adults, the normal condition for mammals.

Sheep and goats allow themselves to be herded, and people developed a new form of living, **pastoralism**, based on herding and raising livestock. In areas with sufficient rainfall and fertile soil, pastoralism can be relatively sedentary and thus is easily combined with horticulture; people built pens for animals, or in colder climates constructed special buildings or took them into their houses. They learned that animal manure increases crop yields, so they gathered the manure from enclosures and used it as fertilizer.

pastoralism An economic system based on herding flocks of goats, sheep, cattle, or other animals.

Increased contact with animals and their feces also increased human contact with various sorts of disease-causing pathogens. This was particularly the case where humans and animals lived in tight quarters. Thus pastoralists and agriculturalists developed illnesses that had not plagued foragers, and the diseases became endemic, that is, widely found within a region without being deadly. Ultimately people who lived with animals developed resistance to some of these illnesses, but foragers’ lack of resistance to many illnesses meant that they died more readily after coming into contact with new endemic diseases, as was the case when Europeans brought smallpox to the Americas in the sixteenth century.

In drier areas, flocks need to travel long distances from season to season to obtain enough food, so some pastoralists became nomadic. Nomadic pastoralists often gather wild plant foods as well, but they tend to rely primarily on their flocks of animals for food. Pastoralism was well suited to areas where the terrain or climate made crop planting difficult, such as mountains, deserts, dry grasslands, and tundras. Eventually other grazing animals, including cattle, camels, horses, yak, and reindeer, also became the basis of pastoral economies in Central and West Asia, many parts of Africa, and far northern Europe.

Plow Agriculture

Horticulture and pastoralism brought significant changes to human ways of life, but the domestication of certain large animals had an even bigger impact. Cattle and water buffalo were domesticated in some parts of Asia and North Africa in which they occurred naturally by at least 7000 B.C.E., and horses, donkeys, and camels by about 4000 B.C.E. All these animals can be trained to carry people or burdens on their backs and to pull loads dragged behind them. The domestication of large animals dramatically increased the power available to humans to carry out their tasks, which had both an immediate effect in the societies in which this happened and a long-term effect when these societies later encountered societies in which human labor remained the only source of power.

The pulling power of animals came to matter most, because it could be applied to food production. Sometime in the seventh millennium B.C.E., people attached wooden sticks to frames that animals dragged through the soil, thus breaking it up and allowing seeds to sprout more easily. These simple scratch plows were modified over millennia to handle different types of soil and other challenges. Using plows, Neolithic people produced a significant amount of surplus food, which meant that some people in the community could spend their days performing other tasks, increasing the division of labor. Surplus food had to be stored, and some began to specialize in making products for storage, such as pots, baskets, and other kinds of containers. Others specialized in making tools, houses, and other items needed in village life, or in producing specific types of food, including alcoholic beverages made from fermented fruits and grains. Families and households became increasingly interdependent, trading food for other commodities or services. In the same way that foragers had continually improved their tools and methods, people improved the processes through which they made things. Sometime between 4000 and 3500 B.C.E. pot makers in Mesopotamia invented the potter’s wheel. Between 3500 and 3000 B.C.E. people in several parts of the world adapted wheels for use on carts and plows pulled by animals, combining wheels with axles to allow them to spin freely. Wheeled vehicles led to road building, and wheels and roads together made it possible for people and goods to travel long distances more easily, whether for settlement, trade, or conquest.

Museum purchase, Fowler McCormack, Class of 1921. Fund. Y1979-94.
Photo: Bruce M. White/Princeton University Art Museum/Art Resource, NY

Neolithic Pot, from China, ca. 2600–2300 B.C.E.
This two-handled pot, made in the Yellow River Valley of baked ceramics, is painted in a swirling red and black geometric design. Neolithic agricultural communities produced a wide array of storage containers for keeping food and other commodities from one season to the next.

Stored food was also valuable and could become a source of conflict, as could other issues in villages where people lived close together. Villagers needed more complex rules than did foragers about how food was to be distributed and how different types of work were to be valued. Certain individuals began to specialize in the determination and enforcement of these rules, and informal structures of power gradually became more formalized as elites developed. These elites then distributed resources to their own advantage, often using force to attain and maintain their power.

Neolithic Society

How did growing social and gender hierarchies and expanding networks of trade increase the complexity of human society in the Neolithic period?

The division of labor that plow agriculture allowed led to the creation of **social hierarchies**, the divisions between rich and poor, elites and common people that have been a central feature of human society since the Neolithic era. Plow agriculture also strengthened differentiation based on gender, with men becoming more associated with the world beyond the household and women with the domestic realm. Social hierarchies were reinforced over generations as children inherited goods and status from their parents. People increasingly communicated ideas within local and regional networks of exchange, just as they traded foodstuffs, tools, and other products.

social hierarchies Divisions between rich and poor, elites and common people that have been a central feature of human society since the Neolithic era.

Social Hierarchies and Slavery

Within foraging groups, some individuals already had more authority because of their links with the world of gods and spirits, positions as heads of kin groups, or personal characteristics. These three factors gave individuals advantages in agricultural societies, and the advantages became more significant over time as there were more resources to control. Priests and shamans became full-time religious specialists, exchanging their services in interceding with the gods for food. In many communities, religious specialists were the first to work out formal rules of conduct that later became oral and written codes of law. The codes often required people to accord deference to priests as the representatives of the gods, so that they became an elite group with special privileges.

Individuals who were the heads of large families or kin groups had control over the labor of others, and this power became more significant when that labor brought material goods that could be stored. Material goods — plows, sheep, cattle, sheds, pots, carts — gave one the ability to amass still more material goods, and the gap between those who had them and those who did not widened. Storage also allowed wealth to be retained over long periods of time and handed down from one family member to another, so that over generations small differences in wealth grew larger.

The ability to control the labor of others could also come from physical strength, a charismatic personality, or leadership talents, and such traits may have also led to greater wealth.

Wealth itself could command labor, as individuals or families could buy the services of others to work for them or impose their wishes through force, hiring soldiers to threaten or carry out violence. Eventually some individuals bought others outright. Slavery predates written records, but it developed in almost all agricultural societies. Like animals, slaves were a source of physical power for their owners, providing them an opportunity to amass still more wealth and influence.

Gender Hierarchies and Inheritance

Along with hierarchies based on wealth and power, the development of agriculture was intertwined with a hierarchy based on gender. The system in which men have more power and access to resources than women, and some men are dominant over other men, is called **patriarchy**. Every society in the world that has left written records has been patriarchal, but as patriarchy came before writing, we can conclude that it originated in the early Neolithic, the Paleolithic, or perhaps even in the hominid past.

patriarchy Social system in which men have more power and access to resources than women, and some men are dominant over other men.

Plow agriculture heightened patriarchy. Although farming with a hoe was often done by women, plow agriculture came to be a male task, perhaps because of men’s upper-body strength or because plow agriculture was more difficult to combine with care for infants and small children than was horticulture. At the same time that cattle began to be raised for pulling plows and carts rather than for meat, sheep began to be raised primarily for wool. Spinning thread and weaving cloth became primarily women’s work. Spinning and weaving were generally done indoors and involved simpler and cheaper tools than did plowing; they could also be taken up and put down easily, and so could be done at the same time as other tasks.

Though in some ways this arrangement seems complementary, with each sex doing some of the necessary labor, plow agriculture increased gender hierarchy. Men’s responsibility for plowing and other agricultural tasks took them outside the household more often than women’s duties did, enlarging their opportunities for leadership. This role may have led to their being favored as inheritors of family land and the right to farm communally held land. Accordingly, over generations, women’s independent access to resources decreased, and it became increasingly difficult for women to survive without male support.

As inherited wealth became more important, men wanted to make sure that their sons were theirs, so they restricted their wives’ movements and activities. This was especially the case among elite families. Among foragers and horticulturalists, women needed to be mobile for the group to survive; their labor outdoors was essential. Among agriculturalists, the labor of animals, slaves, and hired workers could substitute for that of women in families that could afford them. Thus in some Neolithic societies, there is evidence that women spent more and more of their time within the household. Social norms and ideals gradually reinforced this pattern, so that by the time written laws and other records emerged in the second millennium B.C.E., elite women were expected to work at tasks that would not take them beyond the household or away from male supervision. Non-elite women also tended to do work that could be done within or close by the household, such as cooking, cloth production, and the care of children, the elderly, and small animals.

Social and gender hierarchies were enhanced over generations as wealth was passed down unequally, and they were also enhanced by rules and norms that shaped sexual relationships, particularly heterosexual ones. However their power originated, elites began to think of themselves as a group set apart from the rest by some element that made them distinctive — such as military prowess, natural superiority, or connections with a deity. They increasingly understood this distinctive quality to be hereditary and tended to marry within their group, a social endogamy we might think of as the selective breeding of people. They developed traditions — later codified as written laws — that stipulated how such marriages would pass status and wealth to the next generation. Relationships between elite men and non-elite women generally did not function in this way, or did so to a lesser degree; the women were defined as concubines or mistresses, or simply as sexual outlets for powerful men. Relations between an elite woman and a non-elite man generally brought shame and dishonor to the woman’s family and sometimes death to the man. (Early rules and laws about sex generally did not pay much attention to same-sex relations because these did not produce children who could threaten systems of inheritance.)

No elite can be completely closed to newcomers, however, because the accidents of life and death, along with the genetic problems caused by repeated close intermarriage, make it difficult for any small group to survive over generations. Thus mechanisms were developed in many cultures to adopt boys into elite families, to legitimate the children of concubines and slave women, or to allow elite girls to marry men lower on the social hierarchy. All systems of inheritance also need some flexibility. The inheritance patterns in some cultures favored male heirs exclusively, but in others close relatives were favored over those more distant, even if this meant allowing daughters to inherit. The drive to keep wealth and property within a family or kin group often resulted in women's inheriting, owning, and in some cases managing significant amounts of wealth, a pattern that continues today. Hierarchies of wealth and power thus intersected with hierarchies of gender in complex ways.

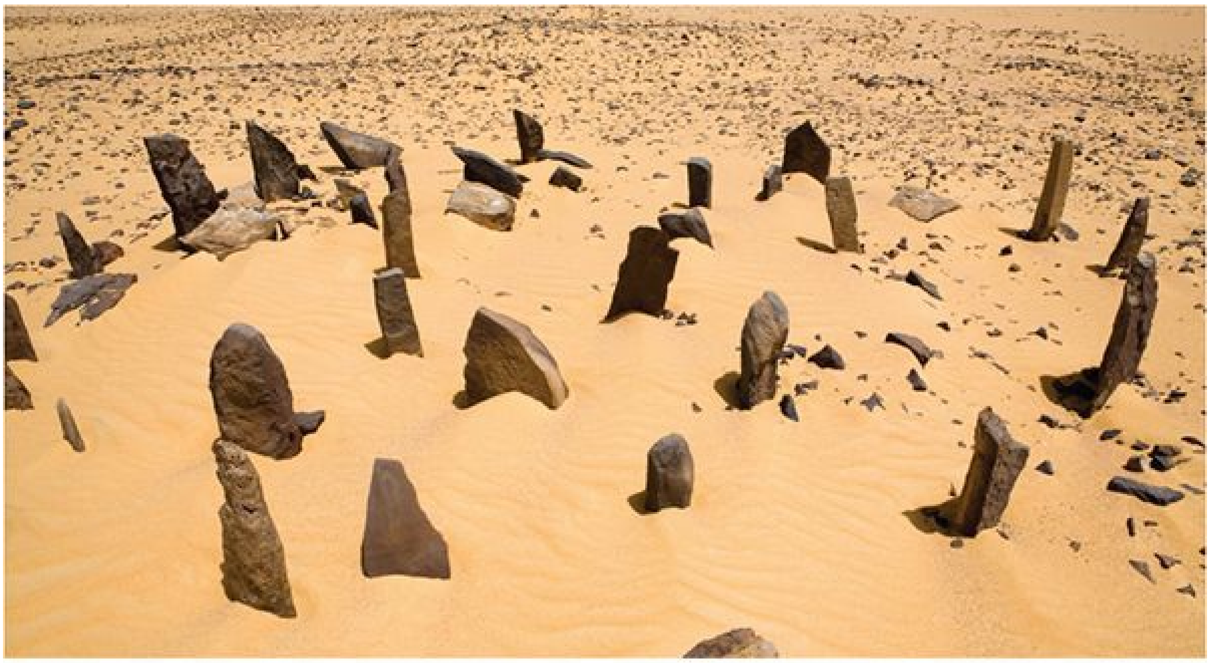
Trade and Cross-Cultural Connections

The increase in food production brought by the development of plow agriculture allowed Neolithic villages to grow ever larger. By 7000 B.C.E. or so, some villages in the Fertile Crescent may have had as many as ten thousand residents. One of the best known of these, Çatal Hüyük (cha-TAHL hoo-YOOK) in what is now modern Turkey, shows evidence of trade as well as of the specialization of labor. Çatal Hüyük's residents lived in mud-brick houses whose walls were covered in white plaster. The men and women of the town grew wheat, barley, peas, and almonds and raised sheep and perhaps cattle, though they also seem to have hunted. They made textiles, pots, figurines, baskets, carpets, copper and lead beads, and other goods. They gathered, sharpened, and polished obsidian, a volcanic rock that could be used for knives, blades, and mirrors, and then traded it with neighboring towns. From here the obsidian was exchanged still farther away, for Neolithic societies slowly developed local and then regional networks of exchange and communication.

Among the goods traded in some parts of the world was copper. Pure copper occurs close to the surface in some areas, and people, including those at Çatal Hüyük, hammered it into shapes for jewelry and tools. More often, copper, like most metals, occurs mixed with other materials in a type of rock called ore, and by about 5500 B.C.E. people in the Balkans had learned that copper could be extracted from ore by heating it in a smelting process. (See "Individuals in Society: The Iceman," page 25.) Smelting techniques were discovered independently in many places around the world, including China, Southeast Asia, West Africa, and the Andes region. Pure copper is soft, but through experimentation artisans learned that it would become harder if they mixed it with other metals such as arsenic, zinc, or tin during heating, creating an alloy called bronze.

Because it was stronger than copper, bronze had a far wider range of uses, so much so that later historians decided that its adoption marked a new period in human history, the Bronze Age. It began about 3000 B.C.E. in some places, and by about 2500 B.C.E. bronze technology was having an impact in many parts of the world, especially in weaponry. The end of the Bronze Age came with the adoption of iron technology, which also varied in its beginnings from 1200 B.C.E. to 300 B.C.E. All metals were expensive and hard to obtain, however, which meant that stone, wood, bone, leather, bark, and grasses remained important materials for tools and weapons long into the Bronze Age, and the only materials in the vast parts of the world where metals were unobtainable.

Objects were not the only things traded over increasingly long distances during the Neolithic period, for people also carried ideas as they traveled. Knowledge about the seasons and the weather was vitally important for those who depended on crop raising, and agricultural peoples in many parts of the world began to calculate recurring patterns in the world around them, slowly developing calendars. Scholars have demonstrated that people built circular structures of mounded earth or huge upright stones to help them predict the movements of the sun and stars.



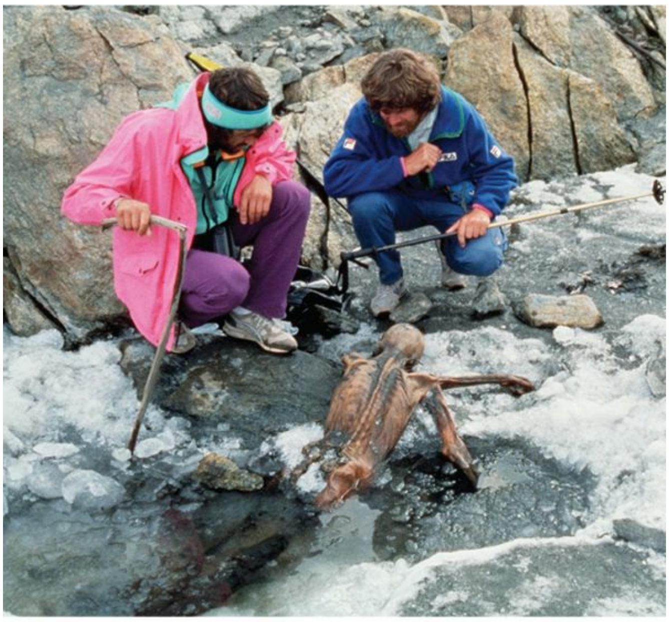
© Mike P. Shepherd/Alamy Stock Photo

Stone Circle at Nabta Playa, Egypt, ca. 4800 B.C.E. This circle of stones, erected when the Egyptian desert received much more rainfall than it does today, may have been a type of calendar marking the summer solstice. Circular arrangements of stones or ditches were constructed in many places during the Neolithic era, and most no doubt had calendrical, astronomical, and/or religious purposes.

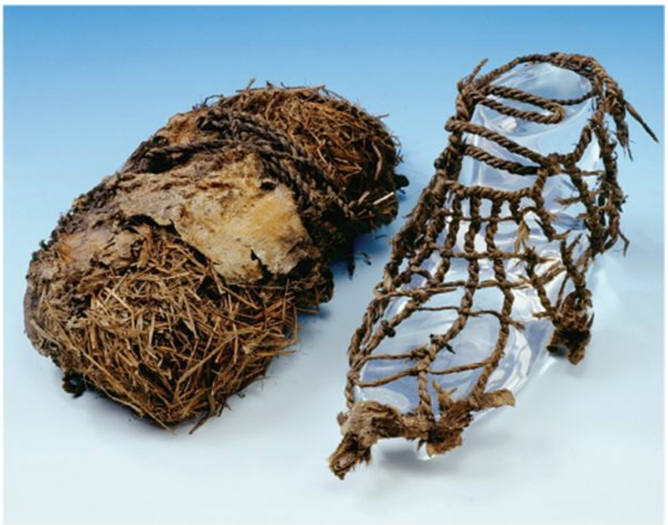
The rhythms of the agricultural cycle and patterns of exchange also shaped religious beliefs and practices. Shamans and priests developed ever more elaborate rituals designed to assure fertility, in which the gods were often given something from a community’s goods in exchange for their favor. In many places gods came to be associated with patterns of birth, growth, death, and regeneration. Like humans, the gods came to have a division of labor and a social hierarchy. Thus, as human society was becoming more complex, so was the unseen world.

INDIVIDUALS IN SOCIETY

The Iceman



Paul Hanny/Gamma-Rapho via Getty Images



South Tyrol Museum of Archaeology — www.iceman.it

The artifacts found with the body tell scientists much about how the Iceman lived. The Iceman's shoes, made with a twine framework stuffed with straw and covered with skin, indicate that he used all parts of the animals he hunted.

ON SEPTEMBER 19, 1991, TWO GERMAN VACATIONERS climbing in the Italian Alps came upon a corpse lying facedown and covered in ice. Scientists determined that the Iceman, as the corpse is generally known, died 5,300 years ago. He was between twenty-five and thirty-five years old at the time of his death, and he stood about five feet two inches tall. An autopsy revealed much about the man and his culture. The bluish tinge of his teeth showed a diet of milled grain, which proves that he came from an environment where crops were grown. The Iceman hunted as well as farmed: he was found with a bow and arrows and shoes of straw, and he wore a furry cap and a robe of animal skins that had been stitched together with thread made from grass.

The equipment discovered with the Iceman demonstrates that his people mastered several technologies. He carried a hefty copper ax, made by someone with a knowledge of metallurgy. In his quiver were numerous wooden arrow shafts and two finished arrows. The arrows had sharpened flint heads and feathers attached to the ends of the shafts with resin-like glue. Apparently the people of his culture knew the value of feathers to direct the arrow and thus had mastered the basics of ballistics. His bow was made of yew, a relatively rare wood in central Europe that is among the best for archers.

Yet a mystery still surrounds the Iceman. When his body was first discovered, scholars assumed that he was a hapless traveler overtaken in a fierce snowstorm. But the autopsy found an arrowhead lodged under his left shoulder. The Iceman was not alone on his last day. Someone was with him, and that someone had shot him from below and behind. The Iceman is the victim in the first murder mystery in Europe, and the case will never be solved.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What does the autopsy of the corpse indicate about the society in which the Iceman lived?
2. How do the objects found with the Iceman support the generalizations about Neolithic society in this chapter?

Chapter Summary

Through studying the physical remains of the past, sometimes with very new high-tech procedures such as DNA analysis, scholars have determined that human evolution involved a combination of factors, including bipedalism, larger brain size, spoken symbolic language, and longer periods of infancy. Humans invented ever more complex tools, many of which were made of stone, from which later scholars derived the name for this earliest period of human history, the Paleolithic era. These tools allowed Paleolithic peoples to shape the world around them. During this era, humans migrated out of Africa, adapting to many different environments and developing diverse cultures. Early humans lived in small groups of related individuals, moving through the landscape as foragers in the search for food.

Beginning about 9000 B.C.E. people living in southwest Asia, and then elsewhere, began to plant seeds as well as gather wild crops, raise certain animals, and selectively breed both plants and animals to make them more useful to humans. This domestication of plants and animals was the most important change in human history and marked the beginning of the Neolithic era. The domestication of large animals led to plow agriculture, through which humans could raise much more food, and the world's population grew. Plow agriculture allowed for a greater division of labor, which strengthened social hierarchies based on wealth and gender. Neolithic agricultural communities developed technologies to meet their needs and often traded with one another for products that they could not obtain locally. Religious ideas came to reflect the new agricultural society.

CONNECTIONS

The human story is often told as a narrative of unstoppable progress toward greater complexity. The small kin groups of the Paleolithic gave way to Neolithic villages that grew ever larger until they became cities. Egalitarian foragers became stratified by divisions of wealth and power that were formalized as aristocracies, castes, and social classes. Oral rituals of worship, healing, and celebration in which everyone participated grew into a dizzying array of religions, philosophies, and branches of knowledge presided over by specialists. The rest of this book traces this story and explores the changes over time that are the central thread of history.

As you examine what can seem to be a staggering number of developments, it is also important to remember that many things were slow to change and that some aspects of human life in the Neolithic, or even the Paleolithic, continued. Foraging, horticulture, pastoralism, and agriculture have been the primary economic activities of most people throughout the entire history of the world. Though today there are only a few foraging groups in very isolated areas, there are significant numbers of horticulturalists and pastoralists, and their numbers were much greater just a century ago. At that point the vast majority of the world’s people still made their living directly through agriculture. The social patterns set in early agricultural societies — with most of the population farming the land and a small number of elite who lived off their labor — lasted for millennia. You have no doubt recognized other similarities between the early peoples discussed in this chapter and the people you see around you, and it is important to keep these continuities in mind as you embark on your examination of human history.

CHAPTER 1 Review and Explore

Identify Key Terms

Identify and explain the significance of each item below.

hominids (p. 4)
Paleolithic era (p. 5)
foraging (p. 5)
Neolithic era (p. 5)
Neanderthals (p. 8)
endogamy (p. 9)
megafaunal extinction (p. 10)
division of labor (p. 10)
animism (p. 12)
shamans (p. 13)
Agricultural Revolution (p. 13)
domesticated (p. 13)
horticulture (p. 16)
pastoralism (p. 21)
social hierarchies (p. 22)
patriarchy (p. 23)

Review the Main Ideas

Answer the focus questions from each section of the chapter.

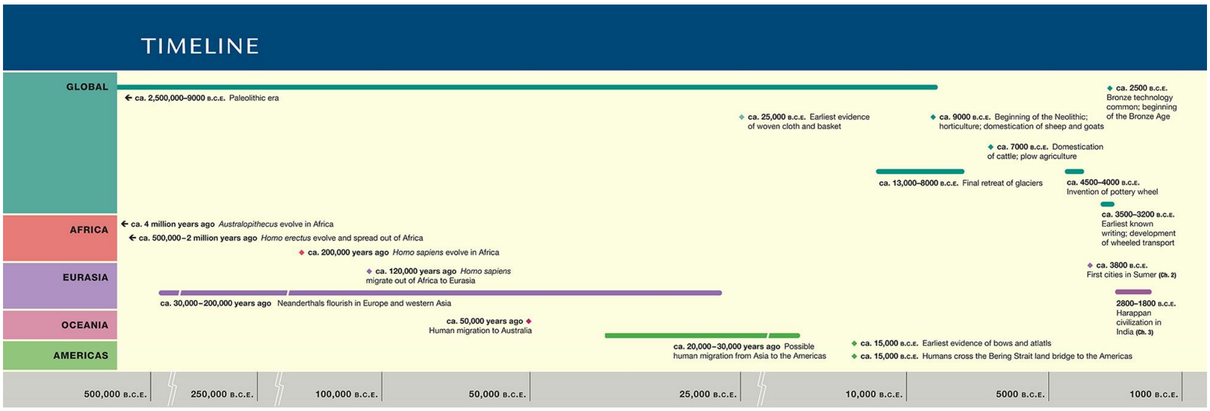
1. How did humans evolve, and where did they migrate? (p. 4)
2. What were the key features of Paleolithic society? (p. 10)
3. How did plant and animal domestication develop, and what effects did it have on human society? (p. 13)
4. How did growing social and gender hierarchies and expanding networks of trade increase the complexity of human society in the Neolithic period? (p. 22)

Make Comparisons and Connections

Analyze the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters.

1. Why is the Agricultural Revolution called the most important change in human history?
2. What continuities persisted between the Paleolithic and Neolithic eras?
3. Why and how did social hierarchies develop?

4. Along with basic ways of life such as foraging, horticulture, pastoralism, and agriculture, what other aspects of society that developed in the Neolithic do you see around you today? What might account for these continuities stretching across millennia?



Suggested Resources

Books

Christian, David. *Maps of Time: An Introduction to Big History*. 2002. An elegant examination of the story of the cosmos, from the Big Bang to today.

Diamond, Jared. *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies*, 2d ed. 2005. Extremely influential and wide-ranging examination of the long-term impact of agriculture, animal domestication, and the environment on differing rates of development around the world.

Ehrlich, Paul R., and Anne H. Ehrlich. *Dominant Animal: Human Evolution and the Environment*. 2009. By two of today's leading biologists; traces the impact of humans on the planet from the Paleolithic to today.

Fagan, Brian M. *World Prehistory: A Brief Introduction*, 8th ed. 2010. A thorough survey that presents up-to-date scholarship, designed for students.

Flannery, Kent, and Joyce Marcus. *The Creation of Inequality: How Our Prehistoric Ancestors Set the Stage for Monarchy, Slavery, and Empire*. 2012. Traces the development of hierarchies in many cultures around the world.

Gamble, Clive. *Timewalkers: The Prehistory of Global Colonization*. 2006. A lively examination of how and why humans came to be everywhere in the world.

Hawkes, Kristen, and Richard R. Paine. *The Evolution of Human Life History*. 2006. A series of articles that examine the ways in which the distinctions between humans and other animals came to be.

Hrdy, Sarah Blaffer. *Mothers and Others: The Evolutionary Origins of Human Understanding*. 2009. Provides the new, more egalitarian perspective on evolution.

Lewis-Williams, David, and David Pearce. *Inside the Neolithic Mind: Consciousness, Cosmos, and the Realm of the Gods*. 2005. An analysis of

Neolithic belief systems and the cultural products that resulted from them.

McCarter, Susan Foster. *Neolithic*. 2007. An introductory survey of the development and impact of agriculture, with many illustrations.

Pinker, Steven. *How the Mind Works*, 2d ed. 2009. An insightful examination of how the mind evolved, along with a survey of modern brain science.

Pollan, Michael. *The Omnivore's Dilemma: A Natural History of Four Meals*. 2007. A witty and thoughtful look at the way food is produced today, and how this contrasts with our foraging past.

Richerson, Peter J., and Robert Boyd. *Not by Genes Alone: How Culture Transformed Human Evolution*. 2005. Examines the role of culture in evolution, drawing on many different fields.

Stringer, Chris. *The Complete World of Human Evolution*, 2d ed. 2012. A relatively compact and nicely illustrated introduction that includes the newest archaeological and chemical evidence.

Tattersall, Ian. *Masters of the Planet: The Search for Our Human Origins.* 2012. An up-to-date survey of how humans evolved and how people have studied this, in a lively narrative written for general readers.

Documentaries

Becoming Human (*Nova*, 2011). Three-part series that examines the latest research on hominid evolution from 6 million years ago to today, using computer-generated animation and prosthetics.

Cave of Forgotten Dreams (Werner Herzog, 2010). Renowned director Werner Herzog goes inside the newly discovered Chauvet caves of southern France to film the oldest-known human artwork from around 32,000 years ago.

Decoding Neanderthals (*Nova*, 2013). One-hour documentary that presents newest genetic and archaeological evidence about Neanderthals.

The Incredible Human Journey (BBC, 2009). Five-part documentary and accompanying book that examine human migrations out of Africa; each episode examines a different continent.

Websites

Art History Resources: Prehistoric Art. This section of Art History Resources, designed and run by art historian Christopher Witcombe, contains many links to sites on prehistoric art. **arthistoryresources.net/ARTHprehistoric.html**

Becoming Human. Presented by the Institute of Human Origins at Arizona State University, this site explores human evolution with video, articles, news, and debates. **www.becominghuman.org**

Evolution. The PBS Evolution website, which complements an eight-hour television broadcast series, offers video clips from the series, simulations, animations, interactive timelines, expert commentary, and primary sources. **www.pbs.org/wgbh/evolution/**

2

Complex Societies in Southwest Asia and the Nile Valley

3800–500 B.C.E.

Louvre, Paris, France/Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY

Persian Archers

In this colorful decorative frieze made of glazed brick, men wearing long Persian robes and laced ankle boots carry spears, bows, and quivers. This reconstruction in the Louvre Museum in Paris was made from material found in the palace of King Darius I of Persia in Susa, built about 510 B.C.E. Enough bricks were found there to suggest that there were originally many archers, perhaps representing Darius's royal guards or symbolizing the entire Persian people.

Five thousand years ago, humans were living in most parts of the planet. They had designed technologies to meet the challenges presented by deep forests and jungles, steep mountains, and blistering deserts. As the climate changed, they adapted, building boats to cross channels created by melting glaciers and finding new sources of food when old sources were no longer plentiful. In some places the new sources included domesticated plants and animals, which allowed people to live in much closer proximity to one another than they had as foragers.

That proximity created opportunities, as larger groups of people pooled their knowledge to deal with life's challenges, but it also created problems. Human history from that point on can be seen as a response to these opportunities, challenges, and conflicts. As small villages grew into cities, people continued to develop technologies and systems to handle new issues. To control their more complex societies, people created governments, militaries, and taxation systems. In some places they invented writing to record taxes, inventories, and payments, and they later put writing to other uses. The first places where these new technologies and systems were introduced were the Tigris and Euphrates River Valleys of southwest Asia and the Nile Valley of northeast Africa, areas whose histories became linked through trade, military conquests, and migrations.

CHAPTER PREVIEW

WRITING, CITIES, AND STATES

How does writing shape what we can know about the past, and how did writing develop to meet the needs of cities and states?

MESOPOTAMIA FROM SUMER TO BABYLON

How did the peoples of Mesopotamia form states and develop new technologies and institutions?

THE EGYPTIANS
How did the Egyptians create a prosperous and long-lasting society?

THE HEBREWS
How did the Hebrews create an enduring written religious tradition?

THE ASSYRIANS AND THE PERSIANS
How did the Assyrians and the Persians consolidate their power and control the subjects of their empires?

Writing, Cities, and States

How does writing shape what we can know about the past, and how did writing develop to meet the needs of cities and states?

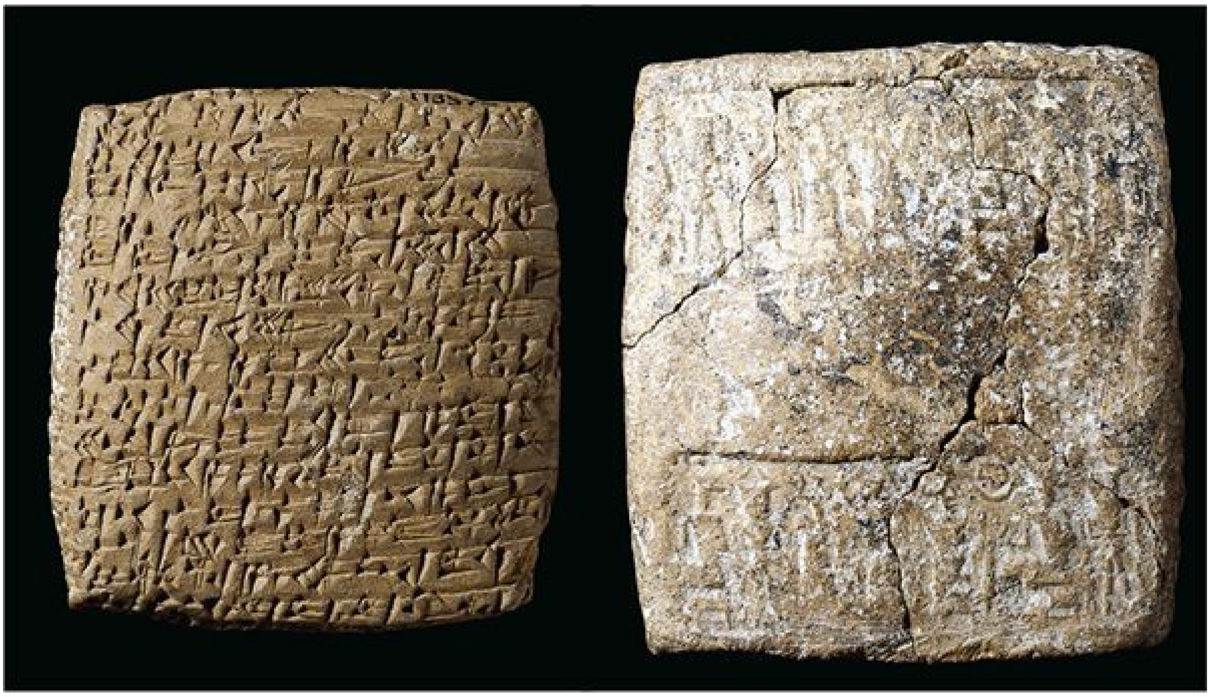
The remains of buildings, burial sites, weapons, tools, artwork, and other handmade objects provide our only evidence of how people lived, thought, felt, and died during most of the human past. Beginning about 5,000 years ago, however, people in some parts of the world developed a new technology, writing. Writing developed to meet the needs of more complex urban societies that are often referred to as “civilizations.” In particular, writing met the needs of the state, a new political form that developed during the time covered in this chapter.

Written Sources and the Human Past

Historians who study human societies that developed systems of writing continue to use many of the same types of physical evidence as do those who study societies without writing. For some cultures, the writing or record-keeping systems have not yet been deciphered, so our knowledge of these people also depends largely on physical evidence. Scholars can read the writing of a great many societies, however, adding greatly to what we can learn about them.

Much ancient writing survives only because it was copied and recopied, sometimes years after it was first produced. The survival of a work means that someone from a later period — and often a long chain of someones — judged it worthy of the time, effort, and resources needed to produce copies. The copies may not be completely accurate. Historians studying ancient works thus often try to find as many early copies as they can and compare them to arrive at the version they think is closest to the original.

The works considered worthy of copying tend to be those that are about the political and military events involving major powers, those that record religious traditions, or those that come from authors who were later regarded as important. By contrast, written sources dealing with the daily life of ordinary men and women were few to begin with and were rarely saved or copied because they were not considered significant.



© The Trustees of the British Museum/Art Resource, NY

Clay Letter Written in Cuneiform and Its Envelope, ca. 1850 B.C.E. In this letter from a city in Anatolia, located on the northern edge of the Fertile Crescent in what is now southern Turkey, a Mesopotamian merchant complains to his brother at home, hundreds of miles away, that life is hard and comments on the trade in silver, gold, tin, and textiles. Correspondents often enclosed letters in clay envelopes and sealed them by rolling a cylinder seal across the clay, leaving the impression of a scene, just as you might use a stamped wax seal today. Here the very faint impression of the sender's seal at the bottom shows a person, probably the owner of the seal, being led in a procession toward a king or god.

Some early written texts survive in their original form because people inscribed them in stone, shells, bone, or other hard materials, intending them to be permanent. Stones with inscriptions were often erected in the open in public places for all to see, so they include text that leaders felt had enduring importance, such as laws, religious proclamations, decrees, and treaties. (The names etched in granite on the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, D.C., are perhaps the best-known modern example, but inscriptions can be found on nearly every major public building.) Sometimes this permanence was accidental: in ancient Mesopotamia (in the area of modern Iraq), all writing was initially made up of indentations on soft clay tablets, which then hardened. Hundreds of thousands of these tablets have survived, the oldest written in cuneiform (see "Writing, Mathematics, and Poetry") and dating to about 3200 B.C.E. From these written records historians have learned about many aspects of everyday life. By contrast, writing in Egypt at the same time was often done in ink on papyrus sheets, made from a plant that grows abundantly in Egypt. Some of these papyrus sheets have survived, but papyrus is much more fragile than hardened clay, so most have disintegrated. In China, the oldest surviving writing is on bones and turtle shells from about 1200 B.C.E., but it is clear that writing was done much earlier on less permanent materials such as silk and bamboo. (For more on the origins of Chinese writing, see “The Development of Writing” in Chapter 4.)

Cities and the Idea of Civilization

Along with writing, the growth of cities has often been a way that scholars mark the increasing complexity of human societies. In the ancient world, residents of cities generally viewed themselves as more advanced and sophisticated than rural folk — a judgment still made today by urban dwellers. They saw themselves as more “civilized,” a word that comes from the Latin adjective *civilis*, which refers to either a citizen of a town or of a larger political unit such as an empire.

This depiction of people as either civilized or uncivilized was gradually extended to whole societies. Beginning in the eighteenth century European scholars described those societies in which political, economic, and social organizations operated on a large scale as “civilizations.” Civilizations had cities; laws that governed human relationships; codes of manners and social conduct that regulated how people were to behave; and scientific, philosophical, and theological ideas that explained the larger world. Generally only societies that used writing were judged to be civilizations.

Until the middle of the twentieth century, historians often referred to the earliest places where writing and cities developed as the “cradles of civilization,” proposing a model of development for all humanity patterned on that of an individual person. However, the idea that all human societies developed (or should develop) in a uniform process from a “cradle” to a “mature” civilization has now been largely discredited, and some world historians choose not to use the word *civilization* at all because it could imply that some societies are superior to others. But they have not rejected the idea that about 5,000 years ago a new form of human society appeared.

The Rise of States, Laws, and Social Hierarchies

Cities concentrated people and power, and they required more elaborate mechanisms to make them work than had small agricultural villages and foraging groups. These mechanisms were part of what political scientists call “the state,” an organization in which a share of the population is able to coerce resources out of everyone else in order to gain and then maintain power. In the earliest states, the interest that gained power was often one particular family or kin group, a set of religious leaders, or even a charismatic or talented individual able to handle the problems of dense urban communities. These same types of states continue to today as monarchies, theocracies, and dictatorships, joined by types of states that developed more recently, such as democracies, in which power is understood to reside in “the people.”

However they were and are established, states coerce people through violence, or the threat of violence, and develop armies and police forces for this purpose; even in democracies, people can be forced to do things they do not want to do with the threat of imprisonment or other punishment. Using armed force to gain resources is not very efficient, however, so states developed other ways to do this, such as bureaucracies and systems of taxation. States also need to keep track of people and goods, so they sometimes developed systems of recording information and accounting, usually through writing, though not always. In the Inca Empire of the Andes, for example, information about money, goods, and people was recorded on collections of colored knotted strings called *khipus* (see “Societies of the Americas in a Global Context” in Chapter 11). These systems allowed for the creation of more elaborate rules of behavior, often written down in the form of law codes, which facilitated further growth in state power, or in the form of religious traditions, which specified what sort of behavior is pleasing to the gods or other supernatural forces and thus convinced people to act in certain ways.

Written laws and traditions generally create more elaborate social hierarchies, in which divisions between elite groups and common people are established more firmly. They also generally heighten gender hierarchies. Those who gain power in states are most often men, so they tend to establish laws and norms that favor males in marriage, property rights, and other areas.

Whether we choose to call the process “the birth of civilization,” or “the development of complex society,” or “the growth of the state,” in the fourth millennium B.C.E. Neolithic agricultural villages expanded into cities that depended largely on food produced by the surrounding countryside while people living in cities carried out other tasks. The organization of a more complex division of labor was undertaken by an elite group, which enforced its will through laws, taxes, and bureaucracies backed up by armed force or the threat of it. Social and gender hierarchies became more complex and rigid. All this happened first in Mesopotamia, then in Egypt, and then in India and China.

Mesopotamia from Sumer to Babylon

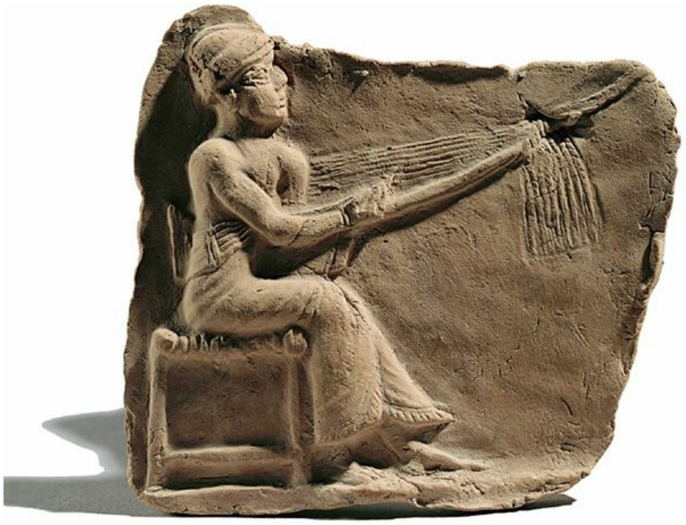
How did the peoples of Mesopotamia form states and develop new technologies and institutions?

States first developed in Mesopotamia, where sustained agriculture reliant on irrigation from the Euphrates (you-FRAY-teez) and Tigris Rivers resulted in larger populations, a division of labor, and the growth of cities. Priests and rulers developed ways to control and organize these complex societies. Conquerors from the north unified Mesopotamian city-states into larger empires and spread Mesopotamian culture over a large area.

Environmental Challenges, Irrigation, and Religion

Mesopotamia was part of the Fertile Crescent, where settled agriculture first developed (see “The Development of Horticulture” in Chapter 1). The earliest agricultural villages in Mesopotamia were in the northern, hilly parts of the river valleys, where there is abundant rainfall for crops. Farmers had brought techniques of crop raising southward by about 5000 B.C.E., to the southern part of Mesopotamia known as Sumer (SOO-mer). In this arid climate farmers developed large-scale irrigation, which required organized group effort but allowed the population to grow. By about 3800 B.C.E. one of these agricultural villages, Uruk (OO-rook), had expanded significantly, becoming what many historians view as the world’s first city. Over the next thousand years, other cities emerged in Sumer, trading with one another and creating massive hydraulic projects including reservoirs, dams, and dikes to prevent major floods. These cities built defensive walls, marketplaces, and large public buildings; each came to dominate the surrounding countryside, becoming city-states independent from one another, though not very far apart.

The city-states of Sumer relied on irrigation systems that required cooperation and at least some level of social and political cohesion. The authority to run this system was, it seems, initially assumed by Sumerian priests. Encouraged and directed by their religious leaders, people built temples on tall platforms in the center of their cities. Temples grew into elaborate complexes of buildings with storage space for grain and other products and housing for animals. (Much later, by about 2100 B.C.E., some of the major temple complexes were embellished with a huge stepped pyramid, called a ziggurat, with a shrine on the top.) Surrounding the temple and other large buildings were the houses of ordinary citizens, each constructed around a central courtyard.



Louvre, Paris, France/Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY

Sumerian Harpist This small clay tablet, carved between 2000 B.C.E. and 1500 B.C.E., shows a seated woman playing a harp. Her fashionable dress and hat suggest that she is playing for wealthy people, perhaps at the royal court. Images of musicians are common in Mesopotamian art, which indicates that music was important in Mesopotamian culture and social life.

To Sumerians, and to later peoples in Mesopotamia as well, many different gods and goddesses controlled the world, a religious idea later scholars called **polytheism**. Each deity represented cosmic forces such as the sun, moon, water, and storms. The gods judged good and evil and would punish humans who lied or cheated. People believed that humans had been created to serve the gods and generally anticipated being well treated by the gods if they honored them through rituals and temples.

polytheism The worship of many gods and goddesses.

Sumerian Politics and Society

Exactly how kings emerged in Sumerian society is not clear. Scholars have suggested that during times of crisis a chief priest or sometimes a military leader assumed what was supposed to be temporary authority over a city. He established an army, trained it, and led it into battle. Temporary power gradually became permanent kingship, and kings in some Sumerian city-states began to hand down the kingship to their sons, establishing patriarchal hereditary dynasties in which power was handed down through the male line. The symbol of royal status was the palace, which came to rival the temple in its grandeur.

Kings made alliances with other powerful individuals, often through marriage. Royal family members were responsible for many aspects of government. Kings worked closely with religious authorities and relied on ideas about their connections with the gods, as well as the kings' military might, for their power. Royal children, both sons and daughters, were sometimes priests and priestesses in major temples. Acting together, priests, nobles, and kings in Sumerian cities used force, persuasion, and threats of higher taxes to maintain order, keep the irrigation systems working, and keep food and other goods flowing.

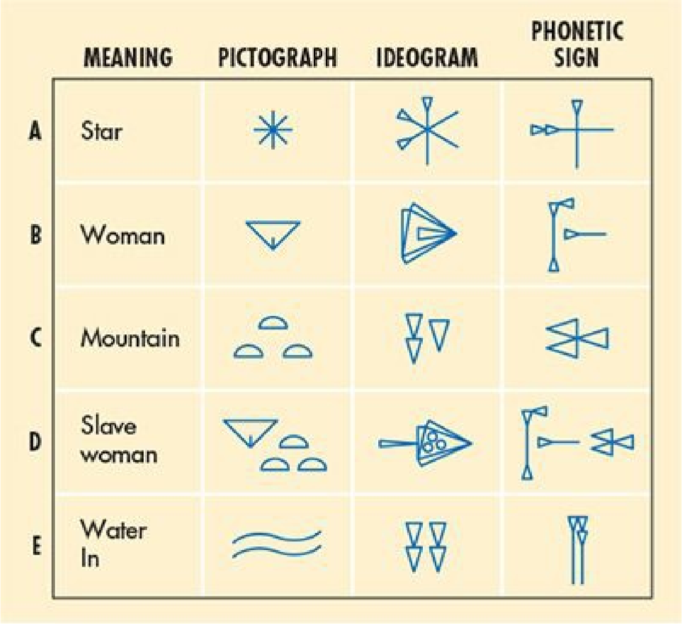
The king and the nobles held extensive tracts of land, as did the temple; these lands were worked by the palace's or the temple's clients — free men and women who were dependent on the palace or the temple. They received crops and other goods in return for their labor. Although this arrangement assured the clients of a livelihood, the land they worked remained the possession of the palace or the temple. Some individuals and families owned land outright and paid their taxes in the form of agricultural products or items they made. At the bottom rung of society were slaves. Like animals, slaves were a source of physical power for their owners, providing them an opportunity to amass more wealth and influence.

Each of these social categories included both men and women, but their experiences were not the same, for Sumerian society made distinctions based on gender. Most elite landowners were male, but women who held positions as priestesses or as queens ran their own estates independently of their husbands and fathers. Some women owned businesses and took care of their own accounts. They could own property and distribute it to their offspring. Sons and daughters inherited from their parents, although a daughter received her inheritance in the form of a dowry, which technically remained hers but was managed by her husband or husband's family after marriage. The Sumerians established the basic social, economic, and intellectual patterns of Mesopotamia and influenced their neighbors to the north and east.

Writing, Mathematics, and Poetry

The origins of writing probably date back to the ninth millennium B.C.E., when people in southwest Asia used clay tokens as counters for record keeping. By the fourth millennium people had realized that impressing the tokens on soft clay, or drawing pictures of the tokens on clay, was simpler than making tokens. This breakthrough in turn suggested that more information could be conveyed by adding pictures of other objects, and slowly the new technology of writing developed. The result was a complex system of pictographs in which each sign pictured an object, such as “star” (line A of Figure 2.1). These pictographs were the forerunners of the Sumerian form of writing known as **cuneiform** (kyou-NEE-uh-form), for which the first surviving examples date from about 3200 B.C.E.

cuneiform Sumerian form of writing; the term describes the wedge-shaped marks made by a stylus.



Source: Information from S. N. Kramer, *The Sumerians: Their History, Culture, and Character* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963]

Figure 2.1 Sumerian Writing

Pictographs were initially limited in that they could not represent abstract ideas, but the development of ideograms — signs that represented ideas — made writing more versatile. Thus the sign for “star” could also be used to indicate “heaven,” “sky,” or even “god.” The real breakthrough came when scribes started using signs to represent sounds. For instance, the symbol for “water” (two parallel wavy lines) could also be used to indicate “in,” which sounded the same as the spoken word for “water” in Sumerian.

The development of the Sumerian system of writing was piecemeal, with scribes making changes and additions as they were needed. The system became so complicated that the Sumerians established scribal schools, which by 2500 B.C.E. flourished throughout the region. Students at the schools were all male, and most came from families in the middle range of urban society. Scribal schools were primarily intended to produce individuals who could keep records of the property of temple officials, kings, and nobles. Thus writing first developed as a way to enhance the growing power of elites, not to record speech.

Sumerians wrote numbers as well as words on clay tablets, and some surviving tablets show multiplication and division problems. The Sumerians and later Mesopotamians made significant advances in mathematics using a numerical system based on units of sixty, ten, and six, from which we derive our division of hours into sixty minutes and minutes into sixty seconds. They also developed the concept of place value — that the value of a number depends on where it stands in relation to other numbers.

Written texts were not an important part of Sumerian religious life, nor were they central to the religious practices of most of the other peoples in this region. Stories about the gods circulated orally and traveled with people when they moved up and down the rivers. Sumerians also told stories about heroes and kings, many of which were eventually reworked into the world’s first **epic poem**, the *Epic of Gilgamesh* (GIL-guh-mesh), which was later written down. (See “Analyzing the Evidence: Gilgamesh’s Quest for Immortality,”.)

epic poem An oral or written narration of the achievements and sometimes the failures of heroes that embodies peoples’ ideas about themselves.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

Gilgamesh's Quest for Immortality

The human desire to escape the grip of death appears in many cultures. The *Epic of Gilgamesh* is perhaps the earliest recorded treatment of this topic. The oldest elements of the epic go back to stories told in the third millennium B.C.E. According to tradition, Gilgamesh was a king of the Sumerian city of Uruk. In the story, Gilgamesh is not fulfilling his duties as the king very well and sets out with his friend Enkidu to perform wondrous feats against fearsome agents of the gods. Together they kill several supernatural beings, and the gods decide that Enkidu must die. He foresees his own death in a dream.

Listen again, my friend [Gilgamesh]! I had a dream in the night.
The sky called out, the earth replied,
I was standing in between them.
There was a young man, whose face was obscured.
His face was like that of an Anzu-bird.
He had the paws of a lion, he had the claws of an eagle.
He seized me by my locks, using great force against me….
He seized me, drove me down to the dark house, dwelling of Erkalla's god [the underworld], …
On the road where travelling is one way only,
To the house where those who stay are deprived of light….

[Enkidu sickens and dies. Gilgamesh is distraught and determined to become immortal. He decides to journey to Ut-napishtim and his wife, the only humans who have eternal life. Everyone he meets along the way asks him about his appearance, and Gilgamesh always answers with the same words.]

How could my cheeks not be wasted, nor my face dejected,
Nor my heart wretched, nor my appearance worn out,
Nor grief in my innermost being,
Nor my face like that of a long-distance traveller,
Nor my face weathered by wind and heat
Nor roaming open country clad only in a lionskin?
My friend was the hunted mule, wild ass of the mountain, leopard of open country,
Enkidu my friend was the hunted mule, wild ass of the mountain, leopard of open country.
We who met, and scaled the mountain,
Seized the Bull of Heaven [the sacred bull of the goddess Ishtar] and slew it,
Demolished Humbaba [the ogre who guards the forest of the gods] who dwelt in the Pine Forest,
Killed lions in the passes of the mountains,

My friend whom I love so much, who experienced every hardship with me,
Enkidu my friend whom I love so much, who experienced every hardship with me —
The fate of mortals conquered him!
For six days and seven nights I wept over him: I did not allow him to be buried
Until a worm fell out of his nose.
I was frightened and
I am afraid of Death, and so I roam open country.
The words of my friend weigh upon me….
I roam open country on long journeys.
How, O how could I stay silent, how, O how could I keep quiet?
My friend whom I love has turned to clay: Enkidu my friend whom I love has turned to clay.
Am I not like him? Must I lie down too,
Never to rise, ever again?

[Gilgamesh finally reaches Ut-napishtim, to whom he tells his story, and who says to him:]

Why do you prolong grief, Gilgamesh?
Since [the gods made you] from the flesh of gods and mankind,
Since [the gods] made you like your father and mother
[Death is inevitable] …,
Nobody sees the face of Death,
Nobody hears the voice of Death.
Savage Death just cuts mankind down.
Sometimes we build a house, sometimes we make a nest,
But then brothers divide it upon inheritance.
Sometimes there is hostility in [the land],
But then the river rises and brings flood-water….
The Anunnaki, the great gods, assembled;
Mammitum [the great mother goddess] who creates fate decreed destinies with them.
They appointed death and life.
They did not mark out days for death,
But they did so for life.

[Gilgamesh asks Ut-napishtim how he and his wife can be immortal like the gods, if death is inevitable. Ut-napishtim tells him the story of how they survived a flood sent by the gods and the chief god Enlil blessed them with eternal life. Gilgamesh wants this as well, but fails two opportunities Ut-napishtim provides for him to achieve it. At the end of the epic, he simply returns to Uruk with the boatman Ur-shanabi, to whom he points out the glories of the city.]

Go up on to the wall of Uruk, Ur-shanabi, and walk around,

Inspect the foundation platform and scrutinize the brickwork! Testify that its bricks are baked bricks,
And that the Seven Counsellors must have laid its foundations!
One square mile is city, one square mile is orchards, one square mile is claypits, as well as the open ground of Ishtar’s temple.
Three square miles and the open ground comprise Uruk.

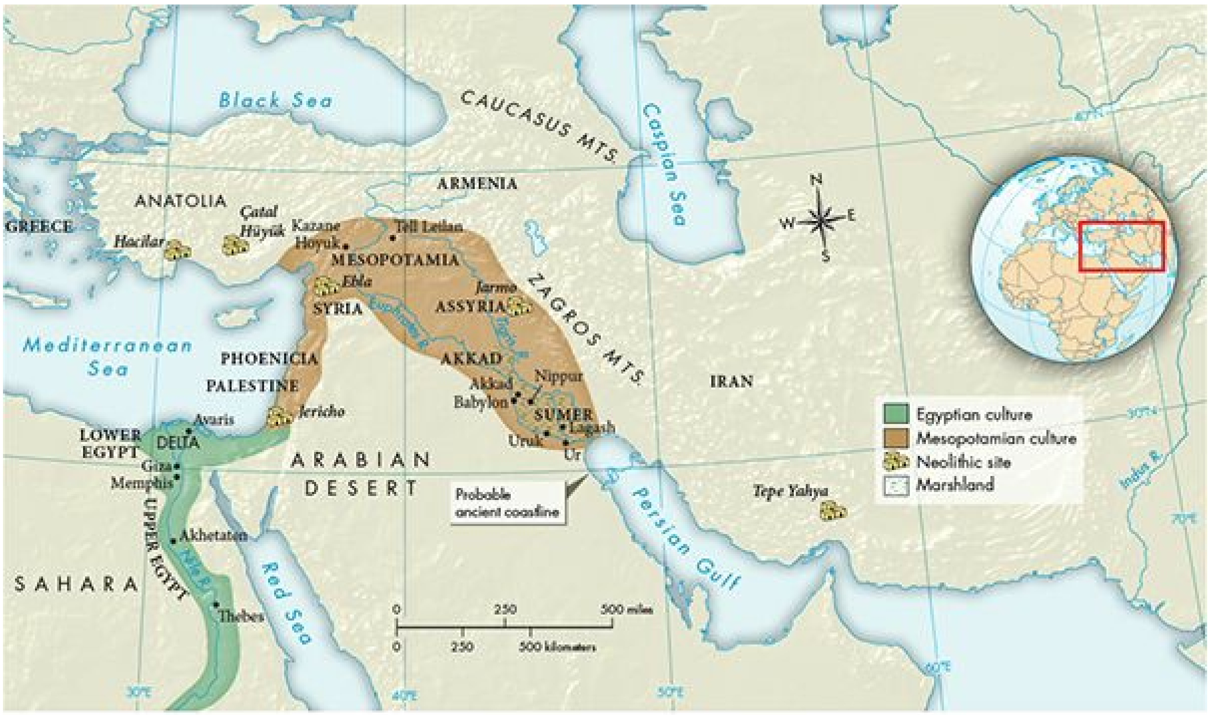
QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What does the *Epic of Gilgamesh* reveal about attitudes toward friendship in ancient Mesopotamia?
2. What does the epic tell us about views of the nature of human life? Where do human beings fit into the cosmic world?
3. Although Gilgamesh did not achieve personal immortality at the end of his quest, how can his final words to Ur-shanabi be seen as a tribute to long-lasting human endeavors?

Source: *Myths from Mesopotamia: Creation, the Flood, Gilgamesh, and Others,* trans. Stephanie Dalley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 88–89, 103–104, 107, 108–109, 120. Used by permission of Oxford University Press.

Empires in Mesopotamia

The wealth of Sumerian cities also attracted conquerors from the north. Around 2300 B.C.E. Sargon, the king of a region to the north of Sumer, conquered a number of Sumerian cities with what was probably the world’s first permanent army and created a large state. The symbol of his triumph was a new capital, the city of Akkad (AH-kahd). Sargon also expanded the newly established Akkadian empire westward to northern Syria, which became the breadbasket of the empire. He encouraged trading networks that brought in goods from as far away as the Indus River in South Asia and what is now Turkey (Map 2.1). Sargon spoke a different language than did the Sumerians, one of the many languages that scholars identify as belonging to the Semitic language family, which includes modern-day Hebrew and Arabic. Akkadians adapted cuneiform writing to their own language, and Akkadian became the diplomatic language used over a wide area.

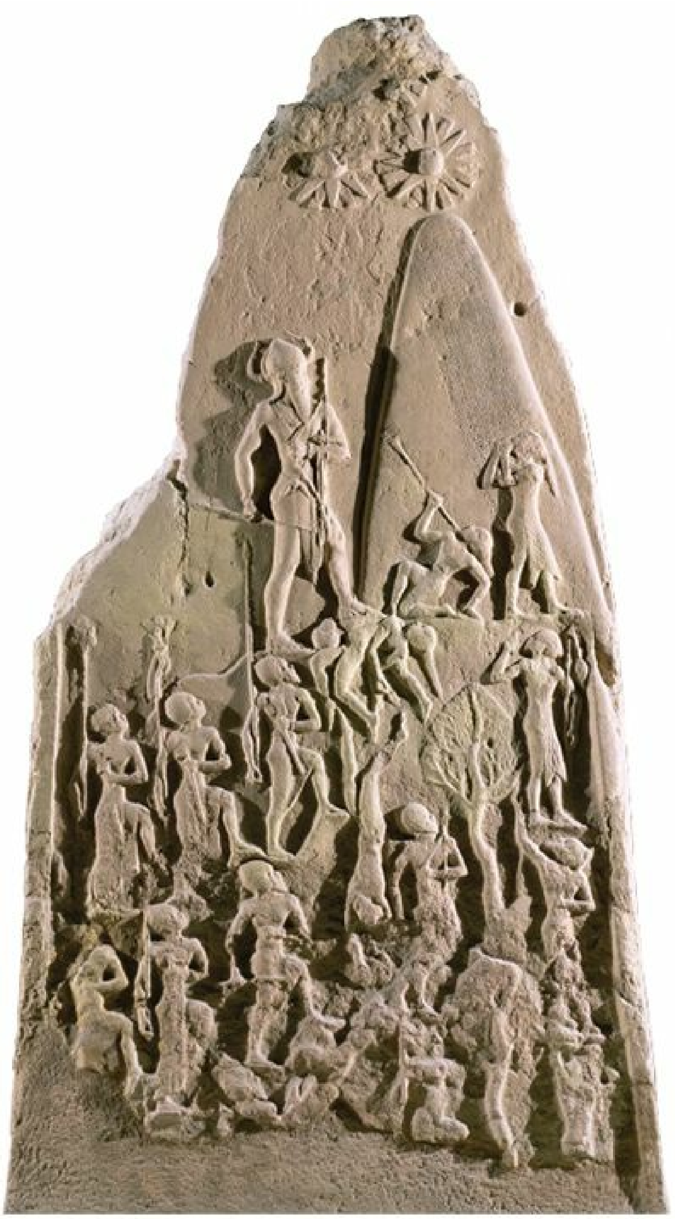

Black Sea
CAUCASUS MTS.
Caspian Sea
ARMENIA
ANATOLIA
GREECE
Hacilar
Çatal Hüyük
Kazane Hoyuk
Tell Leilan
MESOPOTAMIA
Ebla
SYRIA
Jarmo
ASSYRIA
ZAGROS MTS.
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Mediterranean Sea
PHOENICIA
PALESTINE
AKKAD
Akkad
Nippur
Babylon
SUMER
Lagash
Uruk
Ur
IRAN
Jericho
Avaris
LOWER EGYPT
DELTA
Giza
Memphis
ARABIAN DESERT
Probable ancient coastline
Persian Gulf
Tepe Yahya
UPPER EGYPT
Akhetaten
Nile R.
Red Sea
Thebes
SAHARA
0
250
500 miles
0
250
500 kilometers
N
E
S
W
Egyptian culture
Mesopotamian culture
Neolithic site
Marshland
Indus R.
30°E
40°E
50°E
60°E
70°E
30°N
40°N

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin’s

MAP 2.1 **Spread of Cultures in Southwest Asia and the Nile Valley, ca. 3000–1640 B.C.E.** This map illustrates the spread of the Mesopotamian and Egyptian cultures through the semicircular stretch of land often called the Fertile Crescent. From this area, the knowledge and use of agriculture spread throughout western Asia, northern Africa, and Europe.

Sargon tore down the defensive walls of Sumerian cities and appointed his own sons as their rulers to help him cement his power. He also appointed his daughter, Enheduana (en-hoo-DWANN-ah) (2285–2250 B.C.E.), as high priestess in the city of Ur. Here she wrote a number of hymns, becoming the world's first author to put her name to a literary composition. (See "Thinking Like a Historian: Addressing the Gods," page 40.)

Sargon's dynasty appears to have ruled Mesopotamia for about 150 years, and then collapsed, in part because of a period of extended drought. Various city-states then rose to power, one of which was centered on the city of Babylon. Babylon was in an excellent position to dominate trade on both the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers, and it was fortunate in having a very able ruler in Hammurabi (hahm-moo-RAH-bee) (r. 1792–1750 B.C.E.). Initially a typical king of his era, he unified Mesopotamia later in his reign by using military force, strategic alliances with the rulers of smaller territories, and religious ideas. As had earlier rulers, Hammurabi linked his success with the will of the gods. He connected himself with the sun-god Shamash, the god of law and justice, and encouraged the spread of myths that explained how Marduk, the primary god of Babylon, had been elected king of the gods by the other deities in Mesopotamia. Babylonian ideas and beliefs thus became part of the cultural mixture of Mesopotamia, which spread far beyond the Tigris and Euphrates Valleys to the shores of the Mediterranean Sea and the Harappan cities of the Indus River Valley (see "The Land and Its First Settlers, ca. 3000–1500 B.C.E." in Chapter 3).



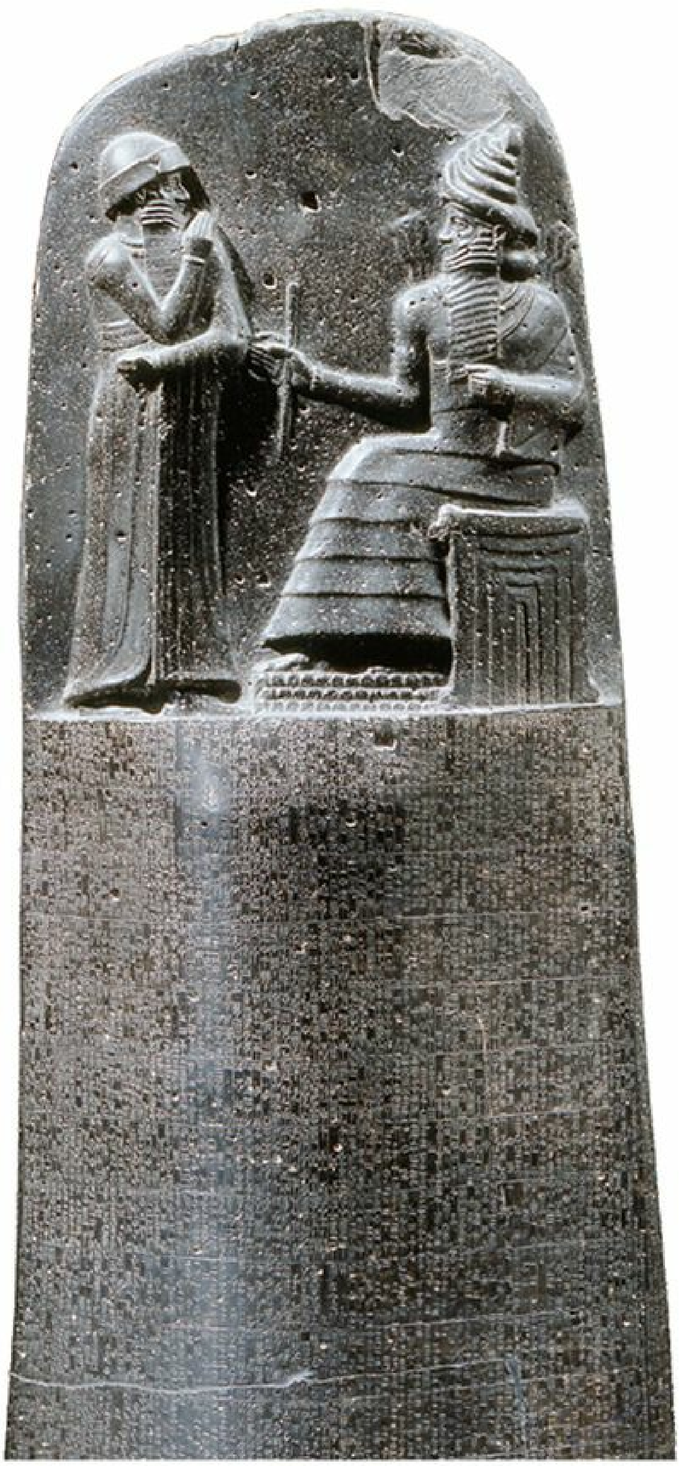
Louvre, Paris, France/Bridgeman Images

Victory Stele of Naram-Sin, King of Akkad On this victory stele carved from sandstone about 2320 B.C.E., King Naram-Sin, Sargon’s grandson, climbs a mountain above his soldiers and defeated enemies. Naram-Sin, under whose rule Akkad reached its largest size, is shown here as a god-king in a horned helmet, twice the size of the other men.

Life Under Hammurabi

Hammurabi’s most memorable accomplishment was the proclamation of an extensive law code, introduced about 1755 B.C.E. **Hammurabi’s law code** set a variety of punishments for breaking the law, including fines and physical punishment such as mutilation, whipping, and burning. It demanded that the punishment fit the crime, calling for “an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth,” at least among social equals, although higher-ranking people could pay a fine to lower-ranking victims instead of having an arm broken or losing an eye.

Hammurabi’s law code A proclamation issued by Babylonian king Hammurabi to establish laws regulating many aspects of life.



Louvre, Paris, France/© RMN–Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY

Law Code of Hammurabi Hammurabi ordered his code to be inscribed on stone pillars and set up in public throughout the Babylonian empire. At the top of the pillar Hammurabi (left) is depicted receiving the rod and ring of authority from Shamash, the god of law and justice.

Hammurabi's code provides a wealth of information about daily life in Mesopotamia, although, like all law codes, it prescribes what the lawgivers hope will be the situation rather than providing a description of real life. We cannot know if its laws were enforced, but we can use it to see what was significant to people in Hammurabi’s society. Because of farming’s fundamental importance, the code dealt extensively with agriculture. Tenants faced severe penalties for neglecting the land or not working it at all. The code also regulated other trades, and artisans had to guarantee the quality of their goods and services to consumers. Hammurabi gave careful attention to marriage and the family. As elsewhere in the area, marriage had aspects of a business agreement. The groom or his father offered the prospective bride’s father a gift, and if this was acceptable, the bride’s father provided his daughter with a dowry, which technically remained hers. A father could not disinherit a son without just cause, and the code ordered the courts to forgive a son for his first offense. On family matters and other issues, Hammurabi’s code influenced other law codes, including those later written down in Hebrew Scripture (see “The Jewish Religion”).

The Egyptians

How did the Egyptians create a prosperous and long-lasting society?

At about the same time that Sumerian city-states expanded and fought with one another in the Tigris and Euphrates Valleys, a more cohesive state under a single ruler grew in the valley of the Nile River in North Africa. This was Egypt, which for long stretches of history was prosperous and secure. At various times groups invaded and conquered Egypt or migrated into Egypt seeking better lives. Often these newcomers adopted aspects of Egyptian culture, and Egyptians also carried their traditions with them when they established an empire and engaged in trade.

The Nile and the God-King

No other single geographical factor had such a fundamental and profound impact on Egyptian life, society, and history as the Nile River (see Map 2.2). The Nile flooded once a year for a period of several months, bringing fertile soil and moisture for farming. Through the fertility of the Nile and their own hard work, Egyptians produced an annual agricultural surplus, which in turn sustained a growing and prosperous population. The Nile also unified Egypt, serving as a highway that promoted easy communication.

PERIODS OF EGYPTIAN HISTORY

PERIOD	DATES	SIGNIFICANT EVENTS
Archaic	3100–2660 B.C.E.	Unification of Egypt
Old Kingdom	2660–2180 B.C.E.	Construction of the pyramids
First Intermediate	2180–2080 B.C.E.	Political chaos
Middle Kingdom	2080–1640 B.C.E.	Recovery and political stability
Second Intermediate	1640–1570 B.C.E.	Instability resulting from struggles for power and Hyksos migrations
New Kingdom	1570–1070 B.C.E.	Creation of an Egyptian empire; growth in wealth
Third	1100–653	Political fragmentation and conquest by

Intermediate	B.C.E.	outsiders

The political power structures that developed in Egypt came to be linked with the Nile. Somehow the idea developed that a single individual, a king, was responsible for the rise and fall of the Nile. The king came to be viewed as a descendant of the gods and thus a god himself. This belief came about before the development of writing in Egypt, so the precise details of its origins have been lost. Political unification most likely proceeded slowly, but stories told about early kings highlighted one who had united Upper Egypt (the upstream valley in the south) and Lower Egypt (the delta area of the Nile that empties into the Mediterranean Sea) into a single kingdom around 3100 B.C.E. Historians later divided Egyptian history into dynasties, or families, of kings, and more recently into periods with distinctive characteristics (see the chronology "Periods of Egyptian History"). The political unification of Egypt in the Archaic Period (3100–2660 B.C.E.) ushered in the period known as the Old Kingdom (2660–2180 B.C.E.).

The focal point of religious and political life in the Old Kingdom was the king, who commanded the wealth, resources, and people of Egypt. The king's surroundings had to be worthy of a god, and only a magnificent palace was suitable for his home; in fact, the word **pharaoh**, which during the New Kingdom (1570–1070 B.C.E.) came to be used for the king, originally meant "great house." Just as the kings occupied a great house in life, so they reposed in great pyramids after death. Built during the Old Kingdom, these massive stone tombs contained all the things needed by the king in his afterlife and also symbolized the king's power and his connection with the sun-god.

pharaoh The title given to the king of Egypt in the New Kingdom, from a word that meant "great house."

Like the Mesopotamians, the Egyptians were polytheistic, worshipping many gods of all types, some mightier than others. They developed complex ideas of their gods that reflected the world around them, and these views changed over the many centuries of Egyptian history as gods took on new attributes and often merged with one another. During the Old Kingdom, Egyptians considered the sun-god Ra the creator of life. Much later, during the New Kingdom (see "Migrations, Revivals, and Collapse"), the pharaohs of a new dynasty favored the worship of a different sun-god, Amon. As his cult grew, Amon came to be identified with Ra, and eventually the Egyptians combined them into one sun-god, Amon-Ra.

The Egyptians likewise developed views of an afterlife that reflected the world around them and that changed over time. During the later part of the Old Kingdom, the walls of kings' tombs were carved with religious texts that provided spells that would bring the king back to life and help him ascend to heaven. (See "Thinking Like a Historian: Addressing the Gods," page 40.) Toward the end of the Old Kingdom, the tombs of powerful nobles also contained such inscriptions, an indication that more people expected to gain everlasting life. In the Middle Kingdom (2080–1640 B.C.E.), new types of spells appeared on the coffins of even more people, a further expansion in admissions to the afterlife. During the New Kingdom, a time when Egypt came into greater contact with the cultures of the Fertile Crescent, Egyptians developed even more complex ideas about the afterlife, recording these in written funerary manuscripts that have come to be known as the *Book of the Dead*. These texts explained that the soul left the body to become part of the divine after death and told of the god Osiris (oh-SIGH-ruhs), who died each year and was then brought back to life by his wife Isis (IGH-suhs) when the Nile flooded. Osiris eventually became king of the dead, weighing dead humans' hearts to determine whether they had lived justly enough to deserve everlasting life. Egyptians also believed that proper funeral rituals, in which the physical body was mummified, were essential for life after death, so Osiris was assisted by Anubis, the jackal-headed god of mummification.

To ancient Egyptians, the king embodied justice and order — harmony among people, nature, and the divine. Kings did not always live up to this ideal, of course. The two parts of Egypt were difficult to hold together, and several times in Egypt's long history there were periods of civil war and political fragmentation, which scholars term the First (2180–2080 B.C.E.) and Second (1640–1570 B.C.E.) Intermediate Periods. Yet the monarchy survived, and in each period a strong warrior-king arose to restore order and expand Egyptian power.

THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN

Addressing the Gods

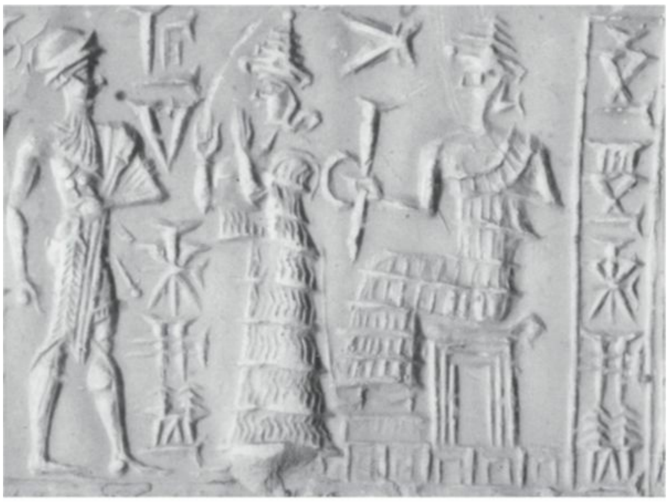
Hymns and incantations to the gods are among the earliest written texts in Mesopotamia and Egypt, and sculpture and paintings also often show people addressing the gods. The sources here are examples of such works. What ideas about the gods and the way humans should address them are shared in all these sources, and how do ideas in Egypt differ from those in Mesopotamia?

1 **Enheduana's "Exaltation of Inanna."** Enheduana (2285–2250 B.C.E.), the daughter of Sargon of Akkad, was appointed by her father as high priestess in the Sumerian city of Ur, where she wrote a number of literary and religious works that were frequently recopied long after her death, including this hymn to the goddess Inanna.

■ Your divinity shines in the pure heavens…. Your torch lights up the corners of heaven, turning darkness into light. The men and women form a row for you and each one's daily status hangs down before you. Your numerous people pass before you, as before Utu [the sun-god], for their inspection. No one can lay a hand on your precious divine powers; all your divine powers…. You exercise full ladyship over heaven and earth; you hold everything in your hand. Mistress, you are magnificent, no one can walk before you. You dwell with great An [the god of the heavens] in the holy resting-place. Which god is like you in gathering together … in heaven and earth? You are magnificent, your name is praised, you alone are magnificent!

I am En-hedu-ana, the high priestess of the moon god …. Mercy, compassion, care, lenience and homage are yours, and to cause flood storms, to open hard ground and to turn darkness into light. My lady, let me proclaim your magnificence in all lands, and your glory! Let me praise your ways and greatness! Who rivals you in divinity? Who can compare with your divine rites? … An and Enlil [the chief god of Sumer] have determined a great destiny for you throughout the entire universe. They have bestowed upon you ladyship in the assembly chamber. Being fitted for ladyship, you determine the destiny of noble ladies. Mistress, you are magnificent, you are great! Inanna, you are magnificent, you are great! My lady, your magnificence is resplendent. May your heart be restored for my sake! Your great deeds are unparalleled, your magnificence is praised! Young woman, Inanna, your praise is sweet!

2 **Babylonian cylinder seal showing a man addressing the deities.** Dating from the Old Babylonian period (1800–1600 B.C.E.), this seal shows a man (left) addressing two deities, the one on the right holding the rod and ring, symbols of authority. The cuneiform inscription reads, "Ibni-Amurru, son of Ilima-ahi, servant of the god Amurru."



British Museum, London, UK/Werner Forman Archive/Bridgeman Images

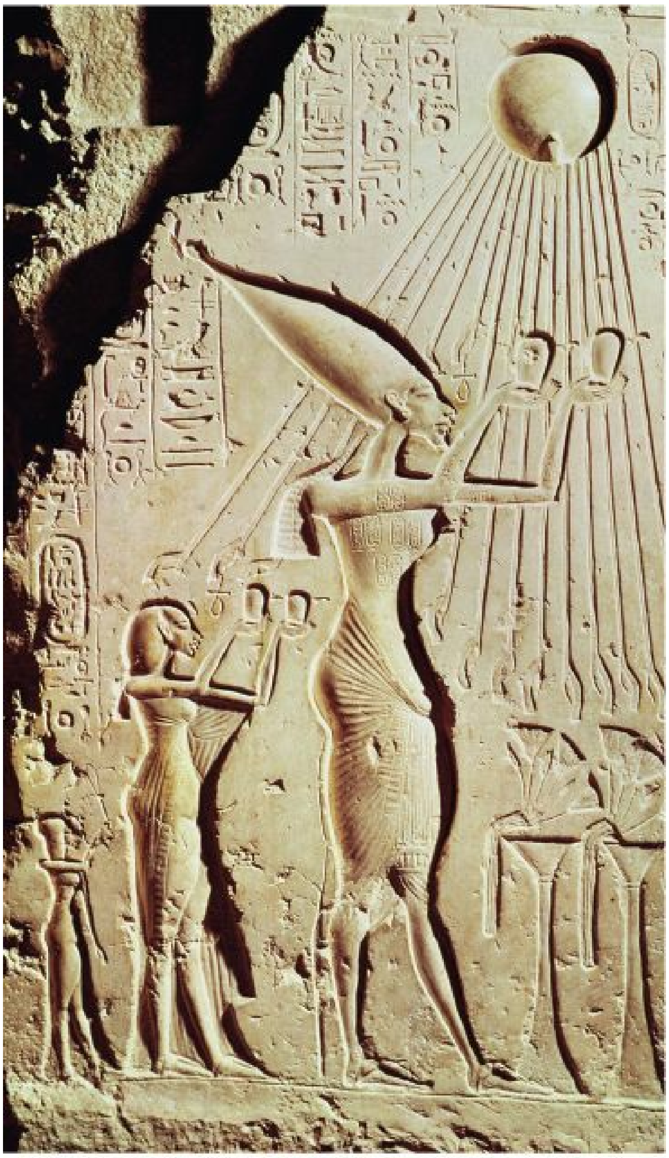
3 **Pyramid text of King Unas.** This incantation, designed to assist the king's ascent to the heavens after his death, was inscribed on a wall of the royal burial chambers in the pyramid of the Egyptian king Unas (r. 2375–2345 B.C.E.) at Saqqara, a burial ground near the Nile.

Re-Atum [the sun-god], this Unas comes to you,
A spirit indestructible
Who lays claim to the place of the four pillars!
Your son comes to you, this Unas comes to you
May you cross the sky united in the dark,
May you rise in lightland, the place in which you shine!
Osiris, Isis, go proclaim to Lower Egypt's gods
And their spirits:
"This Unas comes, a spirit indestructible,
Like the morning star above Hapy [the god of the flooding of the Nile],
Whom the water-spirits worship;
Whom he wishes to live will live,
Whom he wishes to die will die!"
. . .
Thoth [the god of law and science], go proclaim to the gods of the west
And their spirits:
"This Unas comes, a spirit indestructible,
Decked above the neck as Anubis
Lord of the western height
He will count hearts, he will claim hearts,
Whom he wishes to live will live,
Whom he wishes to die will die!"

4 **Hymn to Aton.** When the pharaoh Akhenaton (r. 1351–1334 B.C.E.) promoted the worship of the sun-god Aton instead of older Egyptian gods, new hymns were written for the pharaoh to sing in honor of the god.

Thou appearest beautifully on the horizon of heaven
Thou living Aton, the beginning of life!
When thou art risen on the eastern horizon,
Thou hast filled every land with thy beauty.
Thou art gracious, great, glistening, and high over every land;
Thy rays encompass the lands to the limit of all that thou hast made …
Thy rays suckle every meadow.
When thou risest, they live, they grow for thee.
Thou makest the seasons in order to rear all that thou hast made,
The winter to cool them,
And the heat that they may taste thee.
Thou hast made the distant sky in order to rise therein,
In order to see all that thou dost make.
While thou wert alone,
Rising in thy form as the living Aton,
Appearing, shining, withdrawing or approaching,
Thou madest millions of forms of thyself alone.
Cities, towns, fields, road, and river —
Every eye beholds thee over against them,
For thou art the Aton of the day over the earth …
Thou art in my heart,
And there is no other that knows thee
Save thy son Nefer-kheperu-Re Wa-en-Re [Akhenaton],
For thou hast made him well versed in thy plans and in thy strength …
Since thou didst found the earth
And raise them up for thy son
Who came forth from thy body:
The king of Upper and lower Egypt, … Akhenaton … and the Chief Wife of the King … Nefertiti, living and youthful forever and ever.

5 **Relief depicting Akhenaton, Nefertiti, and their daughter, Meritaton, making an offering to Aton.** This carved alabaster relief comes from the royal palace at Tell el-Amarna.



Egyptian National Museum, Cairo, Egypt/Bridgeman Images

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. In Source 1 from Mesopotamia, what powers and qualities of the goddess Inanna does Enheduana praise? In Source 2, what qualities do the deities in the cylinder seal exhibit?
2. In Sources 3–5 from Egypt, what powers and qualities does the sun-god exhibit?
3. What common features do you see across all the sources in the powers ascribed to the gods, and the proper attitude of humans in addressing them?
4. Continuing to think about similarities, bear in mind that Enheduana was a member of the ruling dynasty of Akkad, and Unas and Akhenaton were kings of Egypt. How did their social position shape their relationship to the gods?
5. Thinking about differences, how is the relationship of Unas and Akhenaton to the sun-god distinctive?

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

Using the sources above, along with what you have learned in class and in this chapter, write a short essay that compares ideas about the gods in Mesopotamia and Egypt. How do these reflect the physical environment in which these two cultures developed, and how do they reflect their social and political structures?

Sources: (1) J. A. Black et al., *Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature* (http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/), Oxford 1998–2006, http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/etcsl.cgi?text=t.4.07.3#. Used by permission of Oxford University, ETCSL Project; (3) Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings*, vol. 1, *The Old and Middle Kingdoms* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), p. 31. © 2006 by the Regents of the University of California. Published by the University of California Press. Used by permission; (4) John A. Wilson, trans., in James B. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament — Third Edition with Supplement*, pp. 370–371. Reproduced with permission of PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS, in the format Book via Copyright Clearance Center.

Egyptian Society and Work

Egyptian society reflected the pyramids that it built. At the top stood the pharaoh, who relied on a circle of nobles, officials, and priests to administer his kingdom. All of them were assisted by scribes, who used a writing system perhaps adapted from Mesopotamia or perhaps developed independently. Egyptian scribes actually created two writing systems: one called hieroglyphics for engraving important religious or political texts on stone or writing them on papyrus made from reeds growing in the Nile Delta, and a much simpler system called hieratic that allowed scribes to write more quickly and was used for the documents of daily life. The cities of the Nile Valley were also home to artisans of all types, along with merchants and other tradespeople. A large group of farmers made up the broad base of the social pyramid.

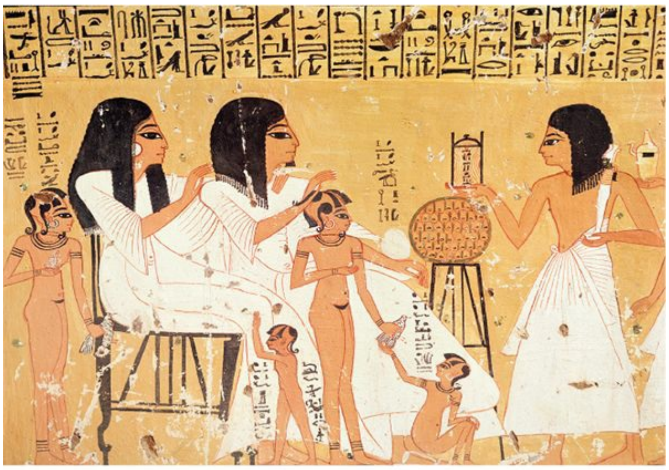
For Egyptians, the Nile formed an essential part of daily life. During the flooding season — from June to October — farmers worked on the pharaoh's building programs and other tasks away from their fields. When the water began to recede, they diverted some of it into ponds for future irrigation and began planting wheat and barley, using plows pulled by oxen or people. From October to February farmers planted and tended crops, and from February until the next flood they harvested them. As in Mesopotamia, common people paid their obligations to their superiors in products and in labor. People's labor obligations in the Old Kingdom may have included forced work on the pyramids and canals, although recent research suggests that most people who built the pyramids were paid for their work. Some young men were drafted into the pharaoh's army, which served as both a fighting force and a labor corps.

The lives of all Egyptians centered around the family. Just as in Mesopotamia, marriage was a business arrangement. A couple's parents arranged the marriage, which seems to have taken place at a young age. Once couples were married, having children, especially sons, was a high priority, as indicated by surviving charms to promote fertility and prayers for successful childbirth. Boys continued the family line, and only they could perform the proper burial rites for their father.

Most Egyptian men had only one wife, but among the wealthy some had several wives or concubines. Ordinary women were expected to obey their fathers, husbands, and other men, but they possessed considerable economic and legal rights. They could own land in their own names, operate businesses, and testify in court. Literature and art depict a world in which ordinary husbands and wives enjoyed each other's company. (See "Analyzing the Evidence: Egyptian Families," page 45.)

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

Egyptian Families



Deir el-Medina, Thebes, Egypt/Bridgeman Images

This painting from the tomb of the Egyptian official Inherkau, who lived and worked during the reign of Ramesses III (r. 1184–1153), toward the end of the New Kingdom, shows the deceased and his wife Wabet (left) receiving offerings from their two sons (only one of whom is fully visible in this image),while their grandchildren play around their feet. The children, several holding birds or bird toys, have partly shaved heads and what scholars of Egypt term the “sidelock of youth,” a long braided lock of hair common in Egyptian paintings of children that indicates the child was an heir of the god Osiris. Inherkau oversaw artisans and workers on the royal tombs at Thebes, as had his father and grandfather before him, for which they all carried the splendid title “Foreman of the Lord of the Two Lands in the Place of Truth.” In contrast to Hollywood portrayals of gangs of slaves forced at the end of a lash to build tombs for pharaohs, those who worked on the tombs at Thebes lived in a town nearby with their families and were paid for their work in grain, fish, vegetables, water, wood, meat, beer, and other necessities. Along with constructing the royal tombs, they often made and sold furniture and funerary equipment such as coffins, boxes, statuary, and pottery, adding to their income.

Written records on papyrus and on large pieces of limestone provide evidence about marriage, divorce, land transfers, inheritance, and religious life, and suggest that women carried out many rituals and economic activities independent of a male legal guardian. Corrupt officials sometimes were slow in paying workers, and the reign of Ramesses III saw several strikes by workers for more regular pay. Many craftsmen and officials such as Inherkau built their own underground tombs near Thebes, with burial chambers with vaulted ceilings and wall decorations. Inherkau’s richly decorated burial chamber shows several dozen scenes in addition to this one, which depict gods, the afterlife, mythological events, and the deceased and his family engaged in everyday or religious activities.

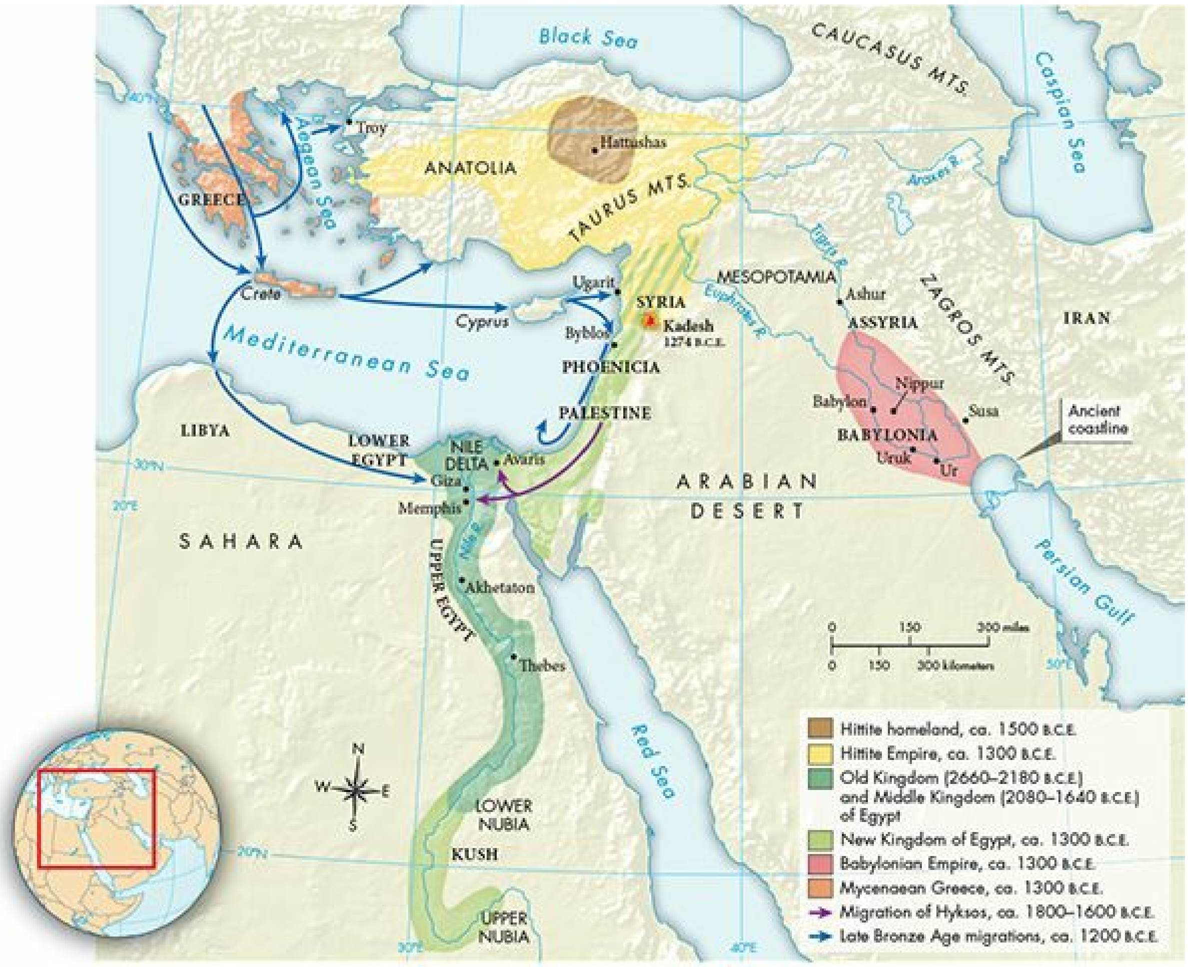
QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. How does the artist use the size of figures to indicate their status in the family? To suggest that Inherkau’s wife Wabet was important in the household?

2. What message about Egyptian family life does the artist seem to be conveying here, with the combination of children’s play and religious rituals?
3. Both tomb building and showing children with the “sidelock of youth” are practices that began in the Old Kingdom with the pharaoh and his household, but by the New Kingdom had spread to fairly ordinary people such as Inherkau. What does this suggest about Egyptian society?

Migrations, Revivals, and Collapse

While Egyptian civilization flourished in the Nile Valley, various groups migrated throughout the Fertile Crescent and then accommodated themselves to local cultures (Map 2.2). Some settled in the Nile Delta, including a group the Egyptians called Hyksos. Although they were later portrayed as a conquering horde, the Hyksos were actually migrants looking for good land, and their entry into the delta, which began around 1800 B.C.E., was probably gradual and generally peaceful. The newcomers began to worship Egyptian deities and modeled their political structures on those of the Egyptians.


Black Sea
CAUCASUS MTS.
Caspian Sea
Troy
Hattushas
ANATOLIA
Aegean Sea
GREECE
TAURUS MTS.
Araxes R.
Tigris R.
MESOPOTAMIA
Euphrates R.
Ashur
ASSYRIA
ZAGROS MTS.
IRAN
Crete
Cyprus
Ugarit
SYRIA
Kadesh 1274 B.C.E.
Byblos
PHOENICIA
Mediterranean Sea
PALESTINE
Babylon
Nippur
Susa
BABYLONIA
Uruk
Ur
Ancient coastline
LIBYA
LOWER EGYPT
NILE DELTA
Avaris
Giza
Memphis
ARABIAN DESERT
SAHARA
Nile R.
UPPER EGYPT
Akhetaton
Thebes
Persian Gulf
Red Sea
0 150 300 miles
0 150 300 kilometers
N
W
E
S
LOWER NUBIA
KUSH
UPPER NUBIA
40°N
30°N
20°N
20°E
30°E
40°E
50°E
Hittite homeland, ca. 1500 B.C.E.
Hittite Empire, ca. 1300 B.C.E.
Old Kingdom (2660–2180 B.C.E.) and Middle Kingdom (2080–1640 B.C.E.) of Egypt
New Kingdom of Egypt, ca. 1300 B.C.E.
Babylonian Empire, ca. 1300 B.C.E.
Mycenaean Greece, ca. 1300 B.C.E.
Migration of Hyksos, ca. 1800–1600 B.C.E.
Late Bronze Age migrations, ca. 1200 B.C.E.

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Mapping the Past

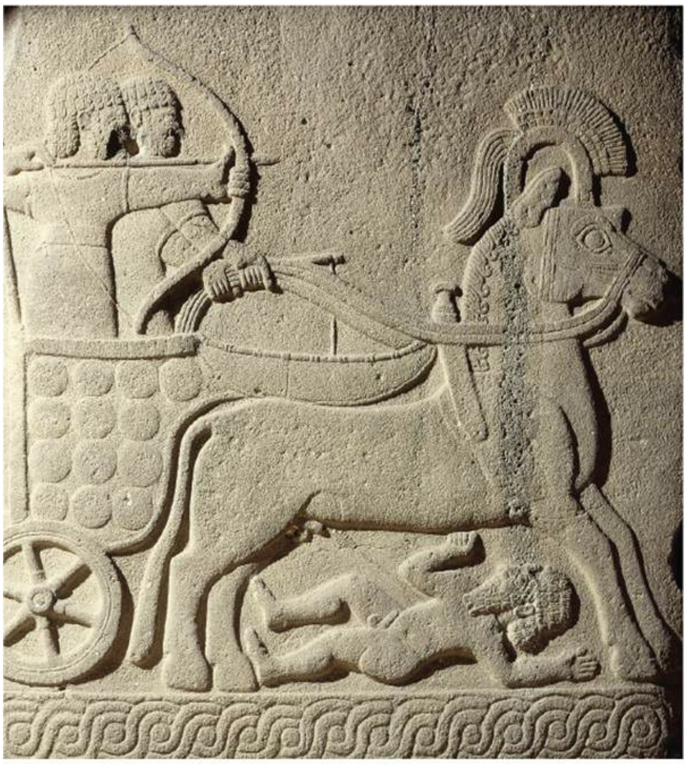
MAP 2.2 Empires and Migrations in the Eastern Mediterranean The rise and fall of empires in the eastern Mediterranean were shaped by internal developments, military conflicts, and the migration of peoples to new areas.

ANALYZING THE MAP At what point was the Egyptian empire at its largest? The Hittite Empire? What were the other major powers in the eastern Mediterranean at this time?

CONNECTIONS What were the major effects of the migrations of the Hyksos? Of the late Bronze Age migrations? What clues does the map provide as to why the late Bronze Age migrations had a more powerful impact than those of the Hyksos?

The Hyksos brought with them methods of making bronze that had become common in the eastern Mediterranean by about 2500 B.C.E. (see “Trade and Cross-Cultural Connections” in Chapter 1) and techniques for casting it into weapons that became standard in Egypt. They thereby brought Egypt fully into the Bronze Age culture of the Mediterranean world. The Hyksos also introduced horse-drawn chariots and the composite bow, made of multiple materials for greater strength, which along with bronze weaponry revolutionized Egyptian warfare. The migration of the Hyksos, combined with a series of famines and internal struggles for power, led Egypt to fragment politically in what later came to be known as the Second Intermediate Period.

In about 1570 B.C.E. a new dynasty of pharaohs arose, pushing the Hyksos out of the delta and conquering territory to the south and northeast. These warrior-pharaohs inaugurated what scholars refer to as the New Kingdom, a period characterized not only by enormous wealth and conscious imperialism but also by a greater sense of insecurity because of new contacts and military engagements. By expanding Egyptian power beyond the Nile Valley, the pharaohs created the first Egyptian empire, and they celebrated their triumphs with giant statues and rich tombs on a scale unparalleled since the pyramids of the Old Kingdom.



Dagli Orti/REX/Shutterstock

Hittite Archer in a Chariot In this stylized stone carving made about 1000 B.C.E. in Anatolia (modern-day Turkey), a Hittite archer driven in a chariot shoots toward his foes, while a victim of an earlier shot is trampled beneath the horse's hooves. The arrows might have been tipped with iron, which was becoming a more common material for weapons and tools.

The New Kingdom pharaohs include a number of remarkable figures. Among these was Hatshepsut (haht-SHEP-soot) (r. ca. 1479–ca. 1458 B.C.E.), one of the few female pharaohs in Egypt's long history. (See "Individuals in Society: Hatshepsut and Nefertiti," page 46.) Amenhotep III (ah-men-HOE-tep) (r. ca. 1388–ca. 1350 B.C.E.) corresponded with other powerful kings in Babylonia and other kingdoms in the Fertile Crescent. Amenhotep III was succeeded by his son, who took the name Akhenaton (ah-keh-NAH-tuhn) (r. 1351–1334 B.C.E.). He renamed himself as a mark of his changing religious ideas, choosing to worship a new sun-god, Aton, instead of the traditional Amon or Ra. Akhenaton's wife Nefertiti (nehf-uhr-TEE-tee) supported his religious ideas, but this new religion, imposed from above, failed to find a place among the people, and after his death traditional religious practices returned.

One of the key challenges facing the pharaohs after Akhenaton was the expansion of the kingdom of the Hittites. At about the same time that the Sumerians were establishing city-states, speakers of **Indo-European**

languages migrated into Anatolia, modern-day Turkey. Indo-European is a large family of languages that includes English, most of the languages of modern Europe, ancient Greek, Latin, Persian, Hindi, Bengali, and Sanskrit (for more on Sanskrit, see "The Aryans During the Vedic Age, ca. 1500–500 B.C.E." in Chapter 3). It also includes Hittite, the language of one of the peoples who migrated into this area. Information about the Hittites comes from archaeological sources and also from written cuneiform tablets that provide details about politics and economic life. These records indicate that beginning about 1600 B.C.E. Hittite kings began to conquer more territory (see Map 2.2). As the Hittites expanded southward, they came into conflict with the Egyptians, who were establishing their own larger empire. There were a number of battles, but both sides seem to have recognized the impossibility of defeating the other, and in 1258 B.C.E. the Egyptian king Ramesses II (r. ca. 1290–1224 B.C.E.) and the Hittite king Hattusili III (hah-too-SEE-lee) (r. ca. 1267–1237 B.C.E.) concluded a peace treaty.

Indo-European languages A large family of languages that includes English, most of the languages of modern Europe, ancient Greek, Latin, Persian, Hindi, Bengali, and Sanskrit.

The treaty brought peace between the Egyptians and the Hittites for a time, but this stability did not last. Within several decades of the treaty, groups of seafaring peoples whom the Egyptians called "Sea Peoples" raided, migrated, and marauded in the eastern Mediterranean, disrupting trade and in some cases looting and destroying cities. These raids, combined with the expansion of the Assyrians (see "Assyria, the Military Monarchy"), led to the collapse of the Hittite Empire and the fragmentation of the Egyptian empire. There is evidence of drought, and some scholars have suggested that a major volcanic explosion in Iceland cooled the climate for several years, leading to a series of poor harvests. All of these developments are part of a general "Bronze Age Collapse" in the period around 1200 B.C.E. that historians see as a major turning point.

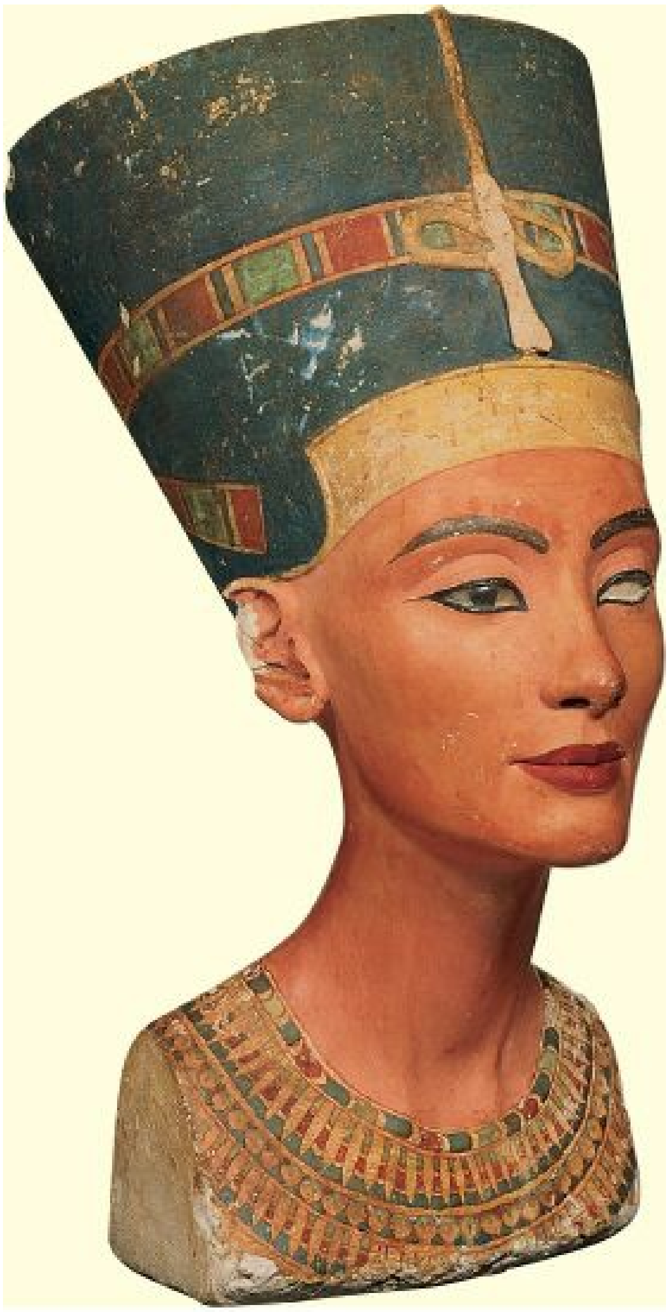
The political and military story of battles, waves of migrations, and the rise and fall of empires can mask striking continuities in the history of Egypt and its neighbors. Disrupted peoples and newcomers shared practical concepts of agriculture and metallurgy with one another, and wheeled vehicles allowed merchants to transact business over long distances. Merchants, migrants, and conquerors carried their gods and goddesses with them, and religious beliefs and practices blended and changed. Cuneiform tablets, wall inscriptions, and paintings testify to commercial exchanges and cultural accommodation, adoption, and adaptation, as well as war and conquest.

INDIVIDUALS IN SOCIETY

Hatshepsut and Nefertiti

bpk Bildagentur/Aegyptisches Museum und Paprussammkung, Staatliche Museen, Berlin, Germany/Photo: Margarete Büsing/Art Resource, NY

Granite head of Hatshepsut.



bpk Bildagentur/Aegyptisches Museum und Paprussammkung, Staatliche Museen, Berlin, Germany/Photo: Margarete Büsing/Art Resource, NY

Painted limestone bust of Nefertiti.

EGYPTIANS UNDERSTOOD THE PHARAOH TO BE the living embodiment of the god Horus, the source of law and morality, and the mediator between gods and humans. The pharaoh’s siblings and children were also viewed as in some ways divine. Because of this, a pharaoh often took his sister or half-sister as one of his wives, a practice that imitated the behavior of the gods in Egyptian mythology. This concentrated divine blood set the pharaonic family apart from other Egyptians (who did not marry close relatives). A pharaoh chose one of his wives to be the “Great Royal Wife,” or principal queen. Often this was a relative, though sometimes it was one of the foreign princesses who married pharaohs to establish political alliances.

The familial connection with the divine allowed a handful of women to rule in their own right in Egypt’s long history. We know the names of four female pharaohs, of whom the most famous was Hatshepsut. She was the sister and wife of Thutmose II and, after he died, served as regent — as adviser and co-ruler — for her young stepson Thutmose III, who was the son of another woman. Hatshepsut sent trading expeditions and sponsored artists and architects, ushering in a period of artistic creativity and economic prosperity. She built one of the world’s great buildings, an elaborate terraced temple at Deir el Bahri, which eventually served as her tomb. Hatshepsut’s status as a powerful female ruler was difficult for Egyptians to conceptualize, and she is often depicted in male dress or with a false beard, thus looking more like the male rulers who were the norm. After her death, Thutmose III tried to destroy all evidence that she had ever ruled, smashing statues and scratching her name off inscriptions, perhaps because of personal animosity and perhaps because he wanted to erase the fact that a woman had once been pharaoh.

Though female pharaohs were very rare, many royal women had power through their position as Great Royal Wives. The most famous was Nefertiti (ca. 1370–1330 B.C.E.), the wife of Akhenaton. Her name means “the perfect (or beautiful) woman has come.” Nefertiti used her position to spread the new religion of the sun-god Aton. Together she and Akhenaton built a new palace at Akhetaten, the present-day Amarna, away from the old centers of power. There they developed the cult of Aton to the exclusion of the traditional deities. Nearly the only literary survivor of their religious belief is the “Hymn to Aton,” which declares Aton to be the only god. It describes Nefertiti as “the great royal consort whom he, Akhenaton, loves. The mistress of the Two Lands, Upper and Lower Egypt.”

Nefertiti is often shown as being the same size as her husband, and in some inscriptions she is performing religious rituals that would normally have been carried out only by the pharaoh. The exact details of her power are hard to determine, however. An older theory held that her husband removed her from power, though there is also speculation that she may have ruled secretly in her own right after his death. Her tomb has long since disappeared, though some scholars believe that an unidentified mummy discovered in 2003 in Egypt’s Valley of the Kings may be

Nefertiti’s.

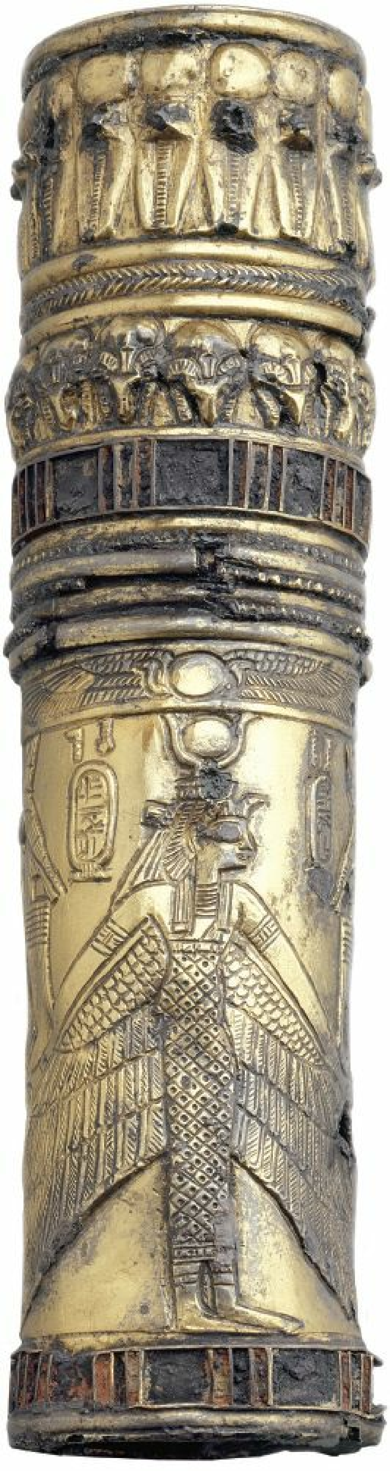
QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Why might it have been difficult for Egyptians to accept a female ruler?
2. What opportunities do hereditary monarchies such as that of ancient Egypt provide for women? How does this fit with gender hierarchies in which men are understood as superior?

Iron and the Emergence of New States

The Bronze Age Collapse was a time of massive political and economic disruption, but it was also a period of the spread of new technologies, especially iron. Iron is the most common element in the earth, but most iron on or near the earth's surface occurs in the form of ore, which must be smelted at high temperatures to extract the metal. This process was invented independently during the second millennium B.C.E. in several parts of the world, including Anatolia (modern-day Turkey), Nigeria, and most likely southern India. Early iron was too brittle to be of much use, but ironworkers continued to experiment and improve their products, and iron weapons gradually became stronger and cheaper than their bronze counterparts. Thus, in the schema of dividing history into periods according to the main material out of which tools are made (see "Understanding the Early Human Past" in Chapter 1), the **Iron Age** began in about 1100 B.C.E. Iron weapons became important items of trade around the Mediterranean and throughout the Tigris and Euphrates Valleys, and the technology for making them traveled as well.

Iron Age Period beginning about 1100 B.C.E. when iron became the most important material for weapons and tools in some parts of the world.



Cylinder sheath of Amani–natake–lebte, Napatan Period, reign of King Amani–natake–lebte, 538–519 B.C. [gilded silver & colored paste), Nubian/Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts, USA/ Bridgeman Images

Nubian Cylinder Sheath

This small silver sheath made about 520 B.C.E., perhaps for holding rolled papyrus, shows a winged goddess on one side and the Egyptian god Amon-

Ra (not visible in this photograph) on the other. It and others like it were found in the tombs of the king of Kush and suggest ways that Egyptian artistic styles and religious ideas influenced cultures farther up the Nile.

The decline of Egypt allowed new powers to emerge. South of Egypt along the Nile was a region called Nubia, which as early as 2000 B.C.E. served as a conduit of trade through which a variety of products flowed north from sub-Saharan Africa. As Egypt expanded during the New Kingdom, it took over northern Nubia, incorporating it into the growing Egyptian empire. The Nubians adopted many features of Egyptian culture, including Egyptian gods, the use of hieroglyphs, and the building of pyramids. Many Nubians became officials in the Egyptian bureaucracy and officers in the army, and there was significant intermarriage between the two groups.

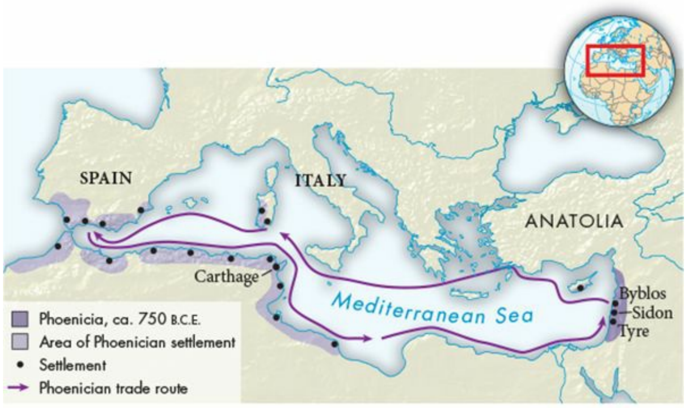
With the contraction of the Egyptian empire, an independent kingdom, Kush, rose to power in Nubia, with its capital at Napata in what is now Sudan. The Kushites conquered southern Egypt, and in 727 B.C.E. the Kushite king Piye (PIGH) (r. ca. 747–716 B.C.E.) swept through the entire Nile Valley to the delta in the north. United once again, Egypt enjoyed a brief period of peace during which the Egyptian culture continued to influence that of its conquerors. In the seventh century B.C.E. invading Assyrians pushed the Kushites out of Egypt, and the Kushite rulers moved their capital farther up the Nile to Meroë (MER-oh-ee), where they built hundreds of pyramids. Meroë became a center of iron production, exporting iron goods to much of Africa and across the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean to India. Gold and cotton textiles also provided wealth to the Kushite kingdom, which in the third century B.C.E. developed its own alphabet.

While Kush expanded in the southern Nile Valley, another group rose to prominence along the Mediterranean coast of modern Lebanon. These people established the prosperous commercial centers of Tyre (TIRE), Sidon, and Byblos. They were master shipbuilders, and from about 1100 B.C.E. to 700 B.C.E. many of the residents of these cities became the seaborne merchants of the Mediterranean. Their most valued products were purple and blue textiles, from which originated their Greek name, **Phoenicians** (fih-NEE-shuhns), meaning “Purple People.” They also worked bronze and iron, which they shipped processed or as ore, and made and traded glass products, gold, ivory, and other types of rare goods.

Phoenician ships often carried hundreds of jars of wine, and the Phoenicians introduced grape growing to new regions around the Mediterranean, dramatically increasing the amount of wine available for consumption and trade.

Phoenicians People of the prosperous city-states in what is now Lebanon who traded and founded colonies throughout the Mediterranean and spread the phonetic alphabet.

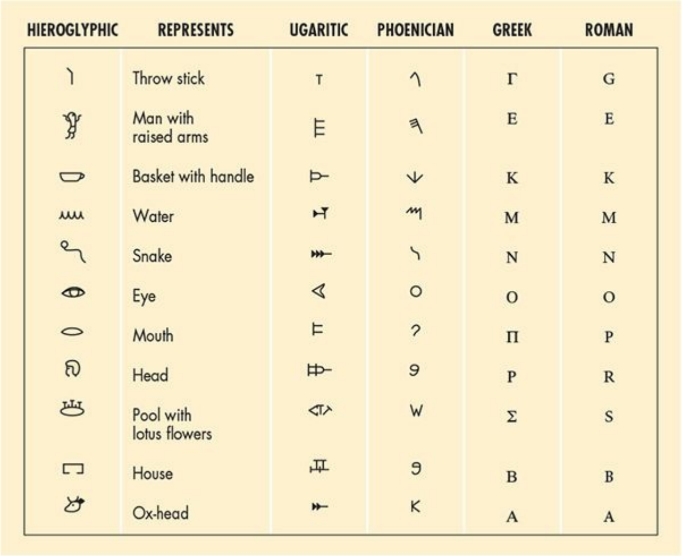
The variety and quality of the Phoenicians’ trade goods generally made them welcome visitors. They established colonies and trading posts throughout the Mediterranean and as far west as the Atlantic coast of modern-day Portugal. The Phoenicians’ voyages brought them into contact with the Greeks, to whom they introduced many aspects of the older and more urbanized cultures of Mesopotamia and Egypt.



Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin’s

Phoenician Settlements in the Mediterranean

The Phoenicians’ overwhelming cultural achievement was the spread of a completely phonetic system of writing — that is, an alphabet (Figure 2.2). Writers of cuneiform and hieroglyphics had developed signs that were used to represent sounds, but these were always used with a much larger number of ideograms. Sometime around 1800 B.C.E. workers in the Sinai Peninsula, which was under Egyptian control, began to use only phonetic signs to write, with each sign designating one sound. This system vastly simplified writing and reading and spread among common people as a practical means of record keeping and communication. Egyptian scribes and officials continued to use hieroglyphics, but the Phoenicians adapted the simpler system for their own language and spread it around the Mediterranean. The Greeks modified this alphabet for their own language, and the Romans later based their alphabet — the script we use to write English today — on Greek. Alphabets based on the Phoenician alphabet were also created in the Persian Empire and formed the basis of Hebrew, Arabic, and various alphabets of South and Central Asia.



HIEROGLYPHIC	REPRESENTS	UGARITIC	PHOENICIAN	GREEK	ROMAN
𓌙	Throw stick	𐎂	𐤂	Γ	G
𓀠	Man with raised arms	𐎅	𐤄	E	E
𓎡	Basket with handle	𐎋	𐤊	K	K
𓈖	Water	𐎎	𐤌	M	M
𓆓	Snake	𐎐	𐤍	N	N
𓁹	Eye	𐎓	𐤏	O	O
𓂋	Mouth	𐎔	𐤐	Π	P
𓁶	Head	𐎗	𐤓	P	R
𓆷	Pool with lotus flowers	𐎌	𐤔	Σ	S
𓉐	House	𐎁	𐤁	B	B
𓃾	Ox-head	𐎀	𐤀	A	A

Source: A. B. Knapp, *The History and Culture of Ancient Western Asia and Egypt*. Reproduced with permission of Wadsworth Publishing Company in the format Educational/Instructional Program via Copyright Clearance Center.

Figure 2.2 **Origins of the Alphabet** List of hieroglyphic, Ugaritic, Phoenician, Greek, and Roman sign forms.

The Hebrews

How did the Hebrews create an enduring written religious tradition?

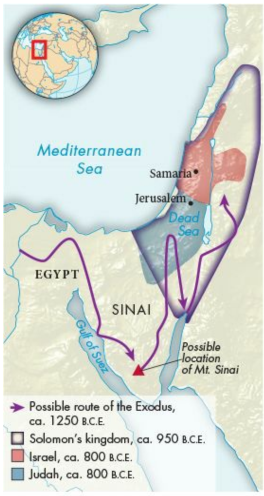
The legacy of another people who took advantage of Egypt's collapse to found an independent state may have been even more far-reaching than that of the Phoenicians. For a period of several centuries, the Hebrews controlled first one and then two small states on the western end of the Fertile Crescent. The Hebrews created a new form of religious belief, a monotheism based on the worship of an all-powerful god they called **Yahweh** (YAH-way). Beginning in the late seventh century B.C.E. the Hebrews began to write down their religious ideas, traditions, laws, advice literature, prayers, hymns, history, and prophecies in a series of books. These were gathered together centuries later to form the Hebrew Bible, which Christians later adopted and termed the "Old Testament" to parallel specific Christian writings in the "New Testament." The Hebrew Bible later became the core of the Hebrews' religion, Judaism, named after Judah, the southern of the two Hebrew kingdoms. Jews today revere these texts, as do many Christians, and Muslims respect them, all of which gives them particular importance.

Yahweh All-powerful god of the Hebrew people and the basis for the enduring religious traditions of Judaism.

The Hebrews were nomadic pastoralists who may have migrated into the Nile Delta from the east seeking good land for their herds of sheep and goats. According to the Hebrew Bible, they were enslaved by the Egyptians but were led out of Egypt by a charismatic leader named Moses. The Hebrews settled in the area between the Mediterranean and the Jordan River known as Canaan and were organized into tribes, each tribe consisting of numerous families who thought of themselves as related to one another. They slowly adopted agriculture and, not surprisingly, at times worshipped the agricultural gods of their neighbors. In this they followed the common historical pattern of newcomers by adapting the culture of an older, well-established people.

The Hebrew State

The Hebrews were nomadic pastoralists who may have migrated into the Nile Delta from the east seeking good land for their herds of sheep and goats. According to the Hebrew Bible, they were enslaved by the Egyptians but were led out of Egypt by a charismatic leader named Moses. The Hebrews settled in the area between the Mediterranean and the Jordan River known as Canaan and were organized into tribes, each tribe consisting of numerous families who thought of themselves as related to one another. They slowly adopted agriculture and, not surprisingly, at times worshipped the agricultural gods of their neighbors. In this they followed the common historical pattern of newcomers by adapting the culture of an older, well-established people.


Mediterranean Sea
Samaria
Jerusalem
Dead Sea
EGYPT
SINAI
Gulf of Suez
Possible location of Mt. Sinai
Possible route of the Exodus, ca. 1250 B.C.E.
Solomon's kingdom, ca. 950 B.C.E.
Israel, ca. 800 B.C.E.
Judah, ca. 800 B.C.E.

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

The Hebrew Exodus and State, ca. 1250–800 B.C.E.

The Bible reports that the greatest danger to the Hebrews came from a group known as the Philistines (FIH-luh-steenz), who migrated to and established a kingdom in Canaan. The Hebrews found a leader in Saul, who with his men fought the Philistines. Saul subsequently established a monarchy over the Hebrew tribes, an event conventionally dated to about 1025 B.C.E. Saul's work was carried on by David of Bethlehem, who captured the city of Jerusalem, which he made the religious and political center of the realm. David's son Solomon (r. ca. 965–925 B.C.E.) launched a building program that the biblical narrative describes as including cities, palaces, fortresses, and roads. The most symbolic of these projects was the Temple of Jerusalem. The Temple of Jerusalem was intended to be the religious heart of the kingdom, a symbol of Hebrew unity and of Yahweh's approval of the Hebrew state.

This state did not last long. At Solomon's death his kingdom broke into political halves. The northern part became Israel, with its capital at Samaria, and the southern half was Judah, with Jerusalem remaining its center. War broke out between the northern and southern halves, and the Assyrians wiped out the northern kingdom in 722 B.C.E. Judah survived numerous invasions until the Babylonians crushed it in 587 B.C.E. The survivors were sent into exile in Babylonia, a period commonly known as the Babylonian Captivity. In 538 B.C.E. the Persian king Cyrus the Great conquered the Babylonians and permitted some forty thousand exiles to return to Jerusalem (see “The Rise and Expansion of the Persian Empire” and “Global Viewpoints: Rulers and Divine Favor for Babylonians and Hebrews,” page 54). They rebuilt the temple, although politically the area was simply part of the Persian Empire.

GLOBAL VIEWPOINTS

Rulers and Divine Favor for Babylonians and Hebrews

In the ancient world, individuals who established large empires through conquest often subsequently proclaimed that their triumph was the result of divine favor, and they honored the gods of the regions they conquered. King Cyrus the Great of Persia appears to have followed this tradition in at least some of his conquests. A text written in cuneiform on a sixth-century-B.C.E. Babylonian clay cylinder presents Cyrus describing the way in which the main Babylonian god, Marduk, selected him to conquer Babylon and restore proper government and worship. Cyrus is also portrayed as divinely chosen in the book of Isaiah in Hebrew Scripture, probably written sometime in the late sixth century B.C.E., after Cyrus allowed the Jews to return to Jerusalem. Here it is mainly the Hebrew god Yahweh who speaks, explaining why he has made Cyrus victorious even though Cyrus is not a Jew.

The Cyrus Cylinder

■ I am Cyrus, king of the universe, the great king, the powerful king, king of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four quarters of the world….

When I went as harbinger of peace i[nt]o Babylon I founded my sovereign residence within the palace amid celebration and rejoicing. Marduk, the great lord, bestowed on me as my destiny the great magnanimity of one who loves Babylon, and I every day sought him out in awe. My vast troops marched peaceably in Babylon, and the whole of [Sumer] and Akkad had nothing to fear. I sought the welfare of the city of Babylon and all its sanctuaries. As for the population of Babylon, … [w]ho as if without div[ine intention] had endured a yoke not decreed for them, I soothed their weariness, I freed them from their bond…. Marduk, the great lord, rejoiced at [my good] deeds, and he pronounced a sweet blessing over me, Cyrus, the king who fears him, and over Cambyses, the son [my] issue, [and over] all my troops, that we might proceed further at his exalted command.

The Book of Isaiah, Chapter 45

■ Thus said the Lord to Cyrus, His anointed one — whose right hand He has grasped, Treading down nations before him, Ungirding the loins of kings, Opening doors before him, and letting no gate stay shut: I will march before you, and level the hills that loom up; I will shatter doors of bronze and cut down iron bars. I will give you treasures concealed in the dark and secret hoards — So that you may know that it is I the LORD, the God of Israel, who call you by name. For the sake of My servant

Jacob, Israel My chosen one, I call you by name, I hail you by title, though you have not known Me. I am the LORD, and there is none else; beside Me, there is no God. I engird you, though you have not known Me….

It was I who roused him [that is, Cyrus] for victory, and who level all roads for him. He shall rebuild My city, and let My exiled people go, without price and without payment — said the LORD of hosts.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. How would you compare the portrayal of Cyrus and the balance between divine and human actions in the two texts?
2. The Babylonians were polytheistic, and the Hebrews were monotheistic. How does this shape the way divine actions and favor are portrayed in the texts?
3. Both of these texts have been very influential in establishing the largely positive historical view of Cyrus. What limitations might there be in using these as historical sources?

Sources: Cylinder inscription translation by Irving Finkel, curator of Cuneiform Collections at the British Museum, www.britishmuseum.org. © The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved. Used by permission of The British Museum; “The Book of Isaiah” in *Tanakh: A New Translation of The Holy Scriptures According to the Traditional Hebrew Text.*

The Jewish Religion

During and especially after the Babylonian Captivity, the most important Hebrew texts of history, law, and ethics were edited and brought together in the Torah, the first five books of the Hebrew Bible. Fundamental to an understanding of the Jewish religion is the concept of the Covenant, an agreement that people believed to exist between themselves and Yahweh. According to the Bible, Yahweh appeared to the tribal leader Abraham, promising him that he would be blessed, as would his descendants, if they followed Yahweh. (Because Judaism, Christianity, and Islam all regard this event as foundational, they are referred to as the "Abrahamic religions.") Yahweh next appeared to Moses when he was leading the Hebrews out of Egypt, and Yahweh made a covenant with the Hebrews: if they worshipped Yahweh as their only god, he would consider them his chosen people and protect them from their enemies. Individuals such as Abraham and Moses who acted as intermediaries between Yahweh and the Hebrew people were known as "prophets." Much of the Hebrew Bible consists of writings in the prophets' voices, understood as messages from Yahweh to the Hebrews.

Worship was embodied in a series of rules of behavior, the Ten Commandments, which Yahweh gave to Moses; these required certain kinds of religious observances and forbade the Hebrews to steal, kill, lie, or commit adultery, thus creating a system of ethical absolutes. From the Ten Commandments a complex system of rules of conduct was created and later written down as Hebrew law. The later prophets such as Isaiah created a system of ethical monotheism, in which goodness was understood to come from a single transcendent god whom the Hebrews were to worship, and in which religious obligations included fair and just behavior toward other people as well as rituals.

Bible Land Pictures, www.BibleLandPictures/akg-images

Hebrew Seal Archaeologists found this stone seal in 2012 while unearthing an ancient drainage channel in central Jerusalem. Dating from the seventh or sixth century B.C.E., the tiny seal would have been set in a ring and used for signing letters. The inscription reads, “Belonging to Matanyahu …, ” a name that is found in Hebrew Scripture and is very close to the name of the current prime minister of Israel, Benjamin Netanyahu.

Like Mesopotamian deities, Yahweh punished people, but the Hebrews also believed he would protect them all, not simply kings and powerful priests, and make them prosper if they obeyed his commandments. The religion of the Hebrews was thus addressed to not only the elites but also the individual. Because kings or other political leaders were not essential to its practice, the rise or fall of a kingdom was not crucial to the religion’s continued existence. Religious leaders were important in Judaism, but personally following the instructions of Yahweh was the central task for observant Jews in the ancient world.

Hebrew Society

The Hebrews were originally nomadic, but they adopted settled agriculture in Canaan, and some lived in cities. Over time, communal use of land gave way to family or private ownership, and devotions to the traditions of

Judaism replaced tribal identity.

Family relationships reflected evolving circumstances. Marriage and the family were fundamentally important in Jewish life. Celibacy was frowned upon, and almost all major Jewish thinkers and priests were married. As in Mesopotamia and Egypt, marriage was a family matter, too important to be left solely to the whims of young people. The bearing of children was seen in some ways as a religious function. Sons were especially desired because they maintained the family bloodline while keeping ancestral property in the family. A firstborn son became the head of the household upon his father’s death. Mothers oversaw the early education of the children, but as boys grew older, their fathers provided more of their education.

The development of urban life among Jews created new economic opportunities, especially in crafts and trade. People specialized in certain occupations, and, as in most ancient societies, these crafts were family trades.

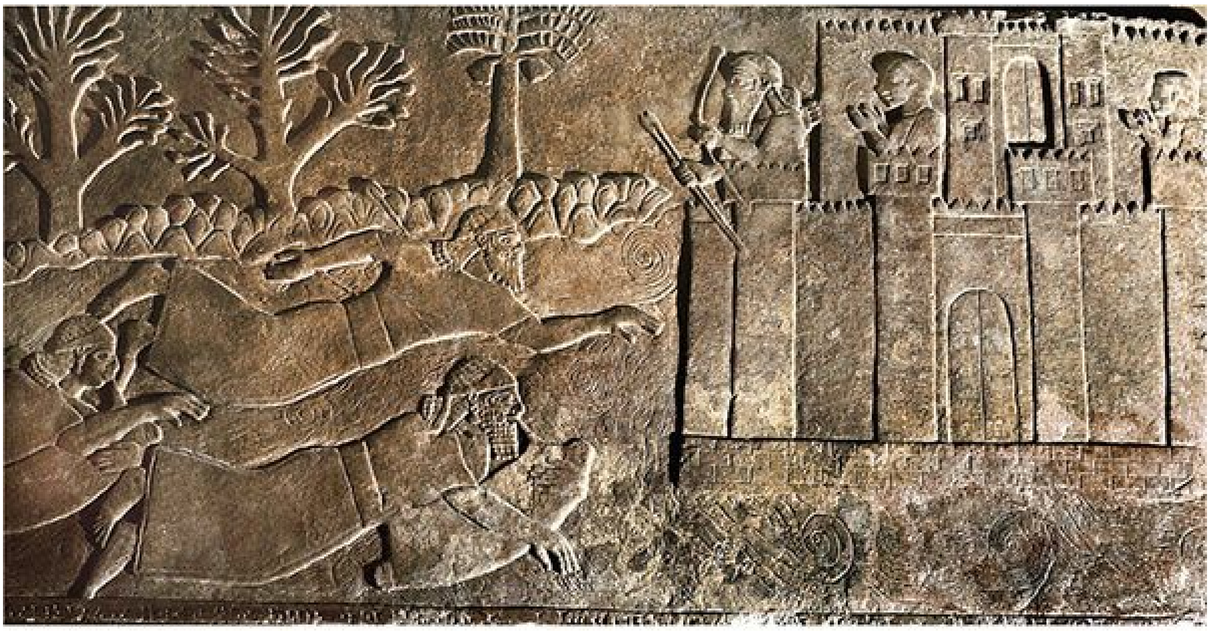
The Assyrians and the Persians

How did the Assyrians and the Persians consolidate their power and control the subjects of their empires?

Small kingdoms like those of the Phoenicians and the Jews could exist only in the absence of a major power. In the ninth century B.C.E. one major power arose in the form of the Assyrians, who starting in northern Mesopotamia created an empire through often-brutal military conquests. And from a base in what is now southern Iran, the Persians established an even larger empire, developing effective institutions of government.

Assyria, the Military Monarchy

Starting from a base in northern Mesopotamia around 900 B.C.E., the Assyrians began a campaign of expansion and domination, conquering, exacting tribute, and building new fortified towns, palaces, and temples. By means of almost constant warfare, the Assyrians created an empire that stretched from their capital of Nineveh on the Tigris River to central Egypt. Revolt against the Assyrians inevitably promised the rebels bloody battles and cruel sieges followed by surrender, accompanied by systematic torture and slaughter, and sometimes deportations.



British Museum, London, UK/© 2004 Werner Forman/TopFoto/The Image Works

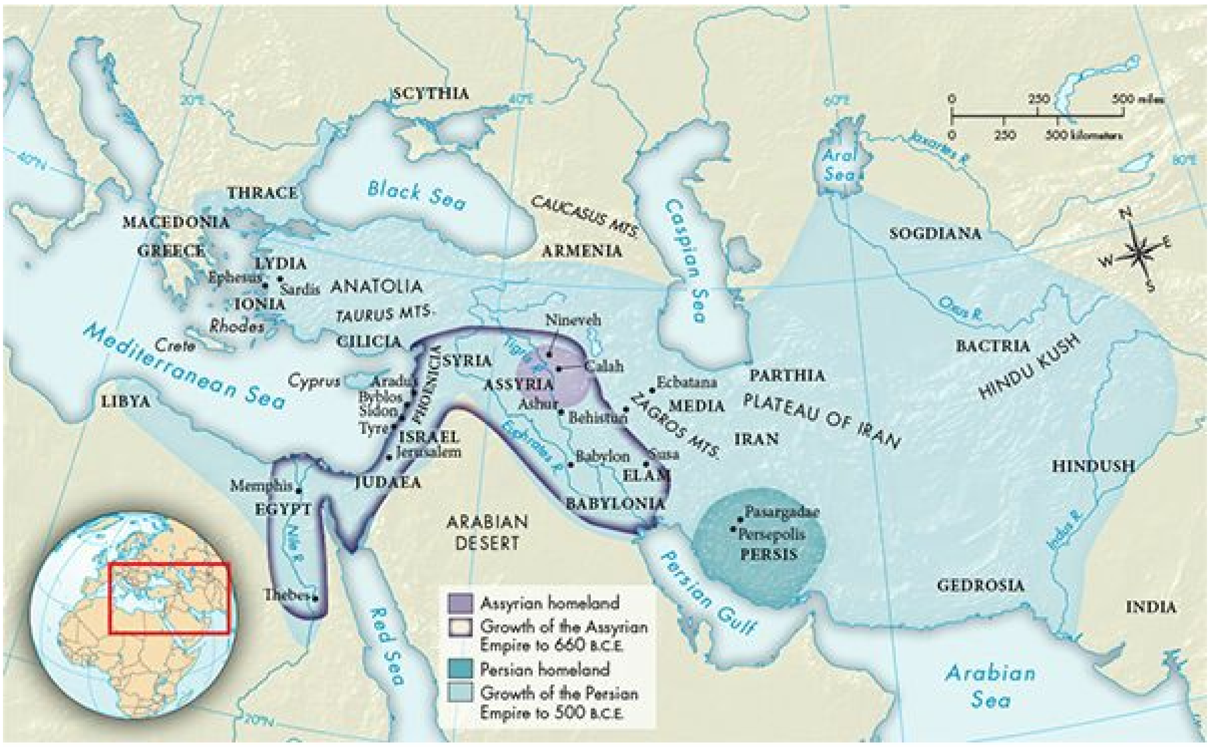
Assyrian Warriors Attack a City In this Assyrian carving from a royal throne room made about 865 B.C.E., warriors cross a river on inflated skins, which both support them and provide air for breathing underwater. Such innovative techniques, combined with a large army and effective military organization, allowed the Assyrians to establish a large empire.

Assyrian methods were certainly harsh, but in practical terms Assyria's success was due primarily to the size of its army and to the army's sophisticated and effective military organization. In addition, the Assyrians developed a wide variety of siege machinery and techniques, including excavations to undermine city walls and battering rams to knock down walls and gates. Never before in this area had anyone applied such technical knowledge to warfare. The Assyrians also knew how to coordinate their efforts, both in open battle and in siege warfare. Not only did the Assyrians know how to win battles, but they also knew how to take advantage of their victories. As early as the eighth century B.C.E., the Assyrian kings began to organize their conquered territories into an empire. The lands closest to Assyria became provinces governed directly by Assyrian officials. Kingdoms beyond the provinces were not annexed but became dependent states.

By the seventh century B.C.E. Assyrian power seemed firmly established. Yet the downfall of Assyria was swift and complete. Babylon won its independence in 626 B.C.E. and joined forces with a new group, the Medes, an Indo-European-speaking people from Persia. Together the Babylonians and the Medes destroyed the Assyrian Empire in 612 B.C.E., paving the way for the rise of the Persians.

The Rise and Expansion of the Persian Empire

As we have seen, Assyria rose to power from a base in the Tigris and Euphrates River Valleys of Mesopotamia, which had seen many earlier empires. The Assyrians were defeated by a coalition that included not only a Mesopotamian power — Babylon — but also a people with a base of power in a part of the world that had not been the site of earlier urbanized states: Persia (modern-day Iran) (Map 2.3).


SCYTHIA
THRACE
Black Sea
CAUCASUS MTS.
Caspian Sea
Aral Sea
Jaxartes R.
SOGDIANA
MACEDONIA
GREECE
LYDIA
Ephesus
Sardis
ANATOLIA
ARMENIA
IONIA
TAURUS MTS.
Rhodes
Crete
Mediterranean Sea
CILICIA
Nineveh
SYRIA
Tigris R.
Calah
ASSYRIA
Ashur
Cyprus
Aradus
Byblos
Sidon
Tyre
PHOENICIA
ISRAEL
Jerusalem
JUDAEA
LIBYA
Memphis
EGYPT
Nile R.
Thebes
Euphrates R.
Behistun
Babylon
Susa
ELAM
BABYLONIA
Ecbatana
MEDIA
ZAGROS MTS.
PARTHIA
PLATEAU OF IRAN
IRAN
Oxus R.
BACTRIA
HINDU KUSH
HINDUSH
Indus R.
ARABIAN DESERT
Red Sea
Persian Gulf
Pasargadae
Persepolis
PERSIS
GEDROSIA
INDIA
Arabian Sea
Assyrian homeland
Growth of the Assyrian Empire to 660 B.C.E.
Persian homeland
Growth of the Persian Empire to 500 B.C.E.
0 250 500 miles
0 250 500 kilometers
N
E
S
W
20°E
40°E
60°E
80°E
40°N
20°N

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 2.3 The Assyrian and Persian Empires, ca. 1000–500 B.C.E. The Assyrian Empire at its height around 650 B.C.E. included almost all of the old centers of power in the ancient Near East. By 500 B.C.E., however, the Persian Empire was far larger, extending from the Mediterranean Sea to the Indus River.

Iran's geographical position and topography explain its traditional role as the highway between western and eastern Asia. Nomadic peoples migrating south from the broad steppes of Russia and Central Asia have streamed into Iran throughout much of history. (For an in-depth discussion of these groups, see Chapter 12.) Confronting the uncrossable salt deserts, most have turned either westward or eastward, moving on until they reached the advanced and wealthy urban centers of Mesopotamia and India. Cities did emerge along these routes, however, and Iran became the area where nomads met urban dwellers.

Among these nomads were Indo-European-speaking peoples who migrated into this area about 1000 B.C.E. with their flocks and herds. They were also horse breeders, and the horse gave them a decisive military advantage over those who already lived in the area. One of these groups was the Medes, who settled in northern Iran. With the rise of the Medes, the balance of power in western Asia shifted east of Mesopotamia for the first time.

In 550 B.C.E. Cyrus the Great (r. 559–530 B.C.E.), king of the Persians (another Indo-European-speaking group) and one of the most remarkable statesmen of antiquity, conquered the Medes. Cyrus then set out to win control of the shore of the Mediterranean and thus of the terminal ports of the great trade routes that crossed Iran and Anatolia and to secure eastern Iran from the threats of nomadic invasions. In a series of major campaigns Cyrus achieved both goals, thereby consolidating the Persian Empire, though he ultimately died on the battlefield in eastern Iran.

After his victories, Cyrus made sure the Persians were portrayed as liberators, and in some cases he was more benevolent than most conquerors. According to his own account, he freed all the captive peoples, including the Hebrews, who were living in forced exile in Babylon. He returned the Hebrews' sacred objects to them and allowed those who wanted to do so to return to Jerusalem, where he paid for the rebuilding of their temple. (See "Global Viewpoints: Rulers and Divine Favor for Babylonians and Hebrews," page 54.)

Cyrus's successors continued the Persian conquests, creating the largest empire the world had yet seen. Darius (r. 521–486 B.C.E.) conquered Scythia in Central Asia, along with much of Thrace and Macedonia, areas north of the Aegean Sea (see Map 2.3). Darius began to call himself "King of Kings." Invasions of Greece by Darius and his son Xerxes were unsuccessful, but the Persian Empire lasted another two hundred years, until it became part of the empire of Alexander the Great (see "From Polis to Monarchy, 404–200 B.C.E." in Chapter 5).

The Persians also knew how to preserve the peace they had won on the battlefield. To govern the empire, they created an efficient administrative system based in their newly built capital city of Persepolis. Under Darius, they divided the empire into districts and appointed either Persian or local nobles as administrators called satraps to head each one. The satrap controlled local government, collected taxes, heard legal cases, and maintained order. He was assisted by a council and also by officials and army leaders sent from Persepolis who made sure that he knew the will of the king and that the king knew what was going on in the provinces. The Persians allowed the peoples they conquered to maintain their own customs and beliefs as long as they paid the proper amount of taxes and did not rebel, thus creating a culture that blended older and newer religious traditions and ways of seeing the world. Because Persian art depicted both Persians and non-Persians realistically, it is an excellent source of information about the weapons, tools, clothing, and even hairstyles of many peoples of the area.

Communication and trade were eased by a sophisticated system of roads linking the empire from the coast of Asia Minor to the valley of the Indus River. These roads meant that the king was usually in close touch with officials and subjects, and they simplified the defense of the empire by making it easier to move Persian armies. The roads also aided the flow of trade, which Persian rulers further encouraged by building canals, including one that linked the Red Sea and the Nile.

De Agostini Picture Library/Bridgeman Images

Gold Model of Horse-Drawn Chariot Two men dressed in the style of the Medes drive a four-horse chariot in this small model made entirely of gold. In the nineteenth century a huge collection of silver and gold objects from the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E. was found on the banks of the Oxus River in what is now Tajikistan. Most likely, the spot had been a ferry crossing and the objects had been buried long ago.

The Religion of Zoroaster

Persian religion was originally polytheistic and tied to nature, with Ahuramazda (ah-HOOR-uh-MAZ-duh) as the chief god. Around 600 B.C.E. the ideas of Zoroaster (zoh-roh-ASS-tuhr), a thinker and preacher whose dates are uncertain, began to gain prominence. Zoroaster is regarded as the author of key religious texts, which were later gathered together in a collection of sacred texts called the Avesta. He introduced new spiritual concepts, stressing devotion to Ahuramazda alone and emphasizing the individual’s responsibility to choose between the forces of creation, truth, and order and those of nothingness, chaos, falsehood, and disorder. Zoroaster taught that people possessed free will and that they must rely on their own consciences to guide them through an active life in which they focused on “good thoughts, good words, and good deeds.” Their decisions were crucial, he warned, for there would come a time of reckoning. At the end of time, the forces of order would win, and the victorious Ahuramazda, like the Egyptian god Osiris, would preside over a last judgment to determine each person’s eternal fate.

Zoroaster’s writings were communicated by teachers, and King Darius began to use Zoroastrian language and images. Under the protection of the Persian kings, Zoroastrian ideas spread throughout Iran and the rest of the Persian Empire, and then into central China. **Zoroastrianism** survived the fall of the Persian Empire to influence Christianity, Islam, and Buddhism, largely because of its belief in a just life on earth and a happy afterlife. Good behavior in the world, even though unrecognized at the time, would receive ample reward in the hereafter. Evil, no matter how powerful a person had been in life, would be punished after death. In some form or another, Zoroastrian concepts still pervade many modern religions, and Zoroastrianism still exists as a religion.

Zoroastrianism Religion based on the teachings of Zoroaster that emphasized the individual’s responsibility to choose between good and evil.

Chapter Summary

Beginning about 5,000 years ago, people in some parts of the world invented writing, in large part to meet the needs of the state. States first developed in the southern part of Mesopotamia known as Sumer, where priests and rulers invented ways to control and organize people who lived in cities reliant on irrigation. Conquerors from the north unified Mesopotamian city-states into larger empires and spread Mesopotamian culture over a large area.

During the third millennium B.C.E. Egypt grew into a cohesive state under a single ruler. For long stretches of history, Egypt was prosperous and secure in the Nile Valley, although at times various groups migrated into or invaded and conquered this kingdom. During the period known as the New Kingdom, warrior-kings created a large Egyptian empire. After the collapse of the New Kingdom, the Nubian rulers of Kush conquered Egypt, and another group, the Phoenicians, came to dominate trade in the Mediterranean, spreading a letter alphabet. Another group, the Hebrews, created a new form of religious belief based on the worship of a single all-powerful god.

In the ninth century B.C.E. the Assyrians used a huge army and sophisticated military tactics to create an empire from a base in northern Mesopotamia. The Persians established an even larger empire, developing effective institutions of government and building roads. The Persians generally allowed their subjects to continue their own customs, traditions, and religions. Around 600 B.C.E. a new religion grew in Persia based on the teachings of the prophet Zoroaster.

CONNECTIONS

“History is written by the victors” goes a common saying often incorrectly attributed to British prime minister Winston Churchill, who led Britain during World War II. This is not always true; people who have been vanquished in wars or devastated by oppression have certainly made their stories known. But in other ways it is always true, for writing created records and therefore was the origin of what many people understand as history. Writing was invented to serve the needs of people who lived close to one another in cities and states, and almost everyone who could write lived in states. Because most written history, including this book, concentrates on areas with states and complex societies, the next two chapters examine the societies that were developing in India and China during the period discussed in this chapter. In Chapter 5 we pick up on developments in the Mediterranean that link to those in Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Persia discussed in this chapter.

It is important to remember that, as was the spread of agriculture, the growth of the state was a slow process. States became the most powerful and most densely populated forms of human society, and today almost everyone on the planet is at least hypothetically a citizen of a state or, as we now call them, nation (or sometimes of more than one, if he or she has dual citizenship). Just three hundred years ago, however, only about a third of the world was governed by states; in the rest of the world, people lived in bands of foragers, villages led by kin leaders, family groups of pastoralists, chiefdoms, confederations of tribes, or other forms of social organization. In 500 B.C.E. perhaps only a little over 5 percent of the world's population lived in states.

The first inquiries into the past in the West were written at just about this time, by the Greek writer Herodotus (heh-ROD-duh-tuhs) (ca. 484–ca. 425 B.C.E.), who used the word *historia* to describe them, from which we get the word *history*. In his histories, Herodotus pays primary attention to the Persians and the Greeks, both of whom had writing and states, but he also discusses many peoples who had neither. In their attempts to provide a balanced account of all the world's peoples, not just those who lived in places where writing developed, historians today are also looking beyond written sources. Those sources invariably present only part of the story, as Winston Churchill — a historian as well as a political leader — noted in something he actually *did* say: "History will bear me out, particularly as I shall write that history myself."

CHAPTER 2 Review and Explore

Identify Key Terms

Identify and explain the significance of each item below.

polytheism (p. 35)
cuneiform (p. 35)
epic poem (p. 37)
Hammurabi’s law code (p. 39)
pharaoh (p. 42)
Indo-European languages (p. 44)
Iron Age (p. 48)
Phoenicians (p. 48)
Yahweh (p. 49)
Zoroastrianism (p. 55)

Review the Main Ideas

Answer the focus questions from each section of the chapter.

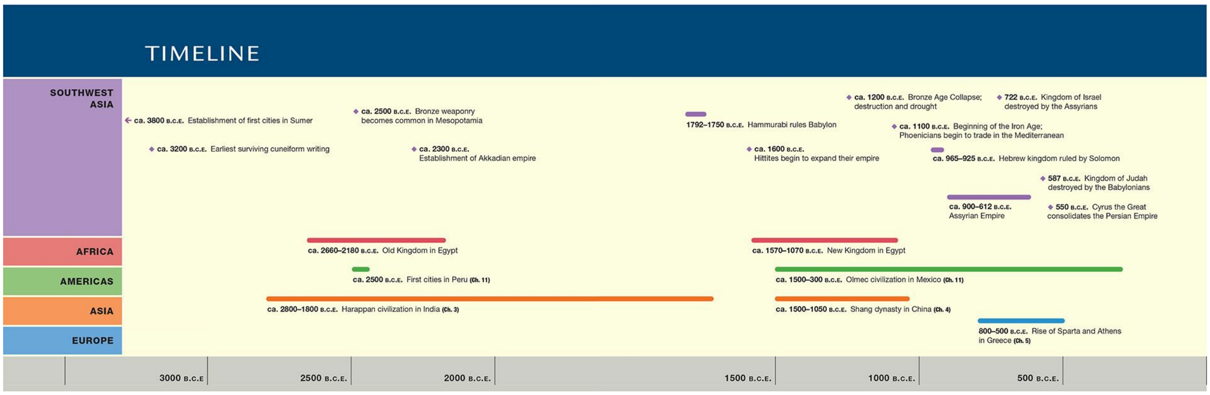
1. How does writing shape what we can know about the past, and how did writing develop to meet the needs of cities and states? (p. 32)
2. How did the peoples of Mesopotamia form states and develop new technologies and institutions? (p. 34)
3. How did the Egyptians create a prosperous and long-lasting society? (p. 39)
4. How did the Hebrews create an enduring written religious tradition? (p. 49)
5. How did the Assyrians and the Persians consolidate their power and control the subjects of their empires? (p. 51)

Make Comparisons and Connections

Analyze the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters.

1. Thinking about continuities, as well as change, what aspects of life in the Neolithic period continued with little change in the states of Mesopotamia and Egypt? What were the most important differences?
2. Most peoples in the ancient world gained influence over others and became significant in history through military conquest and the establishment of states and empires. By contrast, how did the Phoenicians and the Hebrews shape the development of world history? What does this suggest about the importance of cultural as well as political developments in world history?
3. How were the empires that developed in Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Persia

similar to one another? Which of the characteristics you have identified as a similarity do you predict will also be found in later empires, and why?



Suggested Resources

Books

Briant, Pierre. *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire*. 2002. A superb treatment of the entire Persian Empire.

Edwards, David N. *The Nubian Past*. 2004. Studies the history of Nubia and the Sudan, incorporating archaeological evidence to supplement historical sources.

Goldenberg, Robert. *The Origins of Judaism: From Canaan to the Rise of Islam*. 2007. Examines the development of Jewish ideas and traditions.

Kriwaczek, Paul. *In Search of Zarathustra: Across Iran and Central Asia to Find the World's First Prophet*. 2004. An award-winning BBC journalist follows the legacy of Zoroaster back through time.

Leick, Gwendolyn. *The Babylonians*. 2002. An introduction to all aspects of Babylonian life and culture.

Markoe, Glenn E. *The Phoenicians*. 2000. Presents these seafarers at home and abroad in the Mediterranean.

McDowell, A. G. *Village Life in Ancient Egypt: Laundry Lists and Love Songs*. 1999. A fascinating study of the basic social and economic factors of Egyptian life.

Podany, Amanda. *Brotherhood of Kings: How International Relations Shaped the Ancient Near East*. 2010. Examines a thousand years of diplomacy among rulers.

Provan, Iain, V. Philips Long, and Tremper Longman III. *A Biblical History of Israel*, 2d ed. 2015. A history of ancient Israel that relies primarily on the biblical text.

Van de Mieroop, Marc. *A History of the Ancient Near East, 3000–332 B.C.E.* 2010. A concise history from Sumerian cities to Alexander the Great.

Visicato, Giuseppe. *The Power and the Writing: The Early Scribes of Mesopotamia*. 2000. Studies the practical importance of early Mesopotamian scribes.

Vivante, Bella. *Daughters of Gaia: Women of the Ancient World*. 2008.

Explores the political, religious, and economic activities of actual women, and also examines ideas about gender.

Documentaries

Ancient Worlds: Come Together (BBC, 2010). Archaeologist and historian Richard Miles explores the beginning of civilization in the cities of Mesopotamia.

The Bible's Buried Secrets (*Nova*, 2008). In this two-hour special, *Nova* examines the ancient Israelites through biblical and other ancient texts and archaeological artifacts.

Egypt's Golden Empire (PBS, 2002). This three-part series on the era of the New Kingdom examines the lives of pharaohs, nobles, and ordinary people in Egypt's expanding empire.

Engineering an Empire: The Persians (History Channel, 2006). This hour-long documentary focuses on the engineering of the Persian Empire, especially its canals and roads.

The Kings: From Babylon to Baghdad (History Channel, 2004). This feature-length documentary surveys the rulers of Mesopotamia, from Sargon of Akkad to Saddam Hussein, with special attention to military matters.

Websites

Ancient Civilizations, Mesopotamia, and Egypt. Three interactive sites from the British Museum highlight objects in the museum's fabulous collection, with maps, essays, and other resources.
www.ancientcivilizations.co.uk
www.mesopotamia.co.uk
www.ancientegypt.co.uk

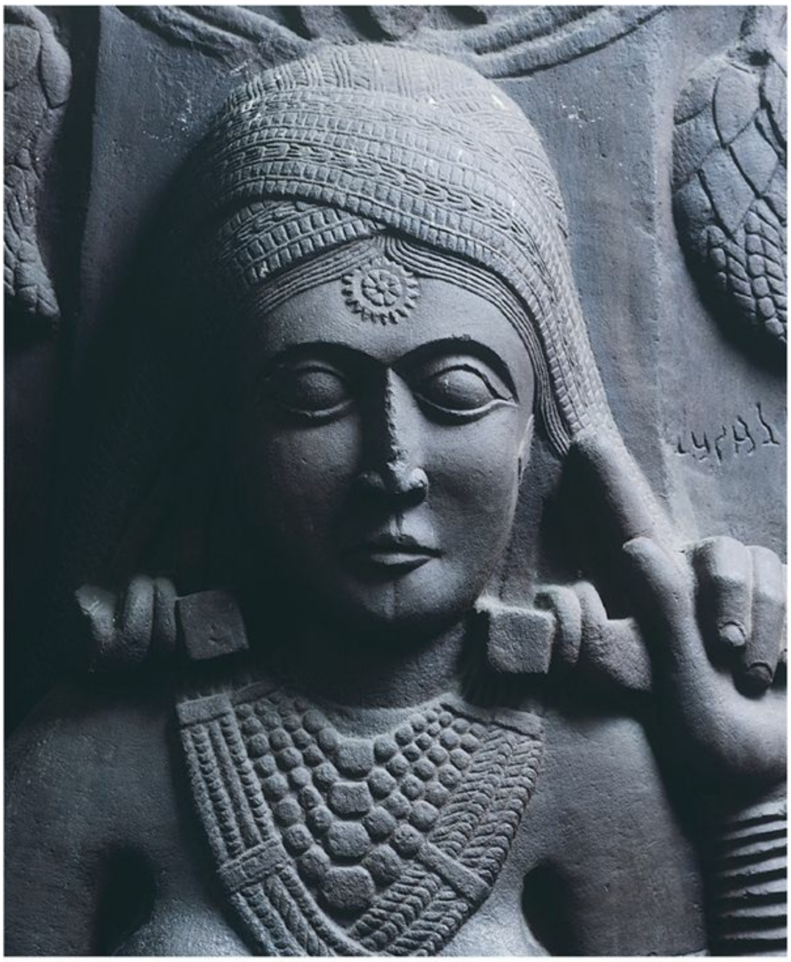
Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative. CDLI offers scholars tens of thousands of pictures of cuneiform texts, many with transcriptions in English, plus a useful wiki written by scholars about Mesopotamian history. The site is run by UCLA and the Max Planck Institute of the History of Science.
cdli.ucla.edu

Israel Antiquities Authority. The official website of the Israel Antiquities Authority features a huge collection of artifacts from many periods in the "National Treasures" section.
www.antiquities.org.il/default_en2.aspx

3

The Foundation of Indian Society

to 300 C.E.



De Agostino Picture Library/G. Nimatallah/Bridgeman Images

Female Spirit from an Indian Stupa

Royal patronage aided the spread of Buddhism in India, especially the patronage of King Ashoka, who sponsored the construction of numerous Buddhist monuments. This head of a female spirit

(called a *yakshini*) is from the stupa that Ashoka had built at Bharhut in central India.

During the centuries when the peoples of ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt were developing urban civilizations, people in India were wrestling with the same challenges — food production, building of cities, political administration, and questions about human life and the cosmos. Like the civilizations of the Nile River Valley and southwestern Asia, the earliest Indian civilization centered on a great river, the Indus. From about 2800 B.C.E. to 1800 B.C.E., the Harappan culture thrived and expanded over a huge area.

A very different Indian society emerged after the decline of this civilization. It was dominated by the Aryans, warriors who spoke an early version of Sanskrit. The Indian caste system and the Hindu religion, key features of Indian society that continued into modern times, had their origins in early Aryan society. By the middle of the first millennium B.C.E., the Aryans had set up numerous small kingdoms throughout north India. This was the great age of Indian religious creativity, when Buddhism and Jainism were founded and the early Brahmanic religion of the Aryans developed into Hinduism.

The first major Indian empire, the Mauryan Dynasty, emerged in the wake of the Greek invasion of north India in 326 B.C.E. This dynasty reached its peak under King Ashoka, who actively promoted Buddhism both within his realm and beyond it. Not long after his reign, however, the empire broke up, and for several centuries India was politically divided. Although India never had a single language and only periodically had a centralized government, cultural elements dating back to the ancient period — the core ideas of Brahmanism, the caste system, and the early epics — spread through trade and other contact, even when the subcontinent was divided into competing kingdoms.

CHAPTER PREVIEW

THE LAND AND ITS FIRST SETTLERS, CA. 3000–1500 B.C.E.
What does archaeology tell us about the Harappan civilization in India?

THE ARYANS DURING THE VEDIC AGE, CA. 1500–500 B.C.E.
What kind of society and culture did the Indo-European Aryans create?

INDIA'S GREAT RELIGIONS
What ideas and practices were taught by the founders of Jainism, Buddhism, and Hinduism?

WESTERN CONTACT AND THE MAURYAN UNIFICATION

OF NORTH INDIA, CA. 513–185 B.C.E.

What was the result of Indian contact with the Persians and Greeks, and what were the consequences of unification under the Mauryan Empire?

SMALL STATES AND TRADING NETWORKS, 185 B.C.E.–300 C.E.

How was India shaped by political disunity and contacts with other cultures during the five centuries from 185 B.C.E. to 300 C.E.?

The Land and Its First Settlers, ca. 3000–1500 B.C.E.

What does archaeology tell us about the Harappan civilization in India?

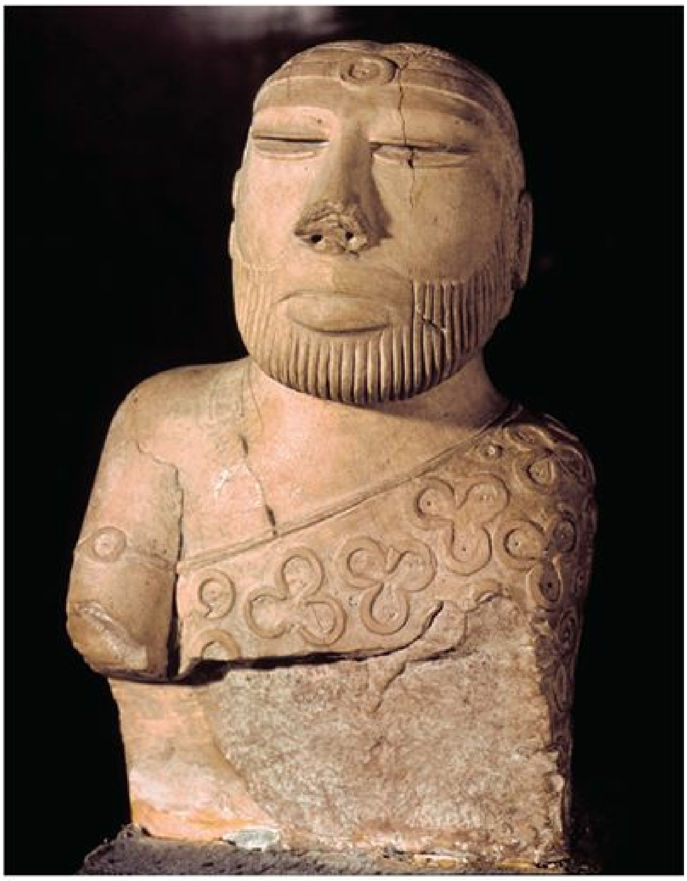
The subcontinent of India, a landmass as large as western Europe, juts southward into the warm waters of the Indian Ocean. Today this region is divided into the separate countries of Pakistan, Nepal, India, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka, but these divisions are recent, and for this discussion of premodern history, the entire subcontinent will be called India.

In India, as elsewhere, the possibilities for both agriculture and communication have always been shaped by geography. Most areas in India are warm all year, with average temperatures ranging from 79°F in the north to 85°F in the south. Monsoon rains sweep northward from the Indian Ocean each summer. The lower reaches of the Himalaya Mountains in the northeast are covered by dense forests. Immediately to the south are the fertile valleys of the Indus and Ganges Rivers. These lowland plains, which stretch all the way across the subcontinent, were tamed for agriculture over time, and India's great empires were centered there. To their west are the deserts of Rajasthan and southeastern Pakistan, historically important in part because their flat terrain enabled invaders to sweep into India from the northwest. South of the great river valleys rise the jungle-clad Vindhya Mountains and the dry, hilly Deccan Plateau. Only along the western coast of this part of India do the hills give way to narrow plains where crop agriculture flourished (see Map 3.2, page 78). India's long coastlines and predictable winds fostered maritime trade with other countries bordering the Indian Ocean.

Agriculture was well established in India by about 7000 B.C.E. Wheat and barley were the early crops, probably having spread in their domesticated form from what is today the Middle East. Farmers also domesticated cattle, sheep, and goats and learned to make pottery.

The story of the first civilization in India is one of the most dramatic in the ancient world. From the Bible, people knew about ancient Egypt and Sumer for centuries, but it was not until 1921 that archaeologists found astonishing evidence of a thriving and sophisticated Bronze Age urban culture dating to about 2500 B.C.E. at Mohenjo-daro in what is now Pakistan. Since 1921 thousands of additional sites of this **Harappan** (huh-RAH-puhn) civilization have been found in both India and Pakistan. (See "Thinking Like a Historian: Harappan Artifacts," page 64.)

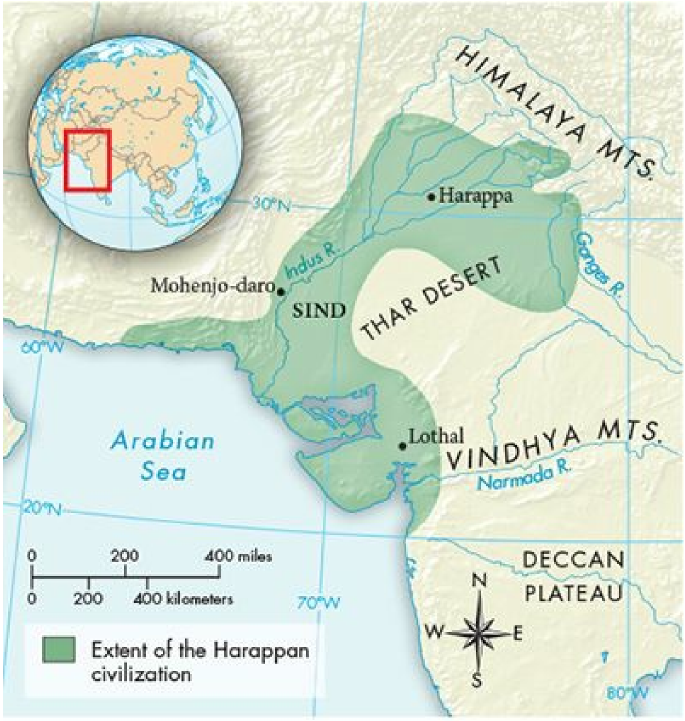
Harappan The first Indian civilization; also known as the Indus Valley civilization.



National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi, Pakistan/Jean-Louis Nou/akg-images

Stone Figure of a Man from Mohenjo-daro This small stone figure, about 7 inches tall, is thought to depict a priest-king. The man’s beard is carefully trimmed and his upper lip is shaved. The headband and armband have circular ornaments, probably once filled with colored paste. His robe with its trefoil designs was probably also filled with colors to suggest the fabric more vividly.

Harappan civilization extended over a vast area and evolved over a period of nearly a millennium (Map 3.1). It extended over nearly five hundred thousand square miles in the Indus Valley, making it more than twice as large as ancient Egypt or Sumer. Yet Harappan civilization was marked by striking uniformity in the layout and construction of towns. Figurines of pregnant women have been found throughout the area, suggesting common religious ideas and practices. It was a literate civilization, like those of Egypt and Mesopotamia, but its script has not yet been deciphered.


HIMALAYA MTS.
30°N
Harappa
Ganges R.
Indus R.
Mohenjo-daro
SIND
THAR DESERT
60°W
Arabian Sea
Lothal
VINDHYA MTS.
Narmada R.
20°N
0 200 400 miles
0 200 400 kilometers
70°W
DECCAN PLATEAU
N
W
E
S
80°W
🟩 Extent of the Harappan civilization

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e,
© 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 3.1 Harappan Civilization, ca. 2500 B.C.E.
The earliest civilization in India developed in the Indus River Valley in the west of the subcontinent.

Like Mesopotamian cities, Harappan cities were centers for crafts and trade and were surrounded by extensive farmland. Craftsmen produced ceramics decorated with geometric designs. The Harappans were the earliest known manufacturers of cotton cloth, and this cloth was so abundant that goods were wrapped in it for shipment. Trade was extensive. As early as the reign of Sargon of Akkad in the third millennium B.C.E. (see “Empires in Mesopotamia” in Chapter 2), trade between India and Mesopotamia carried goods and ideas between the two cultures, probably by way of the Persian Gulf. The Harappan port of Lothal had a stone dock 700 feet long, next to which were massive granaries and bead-making factories.

The cities of Mohenjo-daro in southern Pakistan, and Harappa, some 400 miles to the north, were huge for this period, more than 3 miles in circumference, with populations estimated at 35,000 to 40,000. Both were defended by great citadels that towered 40 to 50 feet above the surrounding plain. The cities, with their straight streets, had obviously been planned and built before being settled — they were not the outcomes of villages that grew and sprawled haphazardly. The houses were substantial, many two stories tall, some perhaps three. The focal point of a house was a central courtyard onto which the rooms opened.

Perhaps the most surprising aspect of the elaborate planning of these cities was their complex system of drainage. Each house had a bathroom with a drain connected to brick-lined sewers located under the major streets. Openings allowed the refuse to be collected, probably to be used as fertilizer on nearby fields. No other ancient city had such an advanced sanitation system.

Both Mohenjo-daro and Harappa also contained numerous large structures, which archaeologists think were public buildings. One of the most important was the large ventilated storehouse for the community's grain. Mohenjo-daro also had a marketplace or place of assembly, a palace, and a huge pool some 39 feet long by 23 feet wide by 8 feet deep, thought by some to have been used for ritual purification. In contrast to ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia, no great tombs have been discovered in Harappa, making it more difficult to envision the life of the elite.

The prosperity of the Indus civilization depended on constant and intensive cultivation of the rich river valley. Although rainfall seems to have been greater than in recent times, the Indus, like the Nile, flowed through a relatively dry region made fertile by annual floods and irrigation. And as in Egypt, agriculture was aided by a long, hot growing season and near-constant sunshine.

Because no one has yet deciphered the written language of the Harappan people, their political, intellectual, and religious life is largely unknown. There clearly was a political structure with the authority to organize city planning and facilitate trade, but we do not even know whether there were hereditary kings.

Soon after 2000 B.C.E., the Harappan civilization mysteriously declined, with people leaving the cities to live in rural villages. The decline cannot be attributed to the arrival of powerful invaders, as was once thought. Rather it was internally generated. Some scholars suspect an environmental crisis, perhaps a severe drought, an earthquake that led to a shift in the course of the river, or a buildup of salt and alkaline in the soil until they reached levels toxic to plants. Others speculate that long-distance commerce collapsed, leading to an economic depression. Yet others theorize that the population fell prey to diseases, such as malaria, that caused people to flee the cities.

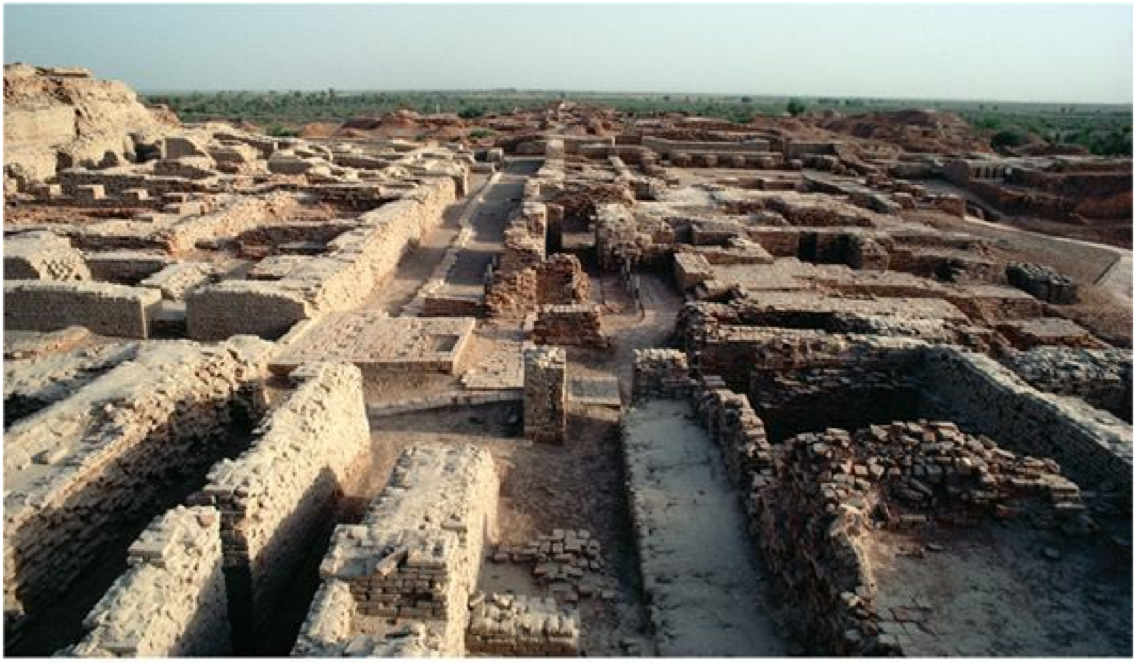
After the Harappan cities were abandoned, for the next thousand years India had no large cities, no kiln-fired bricks, and no written language.

THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN

Harappan Artifacts

Since 1921 thousands of ancient settlements have been found in the region of the Indus River in modern India and Pakistan dating to the period from 2600 to 1900 B.C.E. Five of these are large cities, located hundreds of miles apart. The cities had obviously been planned and built before being settled; they were not the outcomes of villages that grew and sprawled haphazardly. There are signs of extensive trade, some of it over long distances. After thriving for centuries, these cities and smaller ones as well were largely abandoned, with their residents moving into villages, for reasons not yet known for sure.

1 **Brick ruins of Mohenjo-daro.** Throughout the Harappan area, bricks were made to standard proportions (4:2:1). Cites were built on grids, with straight streets extending north to south and east to west. The city of Mohenjo-daro, shown here, was more than 3 miles in circumference and included a large ventilated storehouse for the community’s grain, and a huge bath, seen here. Made with kiln-fired bricks, the bath is 39 feet long, 23 feet wide, and 8 feet deep.

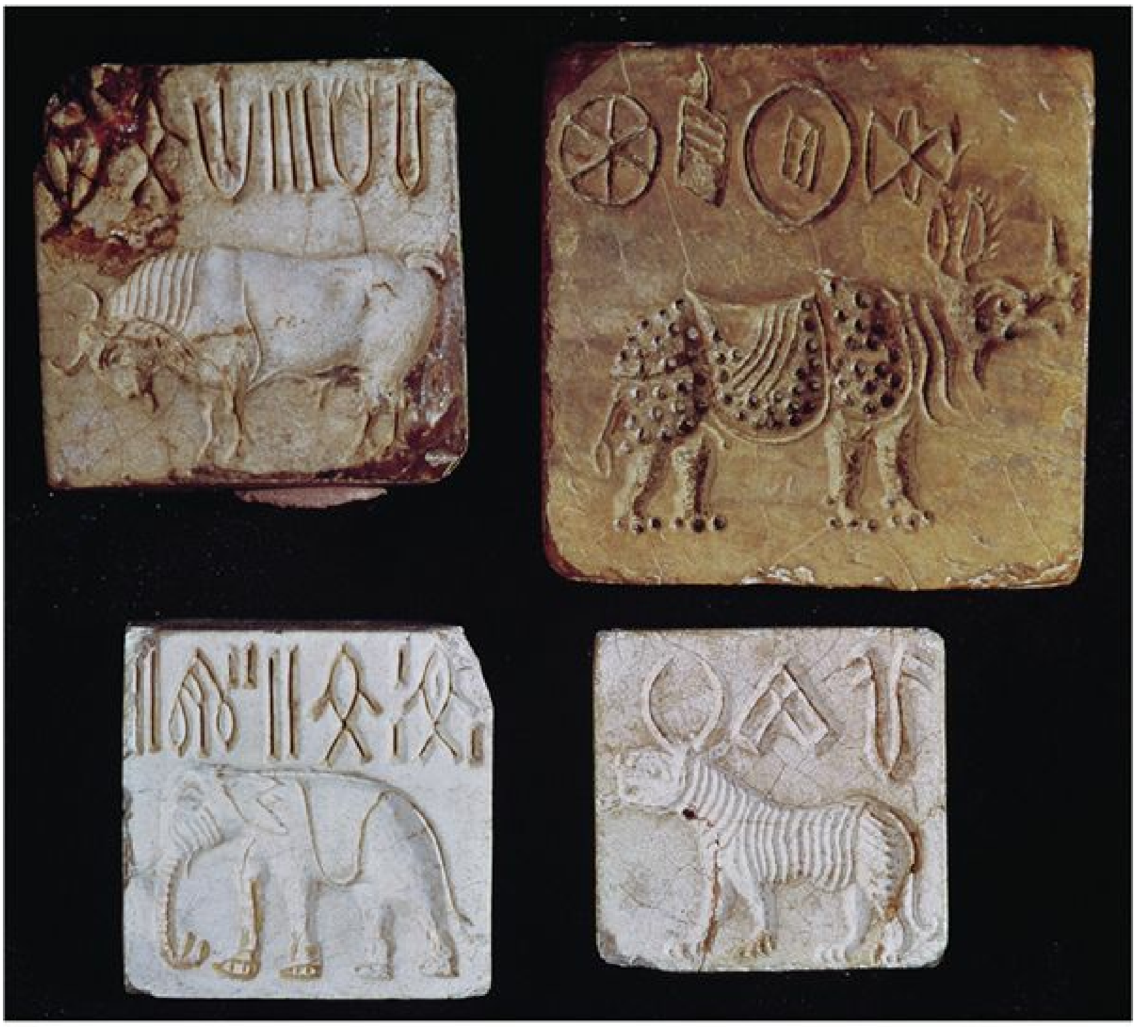


James P. Blair/National Geographic Creative

2 **Harappan jewelry.** Jewelry found in Harappan sites makes much use of gold and precious stones. Necklaces and bracelets are particularly common.

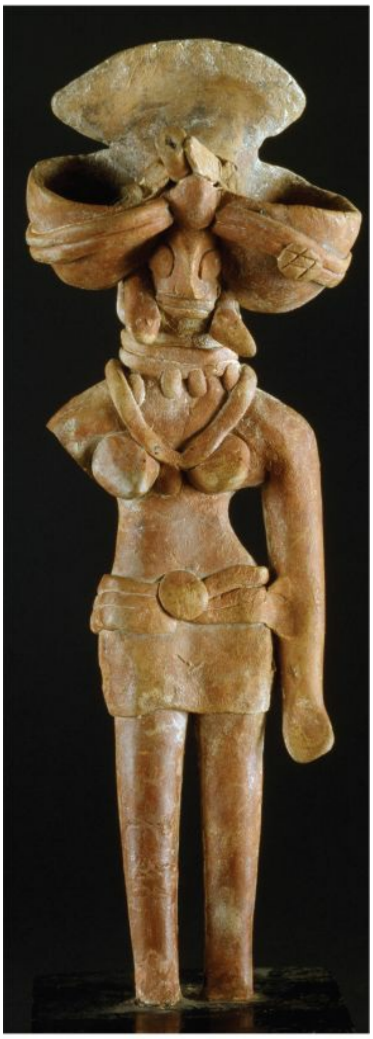
National Museum of India, New Delhi, India/Bridgeman Images

3 **Inscribed seals.** Several thousand seals have been found with symbols inscribed on them, assumed to represent words, but no one has been able to decipher them. Like in the Sumer, seals were used to impress clay tablets, but the symbols have no connection to Sumerian cuneiform. These four seals are thought to depict a bull, a rhinoceros, an elephant, and a tiger.



National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi, Pakistan/Bridgeman Images

4 **Figurine.** Figurines of women have been found throughout the Harappan area, often adorned with jewelry, as this one is. By contrast, figurines of men are rare.



National Museum of New Delhi/
© Angelo Hornak/Alamy Stock Photo

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. What can be inferred from the straight lines and uniform-sized bricks in the ruins of Mohenjo-daro in Source 1? Can you recognize the walls of buildings? What else do you see?
2. Does the gold and precious stone jewelry in Source 2 seem distinctly Harappan, or are similar types of personal ornaments found in other cultures? What sort of use could have been made of the three smaller objects?
3. What use do you think was made of figurines of women like the one in Source 4? Do you think they were used as children's toys? Or could they have had a religious significance, perhaps as symbols of fertility? Do you know of similar objects found in any other early civilizations?
4. Archaeologists have taken the evidence from brick ruins, seals, figurines, and jewelry, such as those in Sources 1–4, to propose hypotheses about the religion, social structure, or political organization of Harappan society. How should we assess their arguments? What would be the strengths and weak points?

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

Using the sources above, along with what you have learned in class and in this chapter, write a short essay that analyzes the evidence for Harappan civilization. What can be said with confidence on the basis of the evidence? What must remain speculation?

The Aryans During the Vedic Age, ca. 1500–500 B.C.E.

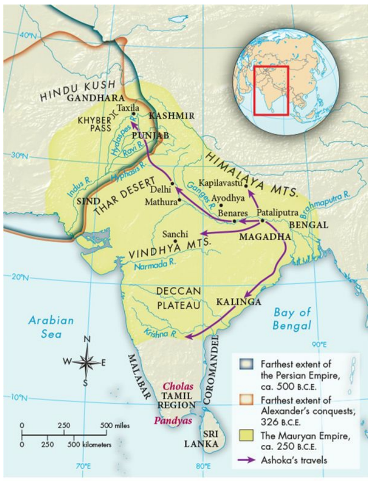
What kind of society and culture did the Indo-European Aryans create?

After the decline of the Harappan civilization, a people who called themselves **Aryans** became dominant in north India. They were speakers of an early form of Sanskrit, an Indo-European language closely related to ancient Persian and more distantly related to Latin, Greek, Celtic, and their modern descendants, such as English. For example, the Sanskrit *nava*, "ship," is related to the English word *naval*; *deva*, "god," to *divine*; and *raja*, "ruler," to *regal*. The word *Aryan* itself comes from *Arya*, "noble" or "pure" in Sanskrit, and has the same linguistic root as *Iran* and *Ireland*. The Aryans flourished during the Vedic Age (ca. 1500–500 B.C.E.). Named for the Vedas, a large and significant body of ancient sacred works written in Sanskrit, this period witnessed the Indo-Aryan development of the caste system and the Brahmanic religion and the writing of the great epics that represent the earliest form of Indian literature.

Aryans The dominant people in north India after the decline of the Indus Valley civilization; they spoke an early form of Sanskrit.

Aryan Dominance in North India

Until relatively recently, the dominant theory was that the Aryans came into India from outside, perhaps as part of the same movements of people whereby the Hittites occupied parts of Anatolia, the Achaeans entered Greece, and the Kassites conquered Sumer — all in the period from about 1900 B.C.E. to 1750 B.C.E. Some scholars, however, have proposed that the Indo-European languages spread to this area much earlier; to them it seems possible that the Harappan people were speakers of an early Indo-European language. If that was the case, the Aryans would be one of the groups descended from this early population.


HINDU KUSH
GANDHARA
Taxila
KHYBER PASS
KASHMIR
PUNJAB
Indus R.
Ravi R.
SIND
THAR DESERT
Delhi
Mathura
HIMALAYA MTS.
Kapilavastu
Ayodhya
Ganges R.
Brahmaputra R.
Benares
Pataliputra
BENGAL
MAGADHA
Sanchi
VINDHYA MTS.
Narmada R.
DECCAN PLATEAU
KALINGA
Krishna R.
Arabian Sea
Bay of Bengal
MALABAR
COROMANDEL
Cholas
TAMIL REGION
Pandyas
SRI LANKA
N
S
E
W
30°N
20°N
10°N
40°N
70°E
80°E
90°E
0 250 500 miles
0 250 500 kilometers
Farthest extent of the Persian Empire, ca. 500 B.C.E.
Farthest extent of Alexander's conquests, 326 B.C.E.
The Mauryan Empire, ca. 250 B.C.E.
Ashoka's travels

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Indo-European Migrations and the Vedic Age

Modern politics complicates analysis of the appearance of the Aryans and their role in India's history. Europeans in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries developed the concept of Indo-European languages, and they did so in an age both highly conscious of race and in the habit of identifying races with languages. The racist potential of the concept was exploited by the Nazis, who glorified the Aryans as a superior race. Even in less politicized contexts, the notion of a group of people who entered India from outside and made themselves its rulers is troubling to many. Does it mean that the non-Aryans are the true Indians? Does it add legitimacy to those who in later times conquered India from outside? Does it justify or undermine the caste system? One of the difficulties faced by scholars who wish to take a dispassionate view of these issues is that the evidence for the earlier Harappan culture is entirely archaeological, while the evidence for the Aryans is almost entirely based on linguistic analysis of modern languages and orally transmitted texts of uncertain date.

The central source of information on the early Aryans is the ***Rig Veda***, the earliest of the Vedas, originally an oral collection of hymns, ritual texts, and philosophical treatises composed in Sanskrit between 1500 B.C.E. and 500 B.C.E. Like Homer's epics in Greece, which were written in the same period (see "The 'Dark Age' " in Chapter 5), these texts were transmitted orally. They portray the Aryans as warrior tribes who glorified military skill and heroism; loved to drink, hunt, race, and dance; and counted their wealth in cattle. The Aryans did not sweep across India in a quick campaign, nor were they a disciplined army led by one conqueror. Rather they were a collection of tribes that frequently fought with each other and only over the course of several centuries came to dominate north India. (See "Global Viewpoints: Divine Martial Prowess in India and

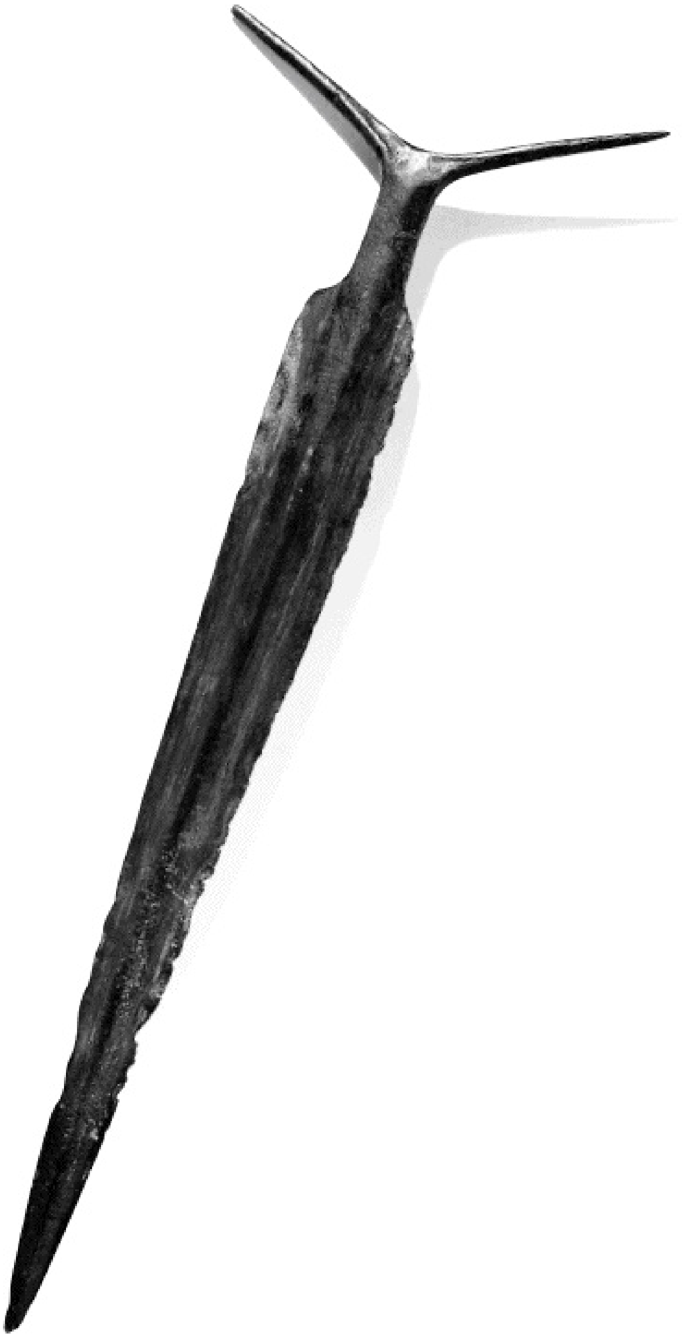
Sumer,” above.)

American Museum of Natural History, New York/Photo © Boltin Picture Library/ Bridgeman Images

Earthenware Horse Figurines The Aryans were great horsemen, perhaps explaining the inclusion of these models of horses in a tomb in north India during the Vedic period.

Rig Veda The earliest collection of Indian hymns, ritual texts, and philosophical treatises, it is the central source of information on early Aryans.

The key to the Aryans’ success probably lay in their superior military technology. Those they fought often lived in fortified towns and put up a strong defense against them, but Aryan warriors had superior technology, including two-wheeled chariots, horses, and bronze swords and spears. Their epics present the struggle for north India in religious terms, describing their chiefs as godlike heroes and their opponents as irreligious savages who did not perform the proper sacrifices. In time, however, the Aryans clearly absorbed much from those they conquered, such as agricultural techniques and foods.



© The Trustees of the British Museum/Art Resource, NY

Bronze Sword This bronze sword, with a rib in the middle of the blade for strength, is a striking example of the quality of Aryan arms. Superior weapons gave the Aryans military advantage.

At the head of each Aryan tribe was a chief, or raja (RAH-juh), who led his followers in battle and ruled them in peacetime. The warriors in the tribe elected the chief for his military skills. Next in importance to the chief was the priest. In time, priests evolved into a distinct class possessing precise knowledge of complex rituals and of the invocations and formulas that accompanied them, rather like the priest classes in ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Persia. Below them in the pecking order was a warrior nobility who rode into battle in chariots and perhaps on horseback. The warrior class met at assemblies to reach decisions and advise the raja. The common tribesmen tended herds and worked the land. To the conquered non-Aryans fell the drudgery of menial tasks. It is difficult to define precisely their social status. Though probably not slaves, they were certainly subordinate to the Aryans and worked for them in return for protection.

Over the course of several centuries, the Aryans pushed farther east into the valley of the Ganges River, at that time a land of thick jungle populated by aboriginal forest peoples. The tremendous challenge of clearing the jungle was made somewhat easier by the introduction of iron around 1000 B.C.E., probably by diffusion from Mesopotamia.

As Aryan rulers came to dominate large settled populations, the style of political organization changed from tribal chieftainship to territorial kingship. In other words, the ruler now controlled an area with people living in permanent settlements, not a nomadic tribe that moved as a group. Moreover, kings no longer needed to be elected by the tribe; it was enough to be invested by priests and to perform the splendid royal ceremonies they designed. The priests, or **Brahmins**, supported the growth of royal power in return for royal confirmation of their own power and status. The Brahmins also served as advisers to the kings. In the face of this royal-priestly alliance, the old tribal assemblies of warriors withered away. By the time Persian armies reached the Indus around 513 B.C.E., there were sixteen major Aryan kingdoms in north India.

Brahmins Priests of the Aryans; they supported the growth of royal power in return for royal confirmation of their own religious rights, power, and status.

GLOBAL VIEWPOINTS

Divine Martial Prowess in India and Sumer

Depictions of heroic military leaders and their interactions with their closest followers are found in the literature of many early societies. Sometimes the closest followers had once been opponents but were won over after recognizing the victor's strength and courage. In India, one of the documents recounting such heroes is the *Rig Veda*, a collection of hymns that is the best source of information about the early Aryans. In the excerpt that follows, Indra, the king of the gods, boasts of his might to a band of fighters. It can be compared to the second document, from the Sumerian *Epic of Gilgamesh*, which describes how Enkidu became a follower of Gilgamesh after being defeated by him in hand-to-hand combat.

"Indra and the Maruts" from the *Rig Veda*

■ [*Maruts:*] "Indra, where are you coming from, all alone though you are so mighty? What is your intention, true lord? Will you make a pact with us, now that you have met us in our finery? Master of bay horses, tell us what your purpose is for us." …

[*Indra:*] "Where was that independent spirit of yours, Maruts, when you left me all alone in the fight with the dragon? *I* was the one, fierce and strong and mighty, who bent aside the lethal weapons of every enemy with my own weapons."

[*Maruts:*] "You did much with us as allies, with our many powers yoked in common, O bull…."

[*Indra:*] "*I* killed Vritra, O Maruts, by my Indra-power, having grown strong through my own glorious rage. With the thunderbolt on my arm I made these all-luminous waters move well for man."

[*Maruts:*] "No one can overcome your power, generous Indra; no one your equal is known to exist among the gods; no one being born now or already born could get such power. Do the things you will do, as you have grown strong."

[*Indra:*] "Even when I am alone, my formidable power must be vast; whatever I boldly set out to do, I do. For I am known as terrible, O Maruts; whatever I set in motion, Indra himself is master of that. Your praise has made me rejoice, lordly Maruts, the sacred chant worthy of hearing that you made here for me — for Indra the bull, the good fighter."

"Enkidu and Gilgamesh" from the *Epic of Gilgamesh*

■ [Enkidu said,] "I will go to the place where Gilgamesh lords it over the people, I will challenge him boldly, and I will cry aloud in Uruk, 'I have come to change the old order, for I am the strongest here.' " …

He entered Uruk, that great market, and all the folk thronged round him where he stood in the street in strong-walled Uruk. The people jostled; speaking of him they said, "He is the spit of Gilgamesh." "He is shorter." "He is bigger of bone." "This is the one who was reared on the milk of wild beasts. His is the greatest strength." The men rejoiced: "Now Gilgamesh has met his match. This great one, this hero whose beauty is like a god, he is a match even for Gilgamesh."

In Uruk the bridal bed was made, fit for the goddess of love. The bride waited for the bridegroom, but in the night Gilgamesh got up and came to the house. Then Enkidu stepped out, he stood in the street and blocked the way. Mighty Gilgamesh came on and Enkidu met him at the gate. He put out his foot and prevented Gilgamesh from entering the house, so they grappled, holding each other like bulls. They broke the doorposts and the walls shook, they snorted like bulls locked together. They shattered the doorposts and the walls shook. Gilgamesh bent his knee with his foot planted on the ground and with a turn Enkidu was thrown. Then immediately his fury died. When Enkidu was thrown he said to Gilgamesh, "There is not another like you in the world. Ninsun, who is as strong as a wild ox in the byre, she was the mother who bore you, and now you are raised above all men, and [the god] Enlil has given you the kingship, for your strength surpasses the strength of men." So Enkidu and Gilgamesh embraced and their friendship was sealed.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. In what ways do Indra and Gilgamesh resemble each other?
2. As works of literature, what do these two selections have in common?

Sources: *The Rig Veda: An Anthology of the One Hundred and Eight Hymns*, selected, translated, and annotated by Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty (London: Penguin Classics, 1981); *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, translated with an introduction by N. K. Sandars (London: Penguin Classics, 1960, Third Edition 1972). Copyright © N. K. Sandars, 1960, 1964, 1972. Reproduced by permission of Penguin Books Ltd.

Life in Early India

Caste was central to the social life of these north Indian kingdoms. Early Aryan society had distinguished among the warrior elite, the priests, ordinary tribesmen, and conquered subjects. These distinctions gradually evolved into the **caste system**, which divided society into strictly defined hereditary groups. Society was conceived of as four hierarchical strata whose members did not eat with or marry each other. These strata, or varnas, were Brahmin (priests), Kshatriya (KSHAT-tree-ya) (warriors and officials), Vaishya (VIGH-sha) (merchants), and Shudra (peasants and laborers). The caste system allowed the numerically outnumbered Aryans to maintain dominance over their subjects and not be culturally absorbed by them.

caste system The Indian system of dividing society into hereditary groups whose members interacted primarily within the group, and especially married within the group.

Social and religious attitudes supported the caste system. Aryans considered the work of artisans impure. They left all such work to the local people, who were probably superior to them in these arts anyway. Trade, by contrast, was not viewed as demeaning. Brahmanic texts of the period refer to trade as equal in value to farming, serving the king, or being a priest.

In the *Rig Veda*, the caste system is attributed to the gods:

> When they divided [the primeval man], into how many different portions did they arrange him? What became of his mouth, what of his two arms? What were his two thighs and his two feet called?
> His mouth became the brahman, his two arms was made into the [kshatriya]; his two thighs became the vaishyas, of his two feet the shudra was born.[1]

As priests, the Brahmins were expected to memorize every syllable and tone of the Vedas so that their rituals would please the gods. They not only conducted the traditional ceremonies but also developed new ones for new circumstances. As agriculture became more important to the Aryans, for example, Brahmins acted as agents of Agni, the god of fire, to purify the land for crops. The Brahmins also knew the formulas and spells that were effective against diseases and calamities.

Those without places in the four varnas — that is, newly conquered peoples and those who had lost their caste status through violations of ritual — were outcastes. That simply meant that they belonged to no caste. In time, some of them became "untouchables" because they were "impure." They were scorned because they earned their living by performing such "polluting" jobs as slaughtering animals and dressing skins.

Slavery was a feature of early social life in India, as it was in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and elsewhere in antiquity. People captured in battle often became slaves, but captives could also be ransomed by their families. At birth, slave children automatically became the slaves of their parents' masters. Indian slaves could be bought, used as collateral, or given away. At the same time, a clever, hard-working, or fortunate slave could buy his and his family's way out of slavery.

Like most nomadic tribes, the Aryans were patrilineal and patriarchal (tracing descent through males and placing power in the senior men of the family). Thus the roles of women in Aryan society probably were more subordinate than were the roles of women in the cultures of south India, many of which were matrilineal (tracing descent through females). But even in Aryan society women were treated somewhat more favorably than in later Indian society. They were not yet given in child-marriage, and widows had the right to remarry. In epics such as the *Ramayana*, women are often portrayed as forceful personalities, able to achieve their goals both by using feminine ploys to cajole men and by direct action. (See "Analyzing the Evidence: Conversations Between Rama and Sita from the *Ramayana*," page 70.)

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

Conversations Between Rama and Sita from the *Ramayana*

The *Ramayana*, an epic poem of about fifty thousand verses, is attributed to the third-century-B.C.E. poet Valmiki. Its main character, Rama, the oldest son of a king, is an incarnation of the great god Vishnu. As a young man, he wins the princess Sita as his wife when he alone among her suitors proves strong enough to bend a huge bow. Rama and Sita love each other deeply, but court intrigue disturbs their happy life. After the king announces that he will retire and consecrate Rama as his heir, the king's beautiful junior wife, wishing to advance her own son, reminds the king that he has promised her a favor of her choice. She then asks him to appoint her son heir and to send Rama into the wilderness for fourteen years. The king is forced to consent, and Rama obeys his father.

The passage below gives the conversations between Rama and Sita after Rama learns he must leave. In subsequent parts of the very long epic, the lovers undergo many other tribulations, including Sita's abduction by the lord of the demons, the ten-headed Ravana, and her eventual recovery by Rama with the aid of monkeys.

The *Ramayana* eventually appeared in numerous versions in all the major languages of India. Hearing it recited was said to bring religious merit. Sita, passionate in her devotion to her husband, has remained the favorite Indian heroine. Rama, Sita, and the monkey Hanuman are cult figures in Hinduism, with temples devoted to their worship.

■ "For fourteen years I must live in Dandaka, while my father will appoint Bharata prince regent. I have come to see you before I leave for the desolate forest. You are never to boast of me in the presence of Bharata. Men in power cannot bear to hear others praised, and so you must never boast of my virtues in front of Bharata.... When I have gone to the forest where sages make their home, my precious, blameless wife, you must earnestly undertake vows and fasts. You must rise early and worship the gods according to custom and then pay homage to my father Dasaratha, lord of men. And my aged mother Kausalya, who is tormented by misery, deserves your respect as well, for she has subordinated all to righteousness. The rest of my mothers, too, must always receive your homage.... My beloved, I am going to the great forest, and you must stay here. You must do as I tell you, my lovely, and not give offense to anyone."

So Rama spoke, and Sita, who always spoke kindly to her husband and deserved kindness from him, grew angry just because she loved him, and said, "My lord, a man's father, his mother, brother, son, or daughter-in-law all experience the effects of their own past deeds and suffer an individual fate. But a wife, and she alone, bull among men, must share her husband's fate. Therefore I, too, have been ordered to live in the forest. It is not her father or mother, not her son or friends or herself, but her husband, and he alone, who gives a woman permanent refuge in this world and after death. If you must leave this very day for the trackless forest, Rama, I will go in front of you, softening the thorns and sharp *kusa* grass. Cast out your anger and resentment, like so much water left after drinking one’s fill. Do not be reluctant to take me, my mighty husband. There is no evil in me. The shadow of a husband’s feet in any circumstances surpasses the finest mansions, an aerial chariot, or even flying through the sky…. O Rama, bestower of honor, you have the power to protect any other person in the forest. Why then not me? …

“If I were to be offered a place to live in heaven itself, Rama, tiger among men, I would refuse it if you were not there. I will go to the trackless forest teeming with deer, monkeys, and elephants, and live there as in my father’s house, clinging to your feet alone, in strict self-discipline. I love no one else; my heart is so attached to you that were we to be parted I am resolved to die. Take me, oh please grant my request. I shall not be a burden to you.” …

When Sita finished speaking, the righteous prince, who knew what was right and cherished it, attempted to dissuade her….

“Sita, give up this notion of living in the forest. The name ‘forest’ is given only to wild regions where hardships abound…. There are lions that live in mountain caves; their roars are redoubled by mountain torrents and are a painful thing to hear — the forest is a place of pain. At night worn with fatigue, one must sleep upon the ground on a bed of leaves, broken off of themselves — the forest is a place of utter pain. And one has to fast, Sita, to the limit of one’s endurance, wear clothes of barkcloth and bear the burden of matted hair…. There are many creeping creatures, of every size and shape, my lovely, ranging aggressively over the ground…. Moths, scorpions, worms, gnats, and flies continually harass one, my frail Sita — the forest is wholly a place of pain….”

Sita was overcome with sorrow when she heard what Rama said. With tears trickling down her face, she answered him in a faint voice…. “If from feelings of love I follow you, my pure-hearted husband, I shall have no sin to answer for, because my husband is my deity. My union with you is sacred and shall last even beyond death…. If you refuse to take me to the forest despite the sorrow that I feel, I shall have no recourse but to end my life by poison, fire, or water.”

Though she pleaded with him in this and every other way to be allowed to go, great-armed Rama would not consent to taking her to the desolate forest. And when he told her as much, Sita fell to brooding, and drenched the ground, it seemed, with the hot tears that fell from her eyes…. She was nearly insensible with sorrow when Rama took her in his arms and comforted her…. “Without knowing your true feelings, my lovely, I could not consent to your living in the wilderness, though I am perfectly capable of protecting you. Since you are determined to live with me in the forest, Sita, I could no sooner abandon you than a self-respecting man his reputation…. My father keeps to the path of righteousness and truth, and I wish to act just as he instructs me. That is the eternal way of righteousness. Follow me, my timid one, be my companion in righteousness. Go now and bestow precious objects on the brahmins, give food to the mendicants and all who ask for it. Hurry, there is no time to waste."

Finding that her husband had acquiesced in her going, the lady was elated and set out at once to make the donations.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What can you infer about early Indian family life and social relations from this story?
2. What do Sita's words and actions indicate about women's roles in Indian society of the time?
3. What do you think accounts for the continuing popularity of the story of Rama throughout Indian history?

Source: *The Ramayana of Valmiki: An Epic of India*. Vol. 2: *Ayodhyakanda*, trans. Sheldon I. Pollock, ed. Robert P. Goldman (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 134–142, modified slightly. Reproduced with permission of PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS in the format Book via Copyright Clearance Center.

Brahmanism

The Aryans recognized a multitude of gods who shared some features with the gods of other early Indo-European societies such as the Persians and Greeks. Ordinary people dealt with these gods through priests who made animal sacrifices to them. By giving valued things to the gods, people strengthened both the power of the gods and their own relationships with them. Gradually, under the priestly monopoly of the Brahmins, correct sacrifice and proper ritual became so important that most Brahmins believed that a properly performed ritual would force a god to grant a worshipper's wish. Ordinary people could watch a ceremony, such as a fire ritual, which was often held outdoors, but could not perform the key steps in the ritual.

The *Upanishads* (oo-PAH-nih-shadz), composed between 750 B.C.E. and 500 B.C.E., record speculations about the mystical meaning of sacrificial rites and about cosmological questions of man's relationship to the universe. They document a gradual shift from the mythical worldview of the early Vedic Age to a deeply philosophical one. Associated with this shift was a movement toward asceticism (uh-SEH-tuh-sihz-uhm) — severe self-discipline and self-denial.

Ancient Indian cosmology (theories of the universe) focused not on a creator who made the universe out of nothing, but rather on endlessly repeating cycles. Key ideas were **samsara**, the reincarnation of souls by a continual process of rebirth, and **karma**, the tally of good and bad deeds that determined the status of an individual's next life. Good deeds led to better future lives, evil deeds to worse future lives — even to reincarnation as an animal. Reward and punishment worked automatically; there was no all-knowing god who judged people and could be petitioned to forgive a sin, and each individual was responsible for his or her own destiny in a just and impartial world.

samsara The transmigration of souls by a continual process of rebirth.

karma The tally of good and bad deeds that determines the status of an individual's next life.

To most people, especially those on the low end of the economic and social scale, these ideas were attractive. By living righteously and doing good deeds, people could improve their lot in the next life. Yet there was another side to these ideas: the wheel of life could be seen as a treadmill, giving rise to a yearning for release from the relentless cycle of birth and death. One solution offered in the *Upanishads* was moksha, or release from the wheel of life. Brahmanic mystics claimed that life in the world was actually an illusion and that the only way to escape the wheel of life was to realize that ultimate reality was unchanging.

The unchanging ultimate reality was called **brahman**. Brahman was contrasted to the multitude of fleeting phenomena that people consider important in their daily lives. The individual soul or self was ultimately the same substance as the universal brahman, in the same way that each spark is in substance the same as a large fire.

The *Upanishads* gave the Brahmins a high status to which the poor and lowly could aspire in a future life. The rulers of Indian society also encouraged the new trends, since the doctrines of samsara and karma encouraged the poor and oppressed to labor peacefully and dutifully. Thus, although the new doctrines were intellectually revolutionary, in social and political terms they supported the existing power structure.

brahman The unchanging ultimate reality, according to the *Upanishads*.

India’s Great Religions

What ideas and practices were taught by the founders of Jainism, Buddhism, and Hinduism?

By the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.E., cities had reappeared in India, and merchants and trade were thriving. Bricks were again baked in kilns and used to build ramparts around cities. One particular kingdom, Magadha, had become much more powerful than any of the other states in the Ganges plain, defeating its enemies by using war elephants and catapults for hurling stones. Written language had also reappeared.

This was a period of intellectual ferment throughout Eurasia — the period of the early Greek philosophers, the Hebrew prophets, Zoroaster in Persia, and Confucius and the early Daoists in China. In India it led to numerous sects that rejected various elements of Brahmanic teachings. The two most influential were Jainism and Buddhism. Their founders were contemporaries living in the Ganges plain. Hinduism emerged in response to these new religions but at the same time was the most direct descendant of the old Brahmanic religion.

Jainism

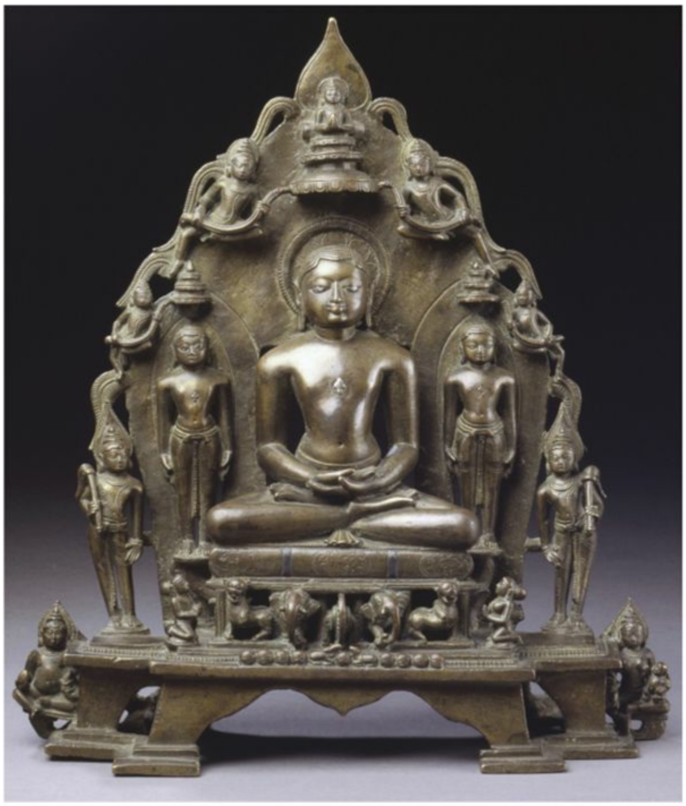
The key figure of Jainism, Vardhamana Mahavira (flourished ca. 520 B.C.E.), was the son of the chief of a small state and a member of the warrior class. Like many ascetics of the period, he left home to become a wandering holy man. For twelve years, from ages thirty to forty-two, he traveled through the Ganges Valley until he found enlightenment and became a “completed soul.” Mahavira taught his doctrines for about thirty years, founding a disciplined order of monks and gaining the support of many lay followers, male and female.

Mahavira accepted the Brahmanic doctrines of karma and rebirth but developed these ideas in new directions, founding the religion referred to as **Jainism**. He asserted that human beings, animals, plants, and even inanimate objects all have living souls enmeshed in matter, accumulated through the workings of karma. The souls conceived by the Jains float or sink depending on the amount of matter with which they are enmeshed. The ascetic, who willingly undertakes suffering, can dissipate some of the accumulated karma and make progress toward liberation. If a soul at last escapes from all the matter weighing it down, it becomes lighter than ordinary objects and floats to the top of the universe, where it remains forever in bliss.

Mahavira’s followers pursued such liberation by living ascetic lives and avoiding evil thoughts and actions. The Jains considered all life sacred and tried to live without destroying other life. A Jain who wished to avoid violence to life became a vegetarian and took pains not to kill any creature, even tiny insects in the air and soil. Farming was impossible for Jains, who tended instead to take up trade. Among the most conservative Jains, priests practiced nudity, for clinging to clothes, even a loincloth, was a form of attachment. Lay Jains could pursue Jain teachings by practicing nonviolence and not eating meat.

Jainism Indian religion whose followers consider all life sacred and avoid destroying other life.

Although Jainism never took hold as widely as Hinduism and Buddhism (discussed below), over the next few centuries it became an influential strand in Indian thought, and it has several million adherents in India today. Fasting and nonviolence as spiritual practices in India owe much to Jain teachings. In the twentieth century Mohandas Gandhi, leader of the Indian independence movement, was influenced by these ideas through his mother, and the American civil rights leader Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was in turn influenced by Gandhi.



Victoria and Albert Museum/V & A Images, London, UK/Art Resource, NY

Bronze Jain Altarpiece This ninth- or tenth-century bronze sculpture, 10 inches tall, was probably commissioned by a Jain layman or laymen. The central figure is a Jain saint seated in lotus posture, surrounded by other Jain holy men and minor deities. Elephants and lions hold up the base, and there are devotees kneeling below the throne on either side.

Siddhartha Gautama and Buddhism

Siddhartha Gautama (fl. ca. 500 B.C.E.), also called Shakyamuni (“sage of the Shakya tribe”), is best known as the Buddha (“enlightened one”). He was a contemporary of Mahavira and came from the same warrior social class. He was born the son of a chief of one of the tribes in the Himalayan foothills in what is now Nepal. At age twenty-nine, unsatisfied with his life of comfort and troubled by the suffering he saw around him, he left home to become a wandering ascetic. He traveled south to the kingdom of Magadha, where he studied with yoga masters, but later took up extreme asceticism. According to tradition, while meditating under a bo tree at Bodh Gaya, he reached enlightenment — that is, perfect insight into the processes of the universe. After several weeks of meditation, he preached his first sermon, urging a “middle way” between asceticism and worldly life. For the next forty-five years, the Buddha traveled through the Ganges Valley, propounding his ideas, refuting his adversaries, and attracting followers. To reach as wide an audience as possible, the Buddha preached in the local language, Magadhi, rather than in Sanskrit, which was already becoming a priestly language. Probably because he refused to recognize the divine authority of the Vedas and dismissed sacrifices, he attracted followers mostly from among merchants, artisans, and farmers, rather than Brahmins. (See “Analyzing the Evidence: Gandharan Frieze Depicting the Buddha’s Enlightenment,” at right.)

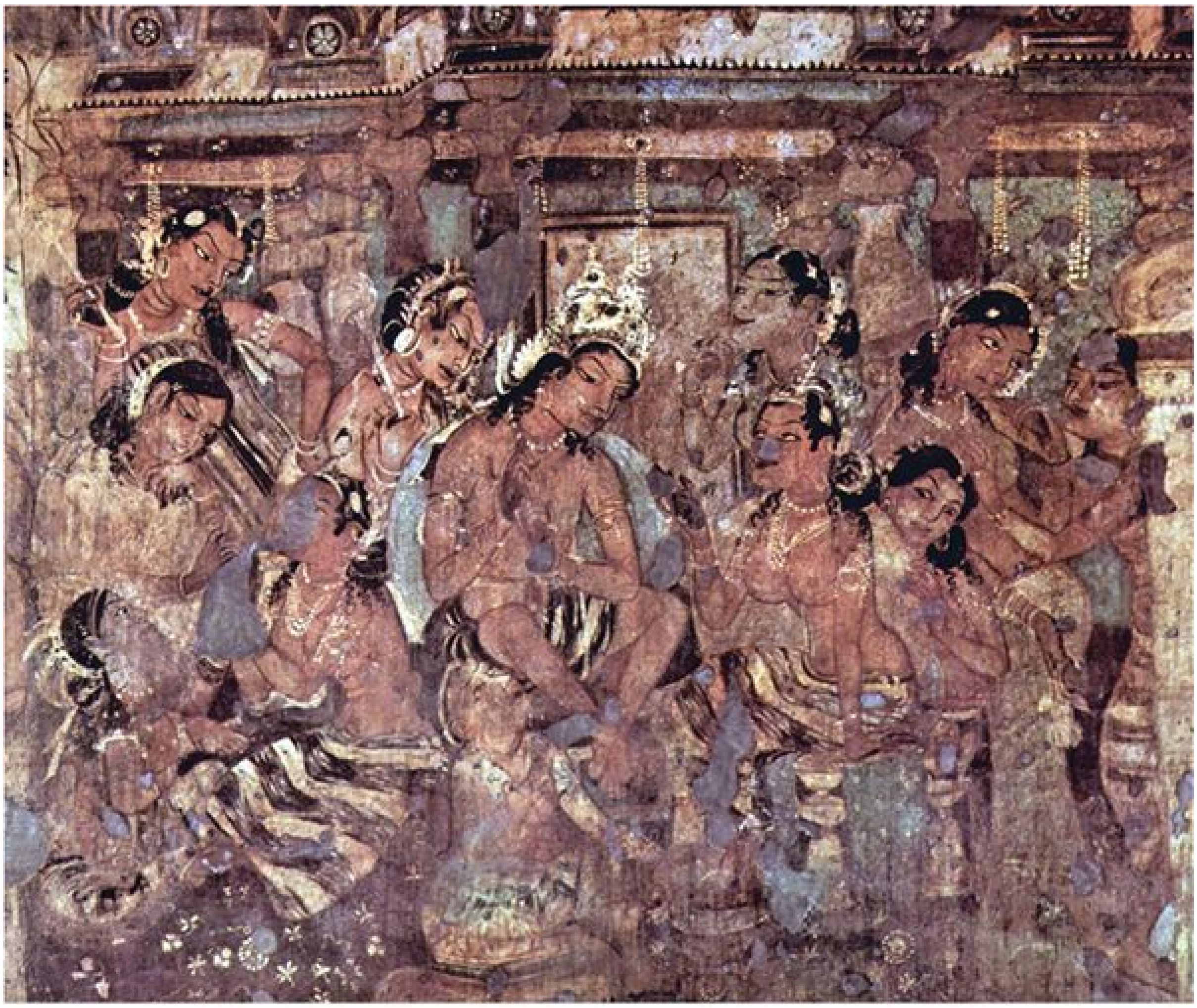
In his first sermon the Buddha outlined his main message, summed up in the **Four Noble Truths** and the **Eightfold Path**. The Four Noble Truths are as follows: (1) pain and suffering, frustration, and anxiety are ugly but inescapable parts of human life; (2) suffering and anxiety are caused by human desires and attachments; (3) people can understand these weaknesses and triumph over them; and (4) this triumph is made possible by following a simple code of conduct, the Eightfold Path. The basic insight of Buddhism is thus psychological. The deepest human longings can never be satisfied, and even those things that seem to give pleasure cause anxiety because we are afraid of losing them. Attachment to people and things causes sorrow at their loss.

Four Noble Truths The Buddha’s message that pain and suffering are inescapable parts of life; suffering and anxiety are caused by human desires and attachments; people can understand and triumph over these weaknesses; and this triumph is made possible by following a simple code of conduct.

Eightfold Path The eight-step code of conduct set forth by the Buddha in his first sermon.

Buddhism differed from Brahmanism and later Hinduism in that it ignored the caste system. Everyone, noble and peasant, educated and ignorant, male and female, could follow the Eightfold Path. Moreover, the Buddha was extraordinarily nondogmatic. Convinced that each person must achieve enlightenment on his or her own, he emphasized that the path was important only because it led the traveler to enlightenment, not for its own sake. He compared it to a raft, essential to cross a river but useless once the traveler reaches the far shore. There was no harm in honoring local gods or observing traditional ceremonies, as long as one remembered the goal of enlightenment and did not let sacrifices become snares or attachments. The willingness of Buddhists to tolerate a wide variety of practices aided the spread of the religion.

The Buddha’s followers transmitted his teachings orally until they were written down in the second or first century B.C.E. These scriptures are called sutras. The form of monasticism that developed among the Buddhists was less strict than that of the Jains. Buddhist monks moved about for eight months of the year (except the rainy season), begging for their one meal a day, but they could bathe and wear clothes. Within a few centuries Buddhist monks began to overlook the rule that they should travel. They set up permanent monasteries, generally on land donated by kings or other patrons. Orders of nuns also appeared, giving women the opportunity to seek truth in ways men had traditionally used. The main ritual that monks and nuns performed in their monastic establishments was the communal recitation of the sutras. Lay Buddhists could aid the spread of Buddhist teachings by providing food for monks and support for their monasteries, and they could pursue their own spiritual progress by adopting practices such as abstaining from meat and alcohol. (See "Individuals in Society: Sudatta, Lay Follower of the Buddha," at right.)



Pictures from History/Bridgeman Images

Palace Life As Buddhism developed, many stories were told of the prior lives of the Buddha.

This scene is from a story of Prince Mahajanaka, whose uncle usurped his throne, leading him to become a merchant and have many adventures before returning to marry the daughter of his uncle and retake the throne. This scene, from the Ajanta caves, shows him enjoying the pleasures of palace life.

Because Buddhism had no central ecclesiastical authority like the Christian papacy, early Buddhist communities developed several divergent traditions and came to stress different sutras. One of the most important of these, associated with the monk-philosopher Nagarjuna (fl. ca. 100 C.E.), is called **Mahayana**, or “Great Vehicle,” because it was a more inclusive form of the religion. One branch of Mahayana taught that reality is empty (that is, nothing exists independently of itself). Another branch held that ultimate reality is consciousness, that everything is produced by the mind.

Mahayana The “Great Vehicle,” a tradition of Buddhism that aspires to be more inclusive.

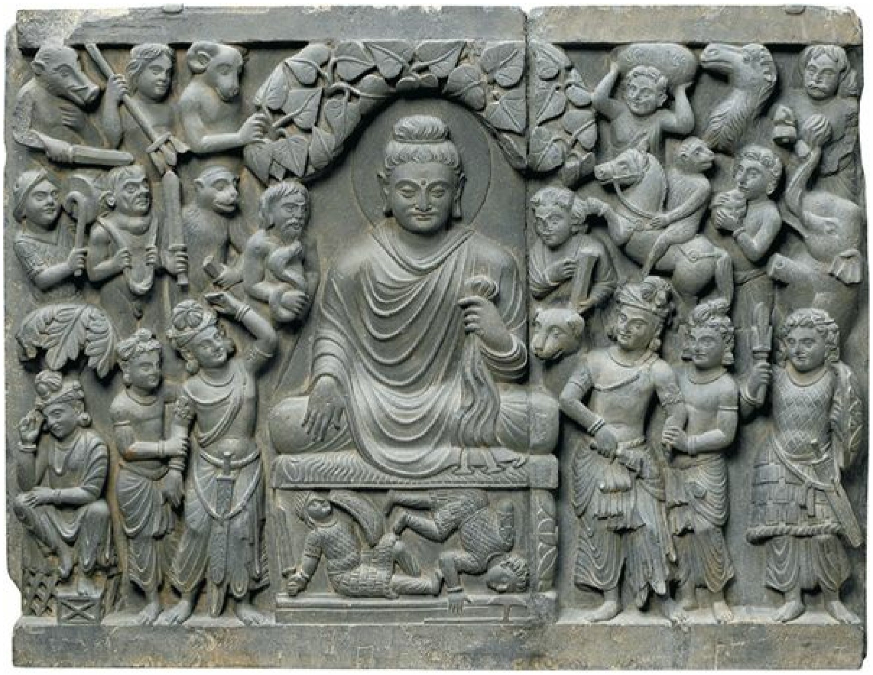
Just as important as the metaphysical literature of Mahayana Buddhism was its devotional side, influenced by the religions then prevalent in Central Asia, such as Zoroastrianism (see “The Religion of Zoroaster” in Chapter 2). The Buddha became deified and was placed at the head of an expanding pantheon of other Buddhas and **bodhisattvas** (boh-dih-SUHT-vuhz). Bodhisattvas were Buddhas-to-be who had stayed in the world after enlightenment to help others on the path to salvation. The Buddhas and bodhisattvas became objects of veneration. With the growth of Mahayana, Buddhism attracted more and more laypeople.

bodhisattvas Buddhas-to-be who stayed in the world after enlightenment to help others on the path to salvation.

Buddhism remained an important religion in India until about 1200 C.E. By that time it had spread widely through East, Central, and Southeast Asia. After 1200 C.E. Buddhism declined in India, losing out to both Hinduism and Islam, and the number of Buddhists in India today is small. Buddhism never lost its hold in Nepal and Sri Lanka, however, and today it is also a major religion in Southeast Asia, Tibet, China, Korea, and Japan.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

Gandharan Frieze Depicting the Buddha's Enlightenment



Freer Gallery, Smithsonian Institution/Bridgeman Images

Gandhara is the region in modern Afghanistan and Pakistan encompassing the Swat and Peshawar Valleys. It became a major center of Buddhism during the era when the Kushans were kings, especially the first and second centuries C.E. Greek artistic styles had been brought to the region by successors of Alexander the Great, and during the Kushan period these styles were adopted to depict the Buddha in stone sculpture. The rulers and other well-to-do patrons commissioned hundreds of Buddhist monuments as a way to acquire merit, and many survive today. Depictions of episodes from the life of the Buddha are common. Gandharan images of the Buddha usually show him with garments draped over a shoulder and his wavy hair drawn up in a bun.

The sculpture shown here, from the Gandharan region and probably dating to about 200 C.E., is one of a set of four that depicts the four major events in the life of the Buddha: his birth, his enlightenment, his first sermon, and his abandonment of his physical body for nirvana. These stones are 26 inches tall and probably originally decorated the walls of a stupa (a monument holding relics).

Buddhist tradition holds that after sitting for forty days under a bo tree, the Buddha became enlightened — that is, attained perfect understanding. This occurred in Bodh Gaya, a small city in north India that in time became a major pilgrimage site for Buddhists.

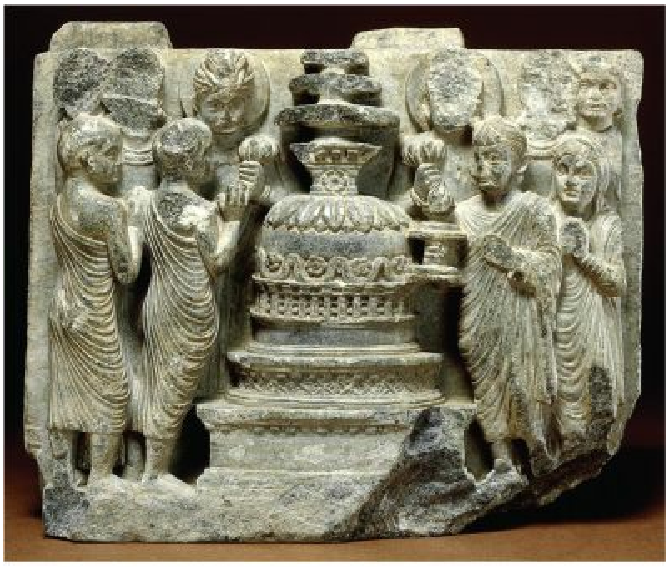
In this sculpture, the Buddha sits cross-legged under a canopy of tree leaves. Two toppled soldiers, possibly representing evil demons, are depicted under his seat. Looking on are both human beings in a variety of costumes and several sorts of animals, some with seemingly human features. In Buddhist cosmology, animals are part of the circle of life. In their next incarnation, they might be born as a human being or even a god, in the same way that human beings, if their tally of good and bad deeds leads to rebirth at a lower level, can be reincarnated as animals or insects.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What are the people around the Buddha doing? How are they dressed?
2. How many different kinds of animals are depicted in the frieze? Do they have any human traits? Why would they be attracted to the Buddha?
3. What do you think the patron or the sculptor hoped to achieve by creating this piece?
4. Does this piece successfully convey any Buddhist teachings? If so, which ones?

INDIVIDUALS IN SOCIETY

Sudatta, Lay Follower of the Buddha



British Museum, London, UK/Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY

The people depicted here are performing the Buddhist ritual of circumambulating a stupa (a mound containing the ashes or other relics of a monk).

AS HE TAUGHT, THE BUDDHA attracted both disciples and lay followers. Stories of his interactions with them were passed down orally for centuries, and undoubtedly were elaborated over time. Still, these accounts give us a sense of what life was like in early India. The wealthy banker or merchant Sudatta is a good example of an ardent lay follower. He was so generous to others that he is normally referred to by his epithet, Anathapindada, which means "benefactor of the needy."

In one conversation with the Buddha, Sudatta asks if he must leave the world to attain nirvana:

> Now, I have heard thy disciples praise the bliss of the hermit and denounce the unrest of the world. "The Holy One," they say, "has given up his kingdom and his inheritance, and has found the path of righteousness, thus setting an example to all the world how to attain Nirvana." My heart yearns to do what is right and to be a blessing unto my fellows. Let me then ask you, Must I give up my wealth, my home, and my business enterprises, and, like you, go into homelessness in order to attain the bliss of a religious life?

The Buddha replied that the individual’s approach to wealth was crucial. Anyone who cleaves to wealth needs to cast it aside, but anyone who, “possessing riches, uses them rightly, will be a blessing unto his fellows.” It is cleaving to wealth and power that enslaves people, not the mere possession of wealth. “If they live in the world not a life of self but a life of truth, then surely joy, peace, and bliss will dwell in their minds.”[*]

Sudatta purchased a large park to provide a place where the Buddha and his disciples could live during the rainy season and had many buildings built there. The Buddha returned to this Jetavana Monastery many times. Sudatta also gave generously to the poor and needy. As a result of his generosity, Sudatta gradually grew poor. Then, through divine intervention, those who owed him money returned it, making him wealthy once again.

Stories recounted that Sudatta’s family, including his son and three daughters, became pious followers. The Buddha himself helped convert Sudatta’s unpleasant daughter-in-law. After hearing Sudatta’s son’s wife scolding the servants, the Buddha instructed her on the proper conduct of wives. There were three types of bad wives, he told her: the destructive wife, who is pitiless, fond of other men, and contemptuous of her husband; the thievish wife, who squanders the family wealth; and the mistress wife, who is rude, lazy, and domineering. These he contrasted with the four kinds of good wives: the motherly wife, who cares for her husband as a mother for her son; the sisterly wife, who defers to her husband as a younger sister defers to her older brother; the friend wife, who loves her husband as if he were her best friend; and the handmaiden wife, who is calm, patient, and obedient. Deeply moved by these teachings, the daughter-in-law determined to be a handmaiden wife.

Sudatta died before the Buddha. On his deathbed, Sudatta was advised to face death by deciding not to cling to what is seen, heard, sensed, thought, attained, sought after, or pondered by the intellect.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What can you infer about the circumstances of the early followers of the Buddha from the life of Sudatta?
2. What insights does the life of Sudatta provide into the ways faith in Buddhism was spread?

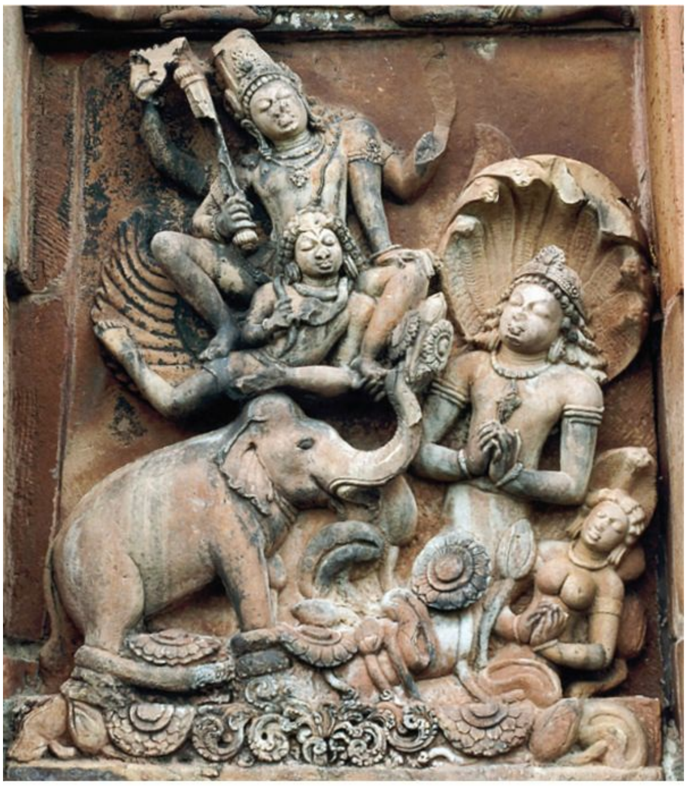
---

[*] Paul Carus, *The Gospel of Buddha* (Chicago: Open Court, 1894/1915), pp. 61–63, slightly modified.

Hinduism

Both Buddhism and Jainism were direct challenges to the old Brahmanic religion. Both rejected animal sacrifice, which by then was a central element in the rituals performed by Brahmin priests. Even more important, both religions tacitly rejected the caste system, accepting people of any caste into their ranks. Over the next several centuries (ca. 400 B.C.E.–200 C.E.), in response to this challenge, the Brahmanic religion evolved in a more devotional direction, developing into the religion commonly called Hinduism. In Hinduism Brahmins retained their high social status, but it became possible for individual worshippers to have more direct contact with the gods, showing their devotion without using priests as intermediaries.

The bedrock of Hinduism is the belief that the Vedas are sacred revelations and that a specific caste system is implicitly prescribed in them. Hinduism is a guide to life, the goal of which is to reach union with brahman, the unchanging ultimate reality. There are four steps in this search, progressing from study of the Vedas in youth to complete asceticism in old age. In their quest for brahman, people are to observe **dharma** (DAHR-muh), the moral law.



© akg-images/Jean-Louis Nou/The Image Works

The God Vishnu Vishnu is depicted here coming to the rescue of an elephant in the clutches of a crocodile. It comes from the fifth-century-C.E. Dasavatara Temple in Uttar Pradesh.

dharma The Sanskrit word for moral law, central to both Buddhist and Hindu teachings.

Hinduism assumes that there are innumerable legitimate ways of worshipping brahman, including devotion to personal gods. After the third century B.C.E. Hinduism began to emphasize the roles and personalities of thousands of powerful gods. These gods were usually represented by images, either small ones in homes or larger ones in temples. People could show devotion to their personal gods by reciting hymns or scriptures and by making offerings of food or flowers before these images. A worshipper’s devotion to one god did not entail denial of other deities; ultimately all were manifestations of brahman, the ultimate reality. Hinduism’s embrace of a large pantheon of gods enabled it to incorporate new sects, doctrines, beliefs, rites, and deities.

A central ethical text of Hinduism is the *Bhagavad Gita* (BAH-guh-vahd GEE-tuh), a part of the world’s longest ancient epic, the *Mahabharata*. It was passed down orally for centuries before being recorded in its present form, perhaps as late as the fourth century C.E. The *Bhagavad Gita* offers guidance on the most serious problem facing a Hindu — how to live in the world and yet honor dharma and thus achieve release from the wheel of life. The heart of the *Bhagavad Gita* is the spiritual conflict confronting Arjuna, a human hero about to ride into battle against his kinsmen. As he surveys the battlefield, struggling with the grim notion of killing his relatives, Arjuna voices his doubts to his charioteer, none other than the god Krishna. When at last Arjuna refuses to spill his family’s blood, Krishna then clarifies the relationship between human reality and the eternal spirit. He explains compassionately to Arjuna the duty to act — to live in the world and carry out his duties as a warrior. Indeed, the *Bhagavad Gita* emphasizes the necessity of action, which is essential for the welfare of the world. For Arjuna the warrior’s duty is to wage war in compliance with his dharma. Only those who live within the divine law without complaint will be released from rebirth. One person’s dharma may be different from another’s, but both individuals must follow their own dharmas.

Hinduism provided a complex and sophisticated philosophy of life and a religion of enormous emotional appeal that was attractive to ordinary Indians. Over time it grew to be the most common religion in India.

Hinduism validated the caste system, adding to the stability of everyday village life, since people all knew where they stood in society. Hinduism also inspired the preservation of literary masterpieces in Sanskrit and the major regional languages of India. Among these are the *Puranas*, which are stories of the gods and great warrior clans, and the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*, which are verse epics of India’s early kings.

Western Contact and the Mauryan Unification of North India, ca. 513–185 B.C.E.

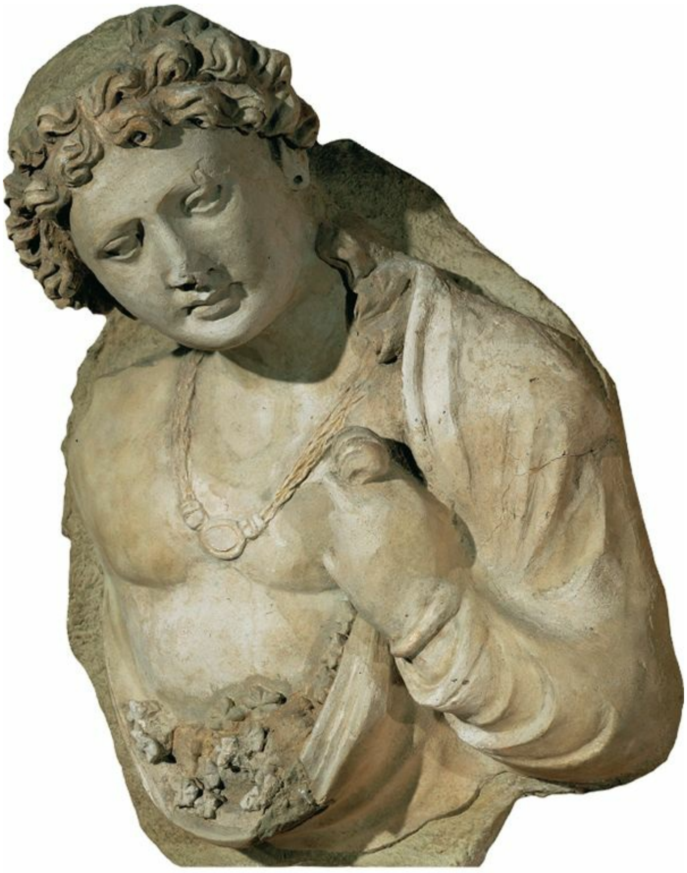
What was the result of Indian contact with the Persians and Greeks, and what were the consequences of unification under the Mauryan Empire?

In the late sixth century B.C.E., with the creation of the Persian Empire that stretched from the west coast of Anatolia to the Indus River (see “The Rise and Expansion of the Persian Empire” in Chapter 2), west India was swept up in events that were changing the face of the ancient Near East. A couple of centuries later, by 322 B.C.E., the Greeks had supplanted the Persians in northwest India. Chandragupta saw this as an opportunity to expand his territories, and he successfully unified all of north India. The Mauryan (MAWR-ee-uhn) Empire that he founded flourished under the reign of his grandson, Ashoka, but after Ashoka’s death the empire declined.

Encounters with the West

India became involved in the turmoil of the sixth century B.C.E. when the Persian emperor Darius conquered the Indus Valley and Kashmir in northwest India about 513 B.C.E. Persian control did not reach eastward beyond the Punjab, but even so, it fostered increased contact between India and the Near East and led to the introduction of new ideas, techniques, and materials into India — including the minting of silver coins and writing in the Aramaic script to keep records.

The Persian Empire in turn succumbed to Alexander the Great, and in 326 B.C.E. Alexander led his Macedonian and Greek troops through the Khyber Pass into the Indus Valley (see “From Polis to Monarchy, 404–200 B.C.E.” in Chapter 5). The India that Alexander encountered was composed of many rival states. He defeated some of these states in the northwest and heard reports of others.



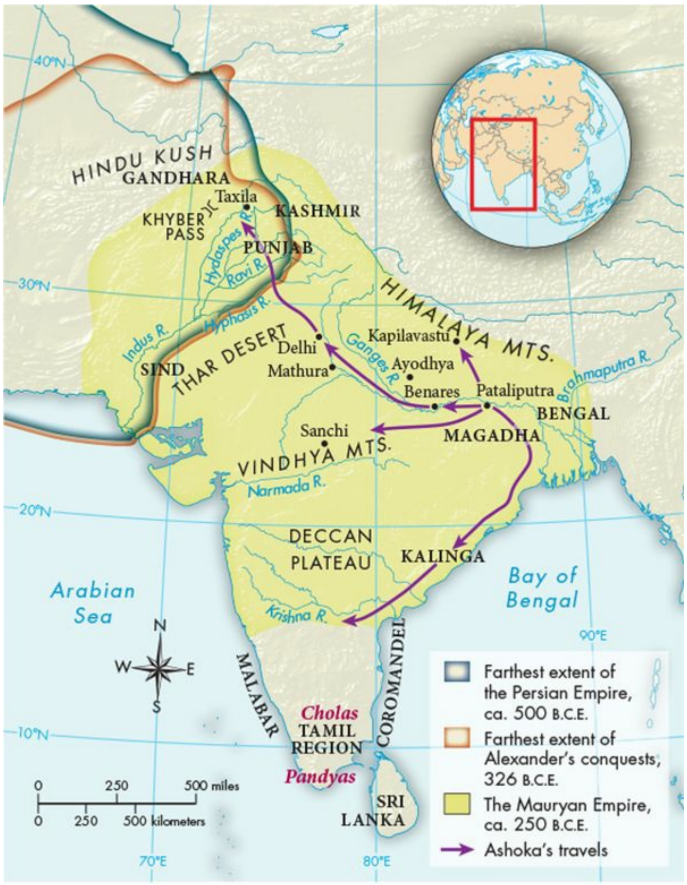
Musée des Arts Asiatiques–Guimet, Paris, France/Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY

Hellenistic Influences in Gandharan Art Because Alexander the Great's army had reached Gandhara and Hellenistic states subsequently controlled it for more than a century, the art of this region was strongly influenced by Greek artistic styles. This stucco figure was excavated from a site in eastern Afghanistan where some twenty-three thousand Greco-Buddhist sculptures were found. Hellenistic influence, as evidenced by the drape of the clothing and the modeling of the head, is particularly easy to recognize in this piece.

The Greeks were intrigued by the Indian culture they encountered. Alexander had heard of the sophistication of Indian philosophers and summoned some to instruct him or debate with him. The Greeks were also impressed with Indian cities, most notably Taxila, a major center of trade in the Punjab. From Taxila, Alexander followed the Indus River south, hoping to find the end of the world. His men, however, mutinied and refused to continue. When Alexander turned back, he left his general Seleucus (suh-LOO-kuhs) in charge of his easternmost region.

Chandragupta and the Founding of the Mauryan Empire

The one to benefit most from Alexander's invasion was Chandragupta, the ruler of a growing state in the Ganges Valley. He took advantage of the crisis caused by Alexander’s invasion to expand his territories, and by 322 B.C.E. he had made himself sole master of north India (Map 3.2). In 304 B.C.E. he defeated the forces of Seleucus.


40°N
HINDU KUSH
GANDHARA
Taxila
KHYBER PASS
KASHMIR
PUNJAB
Indus R.
Hydaspes R.
Ravi R.
Hyphasis R.
30°N
HIMALAYA MTS.
Kapilavastu
Ayodhya
Benares
Pataliputra
Brahmaputra R.
BENGAL
Ganges R.
Delhi
Mathura
THAR DESERT
SIND
Sanchi
MAGADHA
VINDHYA MTS.
Narmada R.
20°N
DECCAN PLATEAU
KALINGA
Bay of Bengal
Arabian Sea
Krishna R.
N
W
E
S
90°E
MALABAR
COROMANDEL
Cholas
TAMIL REGION
Pandyas
SRI LANKA
10°N
0 250 500 miles
0 250 500 kilometers
70°E
80°E
Farthest extent of the Persian Empire, ca. 500 B.C.E.
Farthest extent of Alexander’s conquests, 326 B.C.E.
The Mauryan Empire, ca. 250 B.C.E.
Ashoka’s travels

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin’s

Mapping the Past

MAP 3.2 The Mauryan Empire, ca. 250 B.C.E. The Ganges River Valley was the heart of the Mauryan Empire. Although India is protected from the cold by mountains in the north, mountain passes in the northwest allowed both migration and invasion.

ANALYZING THE MAP Where are the major rivers of India? How close are they to mountains?

CONNECTIONS Can you think of any reasons that the Persian Empire and Alexander’s conquests both reached into the same region of northwest India?

With stunning effectiveness, Chandragupta applied the lessons learned from Persian rule. He adopted the Persian practice of dividing the area into provinces. Each province was assigned a governor, usually drawn from Chandragupta’s own family. He established a complex bureaucracy to see to the operation of the state and a bureaucratic taxation system that financed public services through taxes on agriculture. He also built a regular army, complete with departments for everything from naval matters to the collection of supplies.

For the first time in Indian history, one man governed most of the subcontinent, exercising control through delegated power. From his capital at Pataliputra in the Ganges Valley, Chandragupta sent agents to the provinces to oversee the workings of government and to keep him informed of conditions in his realm. In designing his bureaucratic system, Chandragupta enjoyed the able assistance of his great minister Kautilya, who wrote a treatise called the *Arthashastra* on how a king should seize, hold, and manipulate power. Kautilya urged the king to use propaganda to gain support, and stressed the importance of seeking the enemies of his enemies, who would make good allies. When a neighboring prince was in trouble, that was the perfect time to attack him.

Megasthenes, a Greek ambassador sent by Seleucus, spent fourteen years in Chandragupta's court. He left a lively description of life there. He described the city as square and surrounded by wooden walls, 22 miles on each side, with 570 towers and 64 gates. It had a university, a library, and magnificent palaces, temples, gardens, and parks. The king personally presided over court sessions where legal cases were heard and petitions received. The king claimed for the state all mines and forests, and there were large state farms, granaries, shipyards, and spinning and weaving factories. Even prostitution was controlled by the state. Only a portion of the empire was ruled so directly, according to Megasthenes. In outlying areas, local kings were left in place if they pledged loyalty. Megasthenes described Chandragupta's fear of treachery and assassination attempts:

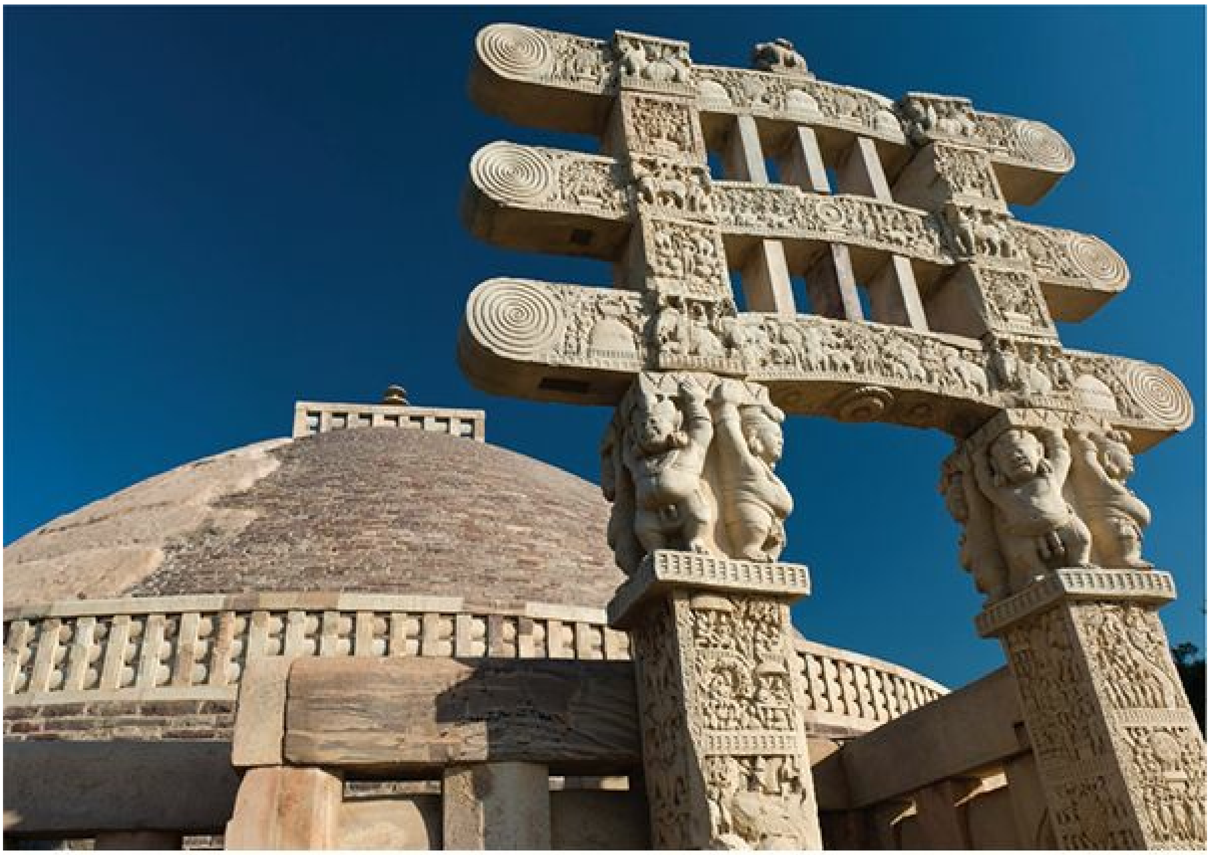
> Nor does the king sleep during the day, and at night he is forced at various hours to change his bed because of those plotting against him.… When he leaves to hunt, he is thickly surrounded by a circle of women, and on the outside by spear-carrying bodyguards. The road is fenced off with ropes, and to anyone who passes within the ropes as far as the women death is the penalty.[2]

Those measures apparently worked, as Chandragupta lived a long life. According to Jain tradition, Chandragupta became a Jain ascetic and died a peaceful death in 298 B.C.E. Although he personally adopted a nonviolent philosophy, he left behind a kingdom with the military might to maintain order and defend India from invasion.

The Reign of Ashoka, ca. 269–232 B.C.E.

Chandragupta’s grandson Ashoka proved to be one of India’s most remarkable figures. The era of Ashoka was enormously important in the religious history of the world, because Ashoka embraced Buddhism and promoted its spread beyond India.

As a young prince, Ashoka served as governor of two prosperous provinces where Buddhism flourished. At the death of his father about 274 B.C.E., Ashoka rebelled against his older brother, who had succeeded as king, and after four years of fighting won his bid for the throne. Crowned king, Ashoka ruled intelligently and energetically.



Olaf Kruger/Robert Harding

The North Gate at Sanchi This is one of four ornately carved gates guarding the stupa at Sanchi in the state of Madhya Pradesh in India. Containing the relics of the Buddha, this Buddhist memorial shrine was originally commissioned by Ashoka, but the gateways were added later.

In the ninth year of his reign, 261 B.C.E., Ashoka conquered Kalinga, on the east coast of India. In a grim and savage campaign, Ashoka reduced Kalinga by wholesale slaughter. As Ashoka himself admitted, “One hundred and fifty thousand were forcibly abducted from their homes, 100,000 were killed in battle, and many more died later on.”[3] Instead of exulting like a conqueror, however, Ashoka was consumed with remorse and revulsion at the horror of war. He embraced Buddhism and used the machinery of his empire to spread Buddhist teachings throughout India. He supported the doctrine of not hurting humans or animals that was then spreading among religious people of all sects in India. He banned animal sacrifices, and in place of hunting expeditions he took pilgrimages. Two years after his conversion, he undertook a 256-day pilgrimage to all the holy sites of Buddhism, and on his return he sent missionaries to all known countries. Ashoka's remarkable crisis of conscience changed the way he ruled. He emphasized compassion, nonviolence, and adherence to dharma. He appointed officials to oversee the moral welfare of the realm and required local officials to govern humanely. Ashoka erected stone pillars, on the Persian model, with inscriptions to inform the people of his policies. He also had long inscriptions carved into large rock surfaces near trade routes. In his last important inscription he spoke of his efforts to encourage his people toward the path of righteousness:

> I have had banyan trees planted on the roads to give shade to man and beast; I have planted mango groves, and I have had ponds dug and shelters erected along the roads at every eight kos. Everywhere I have had wells dug for the benefit of man and beast. But this benefit is but small, for in many ways the kings of olden time have worked for the welfare of the world; but what I have done has been done that men may conform to righteousness.[4]

These inscriptions are the earliest fully dated Indian texts. (Until the script in which they were written was deciphered in 1837, nothing was known of Ashoka's achievements.)

Ashoka felt the need to protect his new religion and to keep it pure. He warned Buddhist monks that he would not tolerate schism — divisions based on differences of opinion about doctrine or ritual. According to Buddhist tradition, a great council of Buddhist monks was held at Pataliputra, where the earliest canon of Buddhist texts was codified. At the same time, Ashoka honored India's other religions, even building shrines for Hindu and Jain worshippers.

Despite his devotion to Buddhism, Ashoka never neglected his duties as ruler of the **Mauryan Empire**. He tightened the central government of the empire and kept a close check on local officials. He built roads and rest spots to improve communication within the realm. These measures also facilitated the march of armies and the armed enforcement of Ashoka's authority.

Mauryan Empire The first Indian empire, founded by Chandragupta.

Ashoka ruled for thirty-seven years. After he died in about 232 B.C.E., the Mauryan Dynasty went into decline, and India broke up into smaller units, much like those in existence before Alexander’s invasion. Even though Chandragupta had instituted bureaucratic methods of centralized political control and Ashoka had vigorously pursued the political and cultural integration of the empire, the institutions they created were not entrenched enough to survive periods with weaker kings.

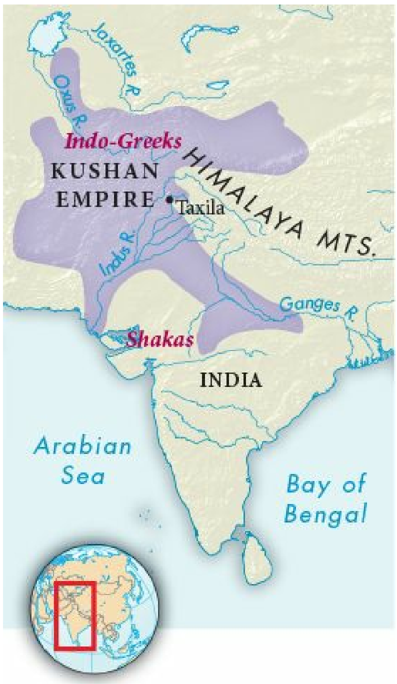
Small States and Trading Networks, 185 B.C.E.–300 C.E.

How was India shaped by political disunity and contacts with other cultures during the five centuries from 185 B.C.E. to 300 C.E.?

After the end of the Mauryan Dynasty in 185 B.C.E. and for much of subsequent Indian history, political unity would be the exception rather than the rule. By this time, however, key elements of Indian culture — the caste system; the religious traditions of Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism; and the great epics and legends — had given India a cultural unity strong enough to endure even without political unity.

In the years after the fall of the Mauryan Dynasty, a series of foreign powers dominated the Indus Valley and adjoining regions. The first were hybrid Indo-Greek states ruled by the inheritors of Alexander's defunct empire stationed in what is now Afghanistan. The city of Taxila became a major center of trade, culture, and education, fusing elements of Greek and Indian culture.

The great, slow movement of nomadic peoples out of East Asia that brought the Scythians to the Near East brought the Shakas to northwest India. They controlled the region from about 94 B.C.E. to 20 B.C.E., when they were displaced by a new nomadic invader, the Kushans, who ruled the region of today's Afghanistan, Pakistan, and west India as far south as Gujarat.

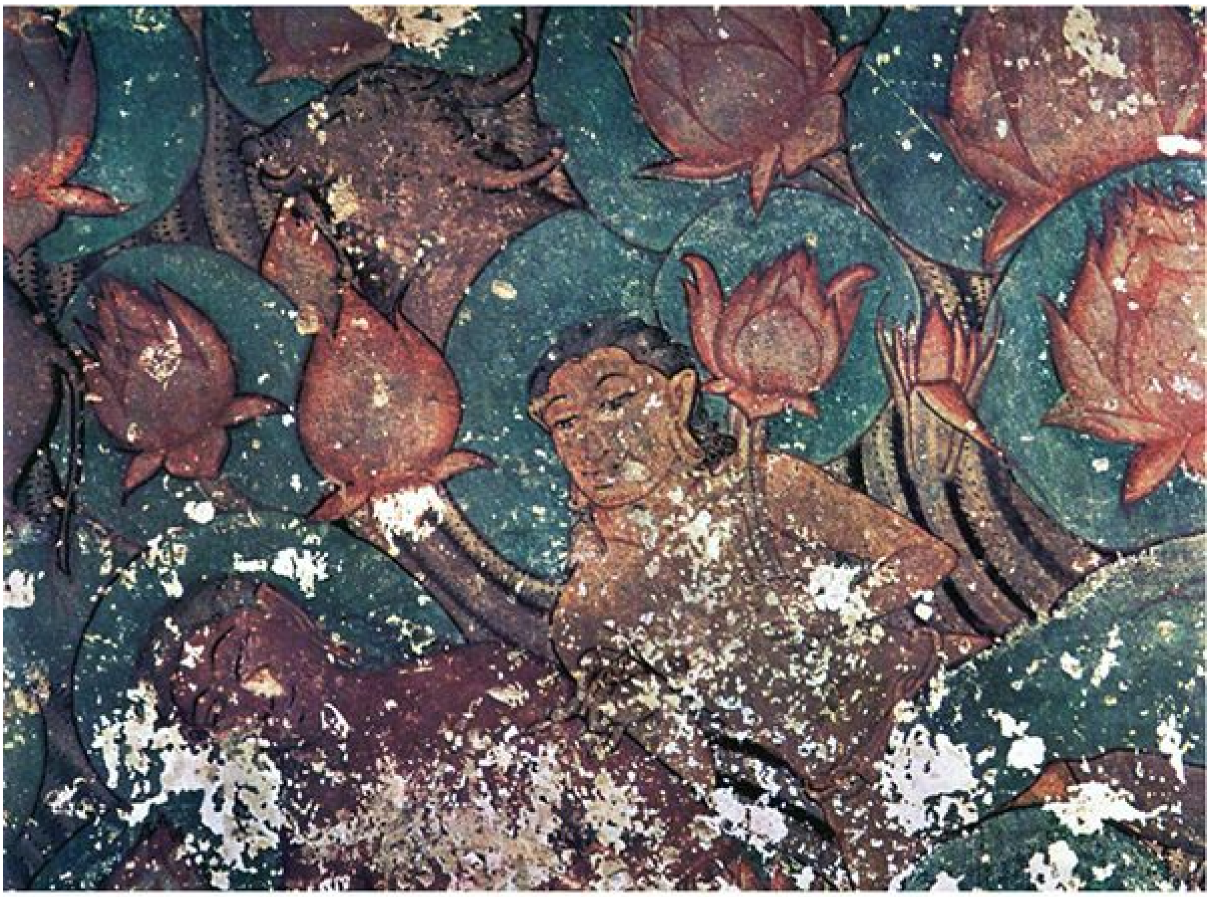


Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/ St. Martin's

The Kushan Empire, ca. 200 C.E.

During the Kushan period, which lasted to about 250 C.E., Greek culture had a considerable impact on Indian art. Indo-Greek artists and sculptors working in India adorned Buddhist shrines, modeling the earliest representation of the Buddha on Hellenistic statues of Apollo. Another contribution from the Indo-Greek states was coin cast with images of the king, which came to be widely adopted by Indian rulers, aiding commerce and adding evidence of rulers' names and sequence to the historical record. Places where coins are found also show patterns of trade.

Cultural exchange also went in the other direction. Old Indian animal folktales were translated into Syriac and Greek, and these translated versions eventually made their way to Europe. South India in this period was also the center of active seaborne trade, with networks reaching all the way to Rome. Indian sailing technology was highly advanced, and much of this trade was in the hands of Indian merchants. Roman traders based in Egypt followed the routes already used by Arab traders, sailing with the monsoon from the Red Sea to the west coast of India in about two weeks, and returning about six months later when the direction of the winds reversed. In the first century C.E. a Greek merchant involved in this trade reported that the traders sold coins, topaz, coral, crude glass, copper, tin, and lead and bought pearls, ivory, silk (probably originally from China), jewels of many sorts (probably many from Southeast Asia), and above all cinnamon and pepper. More Roman gold coins of the first and second centuries C.E. have been found near the southern tip of India than in any other area.



Pictures from History/Bridgeman Images

Lotus Gatherer This image of a woman gathering lotuses is from Sittanavasal Cave, a second-century-C.E. rock-cut temple in Tamil Nadu near the south end of India.

During these centuries there were significant advances in science, mathematics, and philosophy. Indian astronomers charted the movements of stars and planets and recognized that the earth was spherical. In the realm of physics, Indian scientists, like their Greek counterparts, conceived of matter in terms of five elements: earth, air, fire, water, and ether. This was also the period when Indian law was codified. The ***Code of Manu***, which lays down family, caste, and commercial law, was compiled in the second or third century C.E., drawing on older texts.

Code of Manu The codification of early Indian law that lays down family, caste, and commercial law.

Regional cultures tend to flourish when there is no dominant unifying state, and the Tamils of south India were one of the major beneficiaries of the collapse of the Mauryan Dynasty. The period from 200 B.C.E. to 200 C.E. is considered the classical period of Tamil culture, when many great works of literature were written under the patronage of the regional kings. Some of the poems written then provide evidence of lively commerce, mentioning bulging warehouses, ships from many lands, and complex import-export procedures. From contact of this sort, the south came to absorb many cultural elements from the north, but also retained differences. Castes were present in the south before contact with the Sanskrit north, but took distinct forms, as the Kshatriya (warrior) and Vaishya (merchant) varnas were hardly known in the far south.

Chapter Summary

Civilization first emerged in the Indus River Valley of India in the third millennium B.C.E. The large cities of this Harappan civilization were carefully planned, with straight streets and sewers; buildings were of kiln-dried brick. Harappan cities were largely abandoned by 1800 B.C.E. for unknown reasons.

A few centuries later, the Aryans, speakers of an early form of the Indo-European language Sanskrit, rose to prominence in north India, marking the beginning of the Vedic Age. Aryan warrior tribes fought using chariots and bronze swords and spears, gradually expanding into the Ganges River Valley. The first stages of the Indian caste system date to this period, when warriors and priests were ranked above merchants, artisans, and farmers. The Vedas document the religious ideas of this age, such as the importance of sacrifice and the notions of karma and rebirth.

Beginning around 500 B.C.E. three of India's major religions emerged. Mahavira, the founder of the Jain religion, taught his followers to live ascetic lives, avoid harming any living thing, and renounce evil thoughts and actions. The founder of Buddhism, Siddhartha Gautama, or the Buddha, similarly taught his followers a path to liberation that involved freeing themselves from desires, avoiding violence, and gaining insight. Hinduism developed in response to the popularity of Jainism and Buddhism, both of which rejected animal sacrifice and ignored the caste system. Hindu traditions validated sacrifice and caste and developed devotional practice, giving individuals a more personal relationship with the gods they worshipped.

From contact with the Persians and Greeks in the sixth century B.C.E. and fourth century B.C.E., respectively, new political techniques, ideas, and art styles and the use of money entered the Indian repertoire. Shortly after the arrival of the Greeks, much of north India was politically unified by the Mauryan Empire under Chandragupta. His grandson Ashoka converted to Buddhism and promoted its spread inside and outside of India.

After the decline of the Mauryan Empire, India was politically fragmented for several centuries. Indian cultural identity remained strong, however, because of shared literature and religious ideas. In the northwest, new nomadic groups, the Shakas and the Kushans, emerged. Cultural interchange was facilitated through trade both overland and by sea.

CONNECTIONS

India was a very different place in the third century C.E. than it had been in the early phase of Harappan civilization more than two thousand years earlier. The region was still divided into many different polities, but people living there in 300 shared much more in the way of ideas and traditions. The great epics such as the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* provided a cultural vocabulary for groups that spoke different languages and had rival rulers. New religions had emerged, notably Buddhism and Jainism, and Hinduism was much more a devotional religion. Contact with ancient Mesopotamia, Persia, Greece, and Rome had brought new ideas, practices, and products.

During this same time period, civilization in China underwent similar expansion and diversification. China was farther away than India from other Eurasian centers of civilization, and its developments were consequently not as closely linked. In China, writing with a symbol for each word appeared with the Bronze Age Shang civilization and was preserved into modern times, in striking contrast to India and lands to its west, which developed alphabetical writing systems. Still, some developments affected both India and China, such as the appearance of chariots and horseback riding. The next chapter takes up the story of these developments in early China. In Chapter 12, after considering early developments in Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas, we return to the story of India.

CHAPTER 3 Review and Explore

Identify Key Terms

Identify and explain the significance of each item below.

Harappan (p. 62)
Aryans (p. 63)
Rig Veda (p. 66)
Brahmins (p. 68)
caste system (p. 68)
samsara (p. 69)
karma (p. 69)
brahman (p. 69)
Jainism (p. 71)
Four Noble Truths (p. 72)
Eightfold Path (p. 72)
Mahayana (p. 74)
bodhisattvas (p. 75)
dharma (p. 76)
Mauryan Empire (p. 80)
Code of Manu (p. 81)

Review the Main Ideas

Answer the focus questions from each section of the chapter.

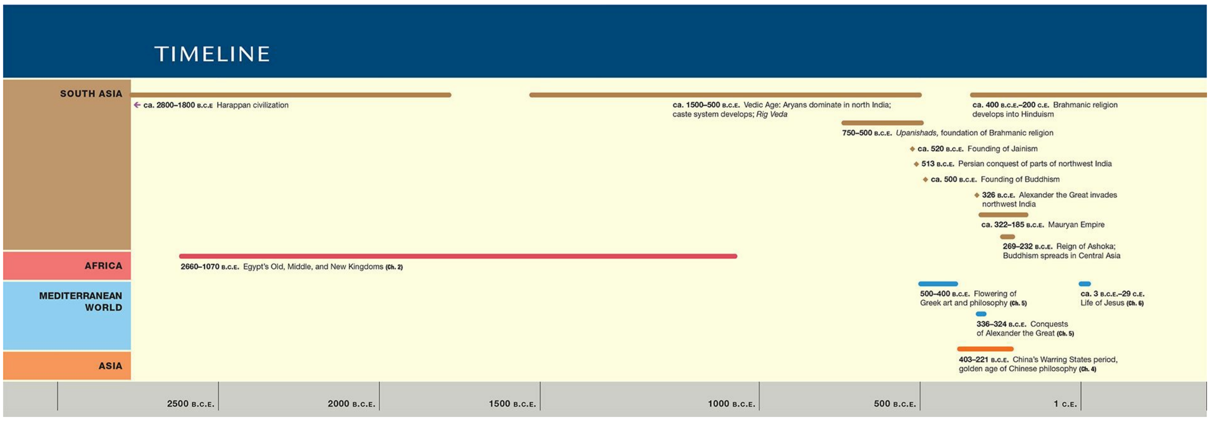
1. What does archaeology tell us about the Harappan civilization in India? (p. 62)
2. What kind of society and culture did the Indo-European Aryans create? (p. 63)
3. What ideas and practices were taught by the founders of Jainism, Buddhism, and Hinduism? (p. 70)
4. What was the result of Indian contact with the Persians and Greeks, and what were the consequences of unification under the Mauryan Empire? (p. 77)
5. How was India shaped by political disunity and contacts with other cultures during the five centuries from 185 B.C.E. to 300 C.E.? (p. 80)

Make Comparisons and Connections

Analyze the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters.

1. In what ways did ancient India follow patterns of development similar to those seen elsewhere?

2. What are the similarities and differences between the religious ideas and practices of early India and those that emerged in the Nile River Valley and southwest Asia?
3. How was the development of India's material culture affected by developments elsewhere?



Suggested Resources

Books

Basham, A. L. *The Wonder That Was India*, 3d rev. ed. 1968. Classic appreciative account of early Indian civilization by a scholar deeply immersed in Indian literature.

Dehejia, Vidya. *Indian Art.* 1997. Well-illustrated introduction to the visual feast of Indian art.

Embree, Ainslee, ed. *Sources of Indian Tradition*, 2d ed. 1988. An excellent introduction to Indian religion, philosophy, and intellectual history through translations of major sources.

Koller, John M. *The Indian Way*, 2d ed. 2004. An accessible introduction to the variety of Indian religions and philosophies.

Kulke, Hermann, and Dietmar Rothermund. *A History of India*, 3d ed. 1998. A good balanced introduction to Indian history.

Lopez, Donald S., Jr. *The Story of the Buddha: A Concise Guide to Its History and Teachings.* 2001. Emphasizes Buddhist practice, drawing examples from many different countries and time periods.

Miller, Barbara, trans. *The Bhagavad-Gita: Krishna's Counsel in Time of War.* 1986. One of several excellent translations of India's classical literature.

Possehl, Gregory L. *The Indus Civilization.* 2002. Overview of Harappan civilization, by one of the on-site researchers.

Renfew, Colin. *Archaeology and Language: The Puzzle of Indo-European Origins.* 1987. In-depth analysis of the question of the origins of the Aryans.

Scharff, Harmut. *The State in Indian Tradition.* 1989. Scholarly analysis of the period from the Aryans to the Muslims.

Thapar, Romilia. *Early India to 1300.* 2002. Overview by a leading Indian historian.

Wright, Rita P. *The Ancient Indus: Urbanism, Economy, and Society*. 2010. Broad-ranging overview that brings in Mesopotamian sources.

Documentaries

Ancient India: A Journey Back in Time (Cromwell Productions, 2006). This fifty-minute documentary provides particularly strong coverage of Harappan civilization.

The Soul of India (Rick Ray Films, 2001). This ninety-minute film introduces both India's geography and its religions.

Feature Films

Ashoka (Alchemy/Millennium, 2002). A heavily fictionalized account of the third-century-B.C.E. ruler; in Hindi with English subtitles.

Ramayana: The Epic (Maya Entertainment, 2011). An animated film, praised for its special effects.

Websites

Ancient India. An interactive site with summaries of history, maps, and photos; part of the Ancient History Encyclopedia. **www.ancient.eu/india/**

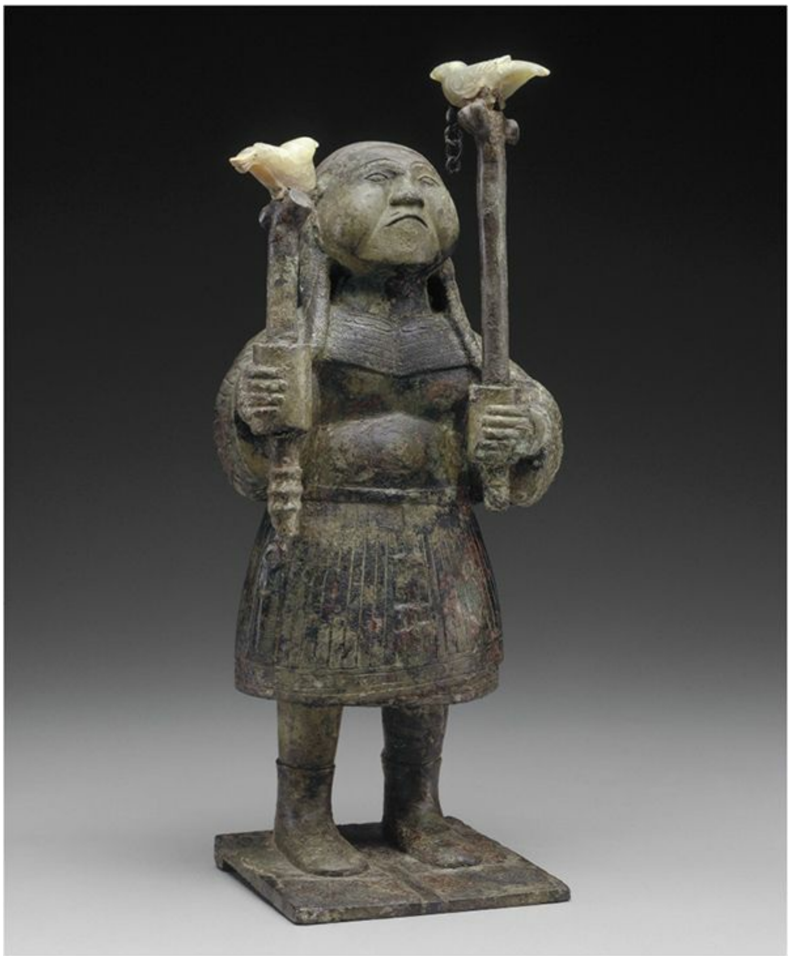
Know India: Ancient History. An extensive survey of Indian history on an Indian government site, with many links to different periods and monuments. **www.archive.india.gov.in/knowindia/culture_heritage.php?id=2**

Science, Medicine, Technology in Ancient India. A site offering good treatment of ancient Indian science, mathematics, engineering, medicine, shipping, and other technical subjects. **www.crystalinks.com/indiascience.html**

4

China's Classical Age

to 221 B.C.E.



Chinese, bronze and jade figure: Eastern Zhou, Warring States, 4th–3rd century B.C./ Museum of Fine Arts, Boston/Maria Antoinette Evans Fund, 31.976/Bridgeman Images

Attendant with Birds

This bronze lamp stand from the region of the Zhou royal tombs dates to the Warring States Period.

In comparison to India and Mesopotamia, China developed in relative isolation. Communication with West and South Asia was very difficult, impeded by high mountains and vast deserts. Though there was some trade, the distances were so great that they did not allow the kind of cross-fertilization that occurred in western Eurasia. Moreover, there were no cultural breaks comparable to the rise of the Aryans in India or the Assyrians in Mesopotamia to introduce new peoples and languages. The impact of early China's relative isolation is found in many distinctive features of its culture. Perhaps the most important is its writing system; unlike the other major societies of Eurasia, China retained a logographic writing system with a symbol for each word. This writing system shaped not only Chinese literature and thought but also key social and political processes, such as the nature of the ruling class and interactions with non-Chinese peoples.

Chinese history is commonly discussed in terms of a succession of dynasties. The Shang Dynasty (ca. 1500–1050 B.C.E.) was the first to have writing, metalworking, cities, and chariots. The Shang kings played priestly roles, serving as intermediaries with both their royal ancestors and the high god Di. The Shang were overthrown by one of their vassal states, which founded the Zhou Dynasty (ca. 1050). The Zhou rulers set up a decentralized feudal governmental structure that evolved over centuries into a multistate system, with the Zhou Dynasty itself not abolished until 256 B.C.E. As warfare between the states intensified in the sixth century B.C.E., social and cultural change quickened. Aristocratic privileges declined, and China entered one of its most creative periods, when the philosophies of Confucianism, Daoism, and Legalism were developed.

CHAPTER PREVIEW

THE EMERGENCE OF CIVILIZATION IN CHINA
What was the impact of China's geography on the development of Chinese societies?

THE SHANG DYNASTY, CA. 1500–1050 B.C.E.
What was life like during the Shang Dynasty, and what effect did writing have on Chinese culture and government?

THE EARLY ZHOU DYNASTY, CA. 1050–400 B.C.E.
How was China governed, and what was life like during the Zhou Dynasty?

THE WARRING STATES PERIOD, 403–221 B.C.E.
How did advances in military technology contribute to the rise of independent states?

CONFUCIUS AND HIS FOLLOWERS

What ideas did Confucius teach, and how were they spread after his death?

DAOISM, LEGALISM, AND OTHER SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT
How did the teachings of Daoism, Legalism, and other schools of thought differ from those of Confucianism?

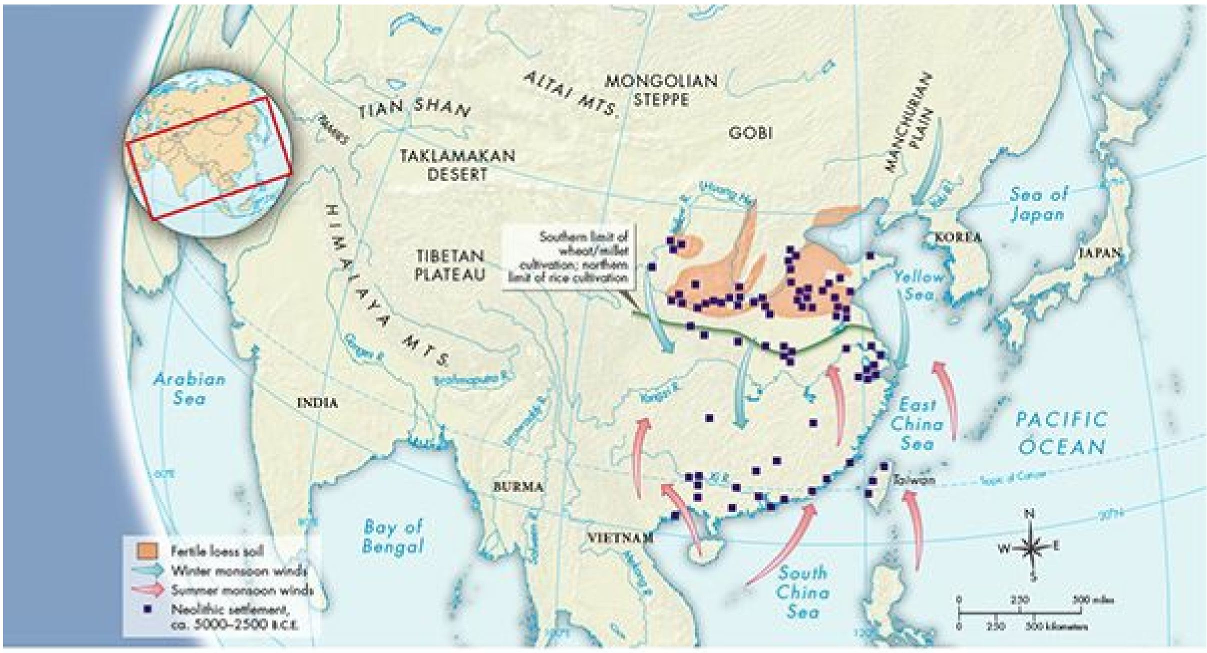
The Emergence of Civilization in China

What was the impact of China’s geography on the development of Chinese societies?

The term *China*, like the term *India*, does not refer to the same geographical entity at all points in history. The historical China, also called China proper, was smaller than present-day China, not larger like the historical India. The contemporary People’s Republic of China includes Tibet, Inner Mongolia, Turkestan, Manchuria, and other territories that in premodern times were neither inhabited by Chinese nor ruled directly by Chinese states.

The Impact of Geography

China proper, about a thousand miles north to south and east to west, occupies much of the temperate zone of East Asia (Map 4.1). The northern part, drained by the Yellow River, is colder, flatter, and more arid than the south. Rainfall in many areas is less than twenty inches a year, making the land well suited to crops like wheat and millet. The dominant soil is **loess** (LUHS) — fine wind-driven earth that is fertile and easy to work even with simple tools. Because so much of the loess ends up as silt in the river, the riverbed rises and easily floods unless diked. Drought is another perennial problem for farmers in the north. The Yangzi (YANG-zuh) River is the dominant feature of the warmer, wetter, and more lush south, a region well suited to rice cultivation. The Yangzi and its many tributaries are navigable, so boats were traditionally the preferred means of transportation in the south.


TIAN SHAN
ALTAI MTS.
MONGOLIAN STEPPE
GOBI
MANCHURIAN PLAIN
TAKLAMAKAN DESERT
HIMALAYA MTS.
TIBETAN PLATEAU
Southern limit of wheat/millet cultivation; northern limit of rice cultivation
KOREA
Sea of Japan
JAPAN
Yellow Sea
East China Sea
PACIFIC OCEAN
Taiwan
Tropic of Cancer
Arabian Sea
INDIA
Bay of Bengal
BURMA
VIETNAM
South China Sea
N
W
E
S
0 250 500 miles
0 250 500 kilometers
🟧 Fertile loess soil
Winter monsoon winds
Summer monsoon winds
■ Neolithic settlement, ca. 5000–2500 B.C.E.

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Mapping the Past

MAP 4.1 The Geography of Historical China Chinese civilization developed in the temperate regions drained by the Yellow and Yangzi Rivers.

ANALYZING THE MAP Trace the routes of the Yellow and Yangzi Rivers. Where are the areas of loess soil? Where are the Neolithic sites concentrated?

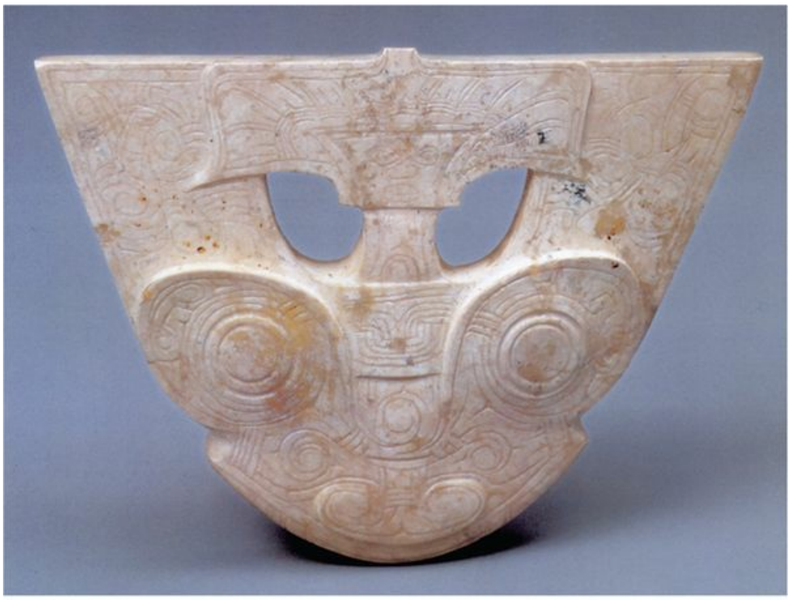
CONNECTIONS Does China's geography explain much about its history? (See also Map 4.2.) What geographical features had the greatest impact in the Neolithic Age? How might the fact that the Yellow and Yangzi Rivers flow west to east, rather than north to south, have influenced the development of Chinese society?

loess Soil deposited by wind; it is fertile and easy to work.

Mountains, deserts, and grasslands separated China proper from other early civilizations. Between China and India lay Tibet, with its vast mountain ranges and high plateaus. North of Tibet are great expanses of desert, and north of the desert, grasslands stretch from Ukraine to eastern Siberia. Chinese civilization did not spread into any of these Inner Asian regions, above all because they were not suited to growing crops. Inner Asia, where raising animals is a more productive use of land than planting crops, became the heartland of China's traditional enemies, such as the nomadic tribes of the Xiongnu (SHUHNG-noo) and Mongols.

Early Agricultural Societies of the Neolithic Age

From about 9000 B.C.E. agriculture was practiced in China beginning in the Yellow River Valley. It apparently originated independently of somewhat earlier developments in Egypt and Mesopotamia but was perhaps influenced by developments in Southeast Asia, where rice was also cultivated very early. By 7000 B.C.E. cattle had been domesticated and plow agriculture began. By 5000 B.C.E. there were Neolithic village settlements in several regions of China. The primary Neolithic crops were drought-resistant millet, grown in the loess soils of the north, and rice, grown in the wetlands of the lower reaches of the Yangzi River, where inhabitants supplemented their diet with fish. In both areas pigs, dogs, and cattle were domesticated, and by 3000 B.C.E. sheep had become important in the north and water buffalo in the south. Silk production can also be traced back to this period.



Zhejiang Provincial Institute of Cultural Relics and Archeology/Uniphoto Press, Japan/ Ancient Art & Architecture Collection, Ltd.

Neolithic Jade Plaque This small plaque (2½ inches by 3¼ inches), dating from about 2000 B.C.E., is similar to others of the Liangzhu area near modern Shanghai. It is incised to depict a human figure that merges into a monster mask. The lower part could be interpreted as the figure’s arms and legs but at the same time resembles a monster mask with bulging eyes, prominent nostrils, and a large mouth.

Over the course of the fifth to third millennia B.C.E., many distinct regional Neolithic cultures emerged. These Neolithic societies left no written records, but we know from the material record that over time they came to share more social and cultural practices. Fortified walls made of rammed earth were built around settlements in many places, suggesting not only increased contact between Neolithic societies but also increased conflict. (For more on life in Neolithic societies, see Chapter 1.)

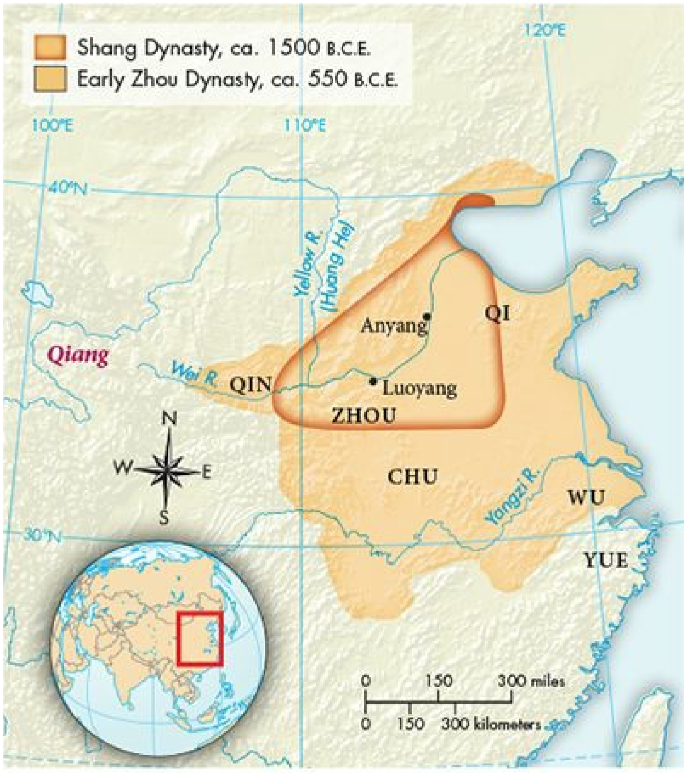
The Shang Dynasty, ca. 1500–1050 B.C.E.

What was life like during the Shang Dynasty, and what effect did writing have on Chinese culture and government?

Archaeological evidence indicates that after 2000 B.C.E. a Bronze Age civilization appeared in north China that shared traits with Bronze Age civilizations elsewhere in Eurasia, such as Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Greece. These traits included writing, metalworking, class stratification, and cult centers. This civilization can be identified with the Shang Dynasty, long known from early texts.

Shang Society

Shang civilization was not as densely urban as that of Mesopotamia, but Shang kings ruled from large settlements (Map 4.2). The best excavated is **Anyang**, from which the Shang kings ruled for more than two centuries. At the center of Anyang were large palaces, temples, and altars. Outside the central core were industrial areas where bronzeworkers, potters, stone carvers, and other artisans lived and worked. Many homes were built partly below ground level, probably as a way to conserve heat. Beyond these urban settlements were farming areas and large forests. Deer, bears, tigers, wild boars, elephants, and rhinoceros were still plentiful in north China in this era.


Shang Dynasty, ca. 1500 B.C.E.
Early Zhou Dynasty, ca. 550 B.C.E.
120°E
100°E
110°E
40°N
30°N
Yellow R. (Huang He)
Anyang
QI
Qiang
Wei R.
QIN
Luoyang
ZHOU
N
W
E
S
CHU
Yangzi R.
WU
YUE
0
150
300 miles
0
150
300 kilometers

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e,
© 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

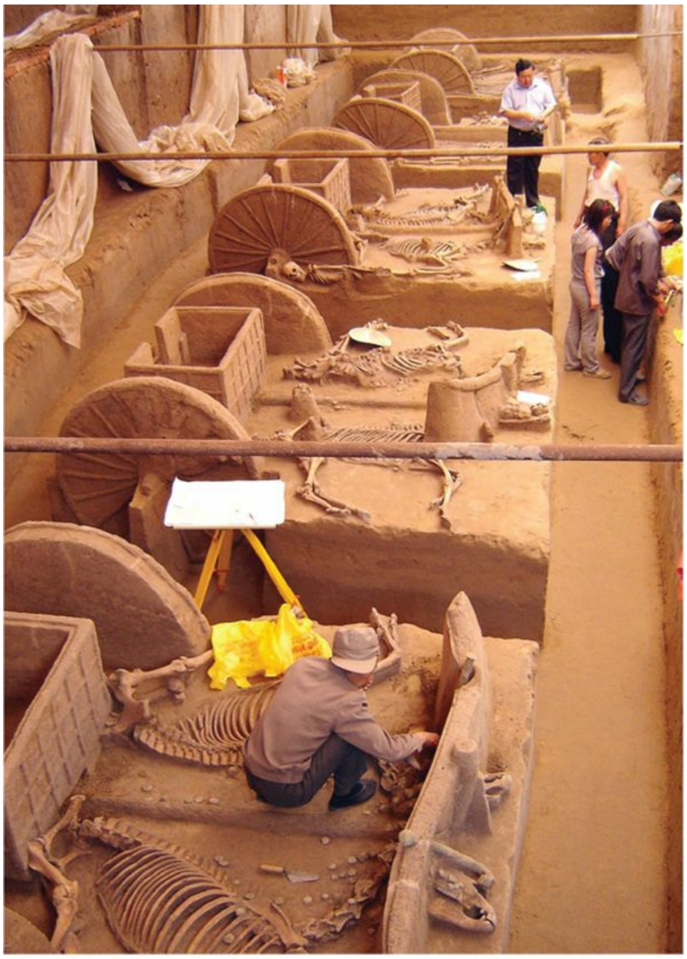
MAP 4.2 The Shang and Early Zhou Dynasties, ca. 1500–400 B.C.E. The early Zhou government controlled larger areas than the Shang did, but the independent states of the Warring States Period were more aggressive about pushing out their frontiers, greatly extending the geographical boundaries of Chinese civilization.

Anyang One of the Shang Dynasty capitals from which the Shang kings ruled for more than two centuries.

Texts found in the Shang royal tombs at Anyang show that Shang kings were military chieftains. The king regularly sent out armies of three thousand to five thousand men on campaigns, and when not at war they would go on hunts lasting for months. They fought rebellious vassals and foreign tribes, but the situation constantly changed as vassals became enemies and enemies accepted offers of alliance. War booty was an important source of the king's revenue, especially the war captives who could be enslaved. Bronze-tipped spears and battle axes were widely used by Shang warriors, giving them an advantage over less technologically advanced groups. Bronze was also used for the fittings of the chariots that came into use around 1200 B.C.E. Chariot technology apparently spread by diffusion across Eurasia, passing from one society to the next.

Shang power did not rest solely on military supremacy. The Shang king was also the high priest, the one best qualified to offer sacrifices to the royal ancestors and the high god Di. Royal ancestors were viewed as able to intervene with Di, send curses, produce dreams, assist the king in battle, and so on. The king divined his ancestors' wishes by interpreting the cracks made in heated cattle bones or tortoise shells prepared for him by professional diviners.

Shang palaces were undoubtedly splendid but were constructed of perishable material like wood, and nothing of them remains today, giving China none of the ancient stone buildings and monuments so characteristic of the West. What has survived are the lavish underground tombs built for Shang kings and their consorts.



China Newsphoto/Reuters/Newscom

Royal Burials at Anyang Eleven large tombs and more than a thousand small graves have been excavated at the royal burial ground at Anyang. In 2005 seven pits were discovered in which horses and chariots had been buried to accompany a king in the afterlife.

The one royal tomb not robbed before it was excavated was for Lady Hao, one of the many wives of the king Wu Ding (ca. 1200 B.C.E.). The tomb was filled with almost 500 bronze vessels and weapons, over 700 jade and ivory ornaments, and 16 people who would tend to Lady Hao in the afterlife. Human sacrifice did not occur only at funerals. Inscribed bones report sacrifices of war captives in the dozens and hundreds.

Shang society was marked by sharp status distinctions. The king and other noble families had family and clan names transmitted along patrilineal lines, from father to son. Kingship similarly passed along patrilineal lines. The kings and the aristocrats owned slaves, many of whom had been captured in war. In the urban centers there were substantial numbers of craftsmen who worked in stone, bone, and bronze.

Shang farmers were obligated to work for their lords (making them essentially serfs). Their lives were not that different from the lives of their Neolithic ancestors, and they worked the fields with similar stone tools. They usually lived in small, compact villages surrounded by fields. Some new crops became common in Shang times, most notably wheat, which had spread from western Asia.

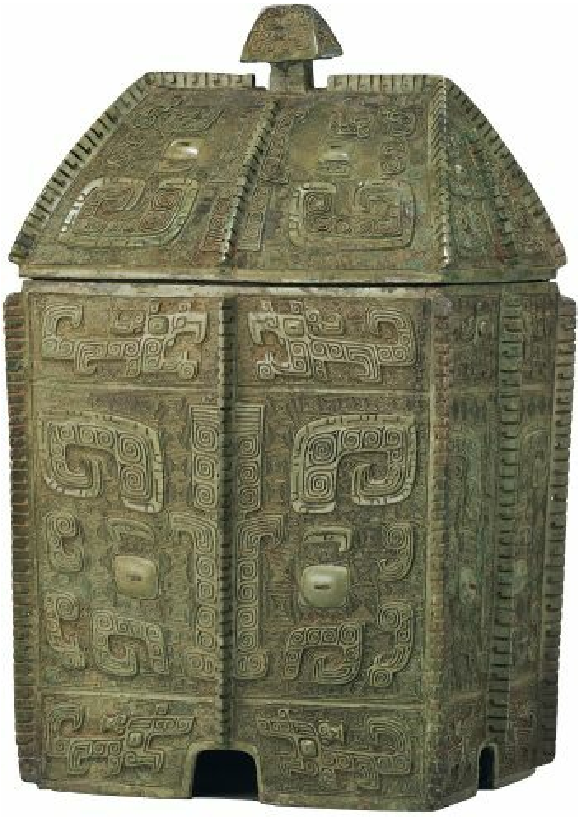
Bronze Metalworking

As in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and India, the development of more complex forms of social organization in Shang China coincided with the mastery of metalworking, specifically bronze. The bronze industry required the coordination of a large labor force and skilled artisans. Most surviving Shang bronze objects are vessels such as cups, goblets, steamers, and cauldrons that would have originally been used during sacrificial ceremonies.

The decoration on Shang bronzes seems to say something interesting about Shang culture, but scholars do not agree about what that is. In the art of ancient Egypt, Assyria, and Babylonia, representations of agriculture (domesticated plants and animals) and of social hierarchy (kings, priests, scribes, and slaves) are very common, matching our understandings of the social, political, and economic development of those societies. In Shang China, by contrast, images of wild animals predominate. Some animal images readily suggest possible meanings. Birds, for example, suggest to many the idea of messengers that can communicate with other realms, especially realms in the sky. More problematic is the most common image, the stylized animal face called the **taotie** (taow-tyeh). To some it is a monster — a fearsome image that would scare away evil forces. Others imagine a dragon — an animal whose vast powers had more positive associations. Some hypothesize that it reflects masks used in rituals.

Others associate it with animal sacrifices, totemism, or shamanism. Without new evidence, scholars can only speculate.

taotie A stylized animal face commonly seen in Chinese bronzes.



Ritual Wine Container with Cover [Fangyi]. China, Shang Dynasty [ca. 1600–1046 B.C.E.]/Purchase, Arthur M. Sackler Gift, 1974/The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York/Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Image source: Art Resource, NY)

Shanxi Zhou Yuan Museum/Uniphoto Press, Japan/Ancient Art & Architecture Collection, Ltd.

Bronze Vessels The Shang Dynasty bronze vessel on the top, dating to the twelfth century B.C.E. and about 10 inches tall, is covered with symmetrical animal imagery, including stylized taotie masks. The early Zhou Dynasty inscribed bronze pan (bottom), dating to before 900 B.C.E., was one of 103 vessels discovered in 1975 by farmers clearing a field. The inscription tells the story of the first six Zhou kings and of the family of scribes who served them.

The Development of Writing

The survival of divination texts inscribed on bones from Shang tombs demonstrates that writing was already a major element in Chinese culture by 1200 B.C.E. Writing must have been developed earlier, but the early stages cannot be traced, probably because writing was done on wood, bamboo, silk, or other perishable materials.

The invention of writing had profound effects on China’s culture and government. A written language made possible a bureaucracy capable of keeping records and corresponding with commanders and governors far from the palace. Hence literacy became the ally of royal rule, facilitating control over a wide realm. Literacy also preserved the learning, lore, and experience of early Chinese society and facilitated the development of abstract thought.

Like ancient Egyptian and Sumerian scripts, the Chinese script was **logographic**: each word was represented by a single symbol. In western Eurasia logographic scripts were eventually modified or replaced by phonetic scripts, but that never happened in China. Because China retained its logographic writing system, many years were required to gain full mastery of reading and writing, which added to the prestige of education.

logographic A system of writing in which each word is represented by a single symbol, such as the Chinese script.

Why did China retain a logographic writing system even after encounters with phonetic ones? Although phonetic systems have many real advantages, especially with respect to ease of learning to read, there are some costs to dropping a logographic system. Since characters did not change when the pronunciation changed, educated Chinese could read texts written centuries earlier without the need for translation. Moreover, as the Chinese language developed regional variants, readers of Chinese could read books and letters by contemporaries whose oral language they could not comprehend. Thus the Chinese script played a large role in holding China together and fostering a sense of connection with the past. In addition, many of China's neighbors (Japan, Korea, and Vietnam, in particular) adopted the Chinese script, allowing communication through writing between people whose languages were totally unrelated. In this regard, Chinese characters were like Arabic numerals, which have the same meaning however they are pronounced (Table 4.1).

TABLE 4.1 Pronouncing Chinese Words
Phonetic equivalents for the vowels and especially perplexing consonants are given here.

LETTER	PHONETIC EQUIVALENT IN CHINESE
a	ah
e	uh
i	ee; except after *z*, *c*, and *ch*, when the sound is closer to *i* in *it*
u	oo; as in English *food*
c	ts (*ch*, however, is like English *ch*)
q	ch
z	dz
zh	j
x	sh

The Early Zhou Dynasty, ca. 1050–400 B.C.E.

How was China governed, and what was life like during the Zhou Dynasty?

West of the Shang capital was the domain of Zhou (JOE), which had inherited cultural traditions from the Neolithic cultures of the northwest and absorbed most of the material culture of the Shang. In about 1050 B.C.E. the Zhou rose against the Shang and defeated them in battle. Their successors maintained the cultural and political advances that the Shang rulers had introduced.

Zhou Politics

The early Zhou period is the first one for which transmitted texts exist in some abundance. The ***Book of Documents*** (ca. 900 B.C.E.) describes the Zhou conquest of the Shang as the victory of just and noble warriors over decadent courtiers led by an irresponsible and sadistic king.

Book of Documents One of the earliest Chinese books, containing documents, speeches, and historical accounts about early Zhou rule.

Like the Shang kings, the Zhou kings sacrificed to their ancestors, but they also sacrificed to Heaven. The *Book of Documents* assumes a close relationship between Heaven and the king, who was called the Son of Heaven. In this book, Heaven gives the king a mandate to rule only as long as he rules in the interests of the people. Because the last king of the Shang had been decadent and cruel, Heaven took the mandate away from him and entrusted it to the virtuous Zhou kings. This theory of the **Mandate of Heaven** was probably developed by the early Zhou rulers as a kind of propaganda to win over the former subjects of the Shang. It remained a central feature of Chinese political ideology from the early Zhou period on.

Mandate of Heaven The theory that Heaven gives the king a mandate to rule only as long as he rules in the interests of the people.

Rather than attempt to rule all their territories directly, the early Zhou rulers set up a decentralized feudal system. They sent relatives and trusted subordinates with troops to establish walled garrisons in the conquered territories. Such a vassal was generally able to pass his position on to a son, so that in time the domains became hereditary. By 800 B.C.E. there were about two hundred lords with domains large and small.

As generations passed and ties of loyalty and kinship grew more distant, regional lords became so powerful that they no longer obeyed the commands of the king. In 771 B.C.E. the Zhou king was killed by an alliance of non-Chinese tribesmen and Zhou vassals. One of his sons was put on the throne, and then for safety's sake the capital was moved east to modern Luoyang, just south of the Yellow River in the heart of the central plains (see Map 4.2). However, the revived Zhou Dynasty never fully regained control over its vassals, and China entered a prolonged period without a strong central authority and with nearly constant conflict (the later Zhou Dynasty, also called the Warring States Period).

Life During the Early Zhou Dynasty

During the early Zhou period, aristocratic attitudes and privileges were strong. Inherited ranks placed people in a hierarchy ranging downward from the king to the rulers of states with titles like duke and marquis, to the hereditary great officials of the states, to the lower ranks of the aristocracy — men who could serve in either military or civil capacities, known as **shi** — and finally to the ordinary people (farmers, craftsmen, and traders). Patrilineal family ties were very important in this society, and at the upper reaches, at least, sacrifices to ancestors were one of the key rituals used to forge social ties.

shi The lower ranks of Chinese aristocracy; these men could serve in either military or civil capacities.

Glimpses of what life was like at various social levels in the early Zhou Dynasty can be found in the ***Book of Songs*** (ca. 900 B.C.E.), which contains the earliest Chinese poetry. Some of the songs are hymns used in court religious ceremonies, such as offerings to ancestors. Others clearly had their origins in folk songs. The seasons set the pace for rural life, and the songs contain many references to seasonal changes, such as the appearance of insects like grasshoppers and crickets. Some of these songs depict farmers clearing fields, plowing and planting, gathering mulberry leaves for silkworms, and spinning and weaving. Farming life involved not merely cultivating crops like millet, hemp (for cloth), beans, and vegetables but also hunting small animals and collecting grasses and rushes to make rope and baskets. (See “Global Viewpoints: The Inglorious Side of War in the *Book of Songs* and the *Patirruppattu,*” page 94.)

Book of Songs The earliest collection of Chinese poetry; it provides glimpses of what life was like in the early Zhou Dynasty.

Many of the folk songs are love songs that depict a more informal pattern of courtship than the one that prevailed in later China. One stanza reads:

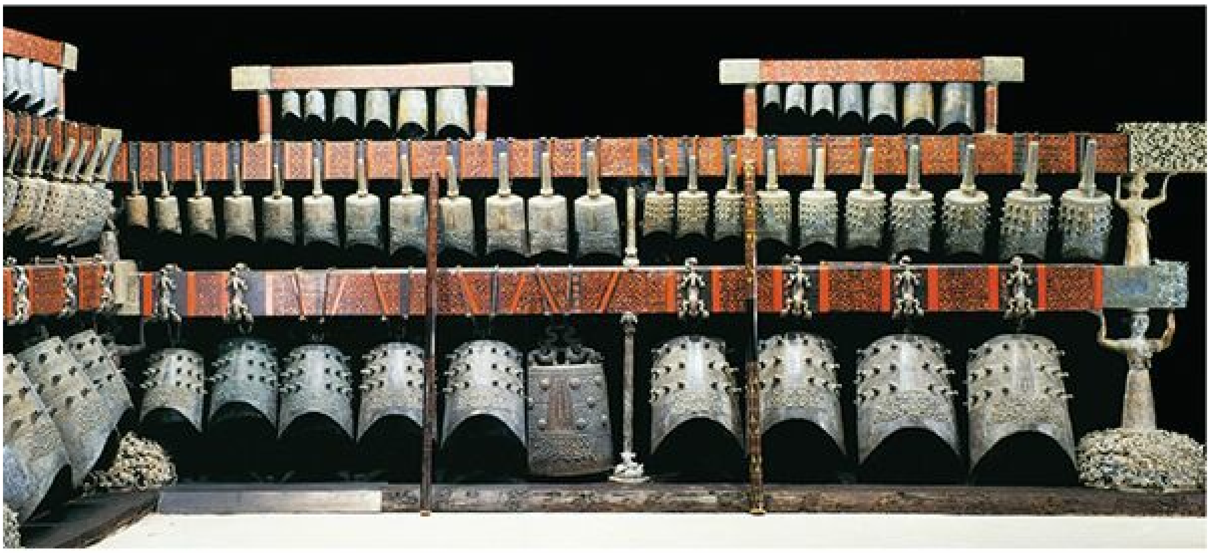
> I pray you, Zhongzi,
> Do not come leaping over my wall,
> Do not break my mulberry trees.
> It’s not that I care about them,
> But I fear the words of my brothers.
> You, Zhongzi, are to be loved,
> But my brothers’ words —
> are to be feared.[1]

There were also songs of complaint, such as this one in which the ancestors are rebuked for failing to aid their descendants:

> The drought is extreme,
> And it cannot be stopped.
> More fierce and fiery,
> it is leaving me no place.
> My end is near; —
> I have none to look up to, none to look round to.
> The many dukes and their ministers of the past
> Give me no help.
> Oh parents and ancestors,
> How can you bear to see us like this?[2]

Social and economic change quickened after 500 B.C.E. Cities began appearing all over north China. Thick earthen walls were built around the palaces and ancestral temples of the ruler and other aristocrats, and often an outer wall was added to protect the artisans, merchants, and farmers who lived outside the inner wall. Accounts of sieges launched against these walled citadels, with scenes of the scaling of walls and the storming of gates, are central to descriptions of military confrontations in this period.

The development of iron technology in the early Zhou Dynasty promoted economic expansion and allowed some people to become very rich. By 500 B.C.E. iron was being widely used for both farm tools and weapons. Late Zhou texts frequently mention trade across state borders in goods such as furs, copper, dyes, hemp, salt, and horses. People who grew wealthy from trade or industry began to rival rulers for influence. Rulers who wanted trade to bring prosperity to their states welcomed traders and began casting coins to facilitate trade.



Hubei Provincial Museum/ Uniphoto Press, Japan/Ancient Art & Architecture Collection, Ltd.

Bells of the Marquis of Zeng Music played a central role in court life in ancient China, and bells are among the most impressive bronze objects of the period. The tomb of a minor ruler who died about 400 B.C.E. contained 124 musical instruments, including drums, flutes, mouth organs, pan pipes, zithers, a set of 32 chime stones, and this 64-piece bell set. The bells bear inscriptions that name the two tones each bell could make, depending on where it was struck. Five men, using poles and mallets and standing on either side of the set of bells, would have played the bells by hitting them from outside.

Social mobility increased over the course of the Zhou period. Rulers often sent out their own officials rather than delegate authority to hereditary lesser lords. This trend toward centralized bureaucratic control created opportunities for social advancement for the *shi* on the lower end of the old aristocracy. Competition among such men guaranteed rulers a ready supply of able and willing subordinates, and competition among rulers for talent meant that ambitious men could be selective in deciding where to offer their services. (See “Individuals in Society: Lord Mengchang,” page 96.)

Religion in Zhou times was not simply a continuation of Shang practices. The practice of burying the living with the dead — so prominent in the royal tombs of the Shang — steadily declined in the middle Zhou period. New deities and cults also appeared, especially in the southern state of Chu, where areas that had earlier been considered barbarian were being incorporated into the cultural sphere of the Central States, as the core region of China was called. By the late Zhou period, Chu was on the forefront of cultural innovation and produced the greatest literary masterpiece of the era, the *Songs of Chu*, a collection of fantastical poems full of images of elusive deities and shamans who could fly through the spirit world. (See “Thinking Like a Historian: Ideas About the Divine Realm,” page 98.)

GLOBAL VIEWPOINTS

The Inglorious Side of War in the *Book of Songs* and the *Patirruppattu*

The *Book of Songs*, the earliest collection of Chinese poetry, dating back to around 900 B.C.E., includes not only poems that glorify the valiant military victor, but also ones that look at war from the side of ordinary soldiers forced to march and fight. These poems can be compared to others written by poets at court in south India, which were preserved in *Patirruppattu*, an anthology from the classical period of Tamil literature, about 200 B.C.E.–200 C.E.

Soldiers' Complaints in the *Book of Songs*

Hear, minister of war, the charge we bring!
We are the teeth and talons of the king;
  Close to his person is our place.
Why have you sent us to this homeless life,
Where far from court we roam, 'mid miseries rife?
  Why are we doomed to this disgrace

Hear, minister of war, the accusing word!
We are the taloned soldiers of our lord,
  And near his person should have rest.
But you from court have sent us far away,
Where ceaselessly we toil from day to day,
  By constant misery oppressed.

Hear, minister of war, whose erring deed
Has paid our valor with a sorry meed,
  When we should near the court reside.
Why have you sent us far to suffer grief,
And leave our mothers longing for relief,
  With all their cooking labors tried?

The Waste of War from *Patirruppattu*

HARVEST OF WAR

Great king
you shield your men from ruin,
so your victories, your greatness
are bywords.

Loose chariot wheels
lie about the battleground
with the long white tusks
of bull-elephants.

Flocks of male eagles
eat carrion
with their mates.

Headless bodies
dance about
before they fall
to the ground.

Blood glows,
like the sky before nightfall,
in the red center
of the battlefield.

Demons dance there.
And your kingdom
is an unfailing harvest
of victorious wars.

BATTLE SCENE

You might ask,
        “This Porai, so fierce in war,
        how big
        are his armies, really?”
Listen,
new travelers on the road!

As the enemy mob scampers and flees
and kings die on the field,

I’ve no body count
of those who kill as they fall,
and falling,
dance the victory dance
with lifted hands.

I’ve no count of the well-made chariots
that run all over them,
wheel-rims hardly worn,

nor of the horses, the men,
numberless,
I’ve not counted them.

And those elephants of his,
they cannot be pegged down,
they twist goads out of shape,

they stamp even on the moving shadows
of circling eagles,

and stampede like the cattle
of the Konkars
with pickax troops on a wasteland of pebbles, they really move, those elephants
in his army:
I can see them but I cannot count them.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Who is speaking in these poems?
2. What can you infer about warfare of the periods from these pieces?
3. How significant do you think it is that the Chinese poems were composed seven centuries or more before the Indian ones?

Sources: *The Book of Poetry: Book IV, The Decade of Chi Fu*, trans. James Legge (1876), at www.sacred-texts.com; A. K. Ramanujan, ed. and trans., *Poems of Love and War: From the Eight Anthologies and the Ten Long Poems of Classical Tamil* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), pp. 115–117. Copyright 1985 by Columbia University Press. Reproduced by permission of Columbia University Press in the format Textbook via Copyright Clearance Center.

INDIVIDUALS IN SOCIETY

Lord Mengchang

© The Trustees of the British Museum/Art Resource, NY

Menchang promoted trade by issuing bronze coins. Some Zhou coins, like the ones cast in the mold shown here, were shaped liked minature knives.

DURING THE WARRING STATES PERIOD, MEN COULD RISE to high rank on the basis of talent. Lord Mengchang rose on the basis of his people skills: he treated his retainers so well that he attracted thousands of talented men to his service, enabling him to rise to prime minister of his native state of Qi in the early third century B.C.E.

Lord Mengchang's beginnings were not promising. His father, a member of the Qi royal family, already had more than forty sons when Mengchang was born, and he ordered the mother, one of his many concubines, to leave the baby to die. She, however, secretly reared him, and while still a child he was able to win his father's approval through his cleverness.

At his father’s death Mengchang succeeded him. Because Mengchang would provide room and board to men who sought to serve him, he soon attracted a few thousand retainers, many of humble background, some fleeing justice. Every night, we are told, he ate with them all in his hall, treating them equally no matter what their social origins.

Most of the stories about Mengchang revolve around retainers who solved his problems in clever ways. Once, when Mengchang had been sent as an envoy to Qin, the king of Qin was persuaded not to let so talented a minister return to help Qi. Under house arrest, Mengchang was able to ask one of the king’s consorts to help him, but in exchange she wanted a fur coat kept in the king’s treasury. A former thief among Mengchang’s retainers stole it for him, and Mengchang was soon on his way. By the time he reached the barrier gate, Qin soldiers were pursuing him, and he knew that he had to get through quickly. One of his retainers imitated the crowing of a cock, which got the other cocks to crow, making the guards think it was dawn, so they opened the gates and let his party through.

When Mengchang served as prime minister of Qi, his retainers came up with many clever stratagems that convinced the nearby states of Wei and Han to join Qi in resisting Qin. Several times, one of his retainers of modest origins, Feng Xuan (FUNG SCHWAN), helped Mengchang withstand the political vicissitudes of the day. When sent to collect debts owed to Mengchang in his fief of Xue, Feng Xuan instead forgave all the debts of those too poor to repay their loans. Later, when Lord Mengchang lost his post at court and returned to his fief, most of his retainers deserted him, but he found himself well loved by the local residents, all because of Feng Xuan’s generosity in his name. After Mengchang reattained his court post and was traveling back to Qi, he complained to Feng Xuan about those who had deserted him. Feng Xuan, we are told, got down from the carriage and bowed to Lord Mengchang, and when pressed said that the lord should accept the retainers’ departures as part of the natural order of things:

> Wealth and honor attract while poverty and lowliness repel; such is the nature of things. Think of it like the market. In the morning it is crowded and in the evening it is deserted. This is not because people prefer the morning to the evening, but rather because what they want can not be found there [in the evening]. Do not let the fact that your retainers left when you lost your position lead you to bar them from returning. I hope that you will treat them just the way you did before.[*]

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. How did Mengchang attract his many retainers, and how did their service benefit him?
2. Who in this story benefited from hereditary privilege, and who advanced because of ability? What does this suggest about social mobility during the Warring States Period?
3. Many of the stories about Mengchang are included in *Intrigues of the Warring States*, a book that Confucians disapproved of. What do you think they found objectionable?

---

[*] *Shi ji* 75.2362. Translated by Patricia Buckley.

THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN

Ideas About the Divine Realm

Diverse ideas about the nature of gods, ghosts, ancestors, and demons can be seen in early Chinese sources of many kinds. Confucius strongly supported the practice of ritual, especially sacrifices to ancestors, but he avoided talk about gods or ghosts, preferring to focus on the human world. Written sources from the next several centuries show that interest in the divine realm remained strong. This theme can also be seen in funerary art.

1 **Mozi, from *The Mozi*.** Master Mo, in the century after Confucius, objected to many Confucian teachings, arguing that Confucius's followers spent too much time and resources on useless rituals and that they encouraged people to put their own relatives first rather than helping all impartially. He used utility as a standard, asking whether an idea or practice would lead people to act in desirable ways. He sometimes used stories to get his point across, as he does below.

■ Long ago, in the time of Lord Zhuang of Qi [794–731 B.C.E.], there were two ministers named Wangli Guo and Zhongli Jiao. These two men had been engaged in a lawsuit for three years, but no judgment had been handed down. Lord Zhuang thought of executing them both, but he was afraid of killing an innocent man. He also thought of acquitting them both, but he was afraid of setting free one who was guilty. He therefore ordered the two men to bring a lamb and take an oath on the Qi altar of the soil. The two men agreed to take the oath of blood. The throat of the lamb was cut, its blood sprinkled on the altar, and Wangli Guo's version of the case read through to the end. Zhongli Jiao's version was read, but before it had been read half through, the lamb rose up, butted Zhongli Jiao, broke his leg, and then struck him down on the altar. At that time there were none of the attendants of Qi who did not see what happened, and no one in distant regions who did not hear about it. It was recorded in the spring and autumn annals of Qi, and the feudal lords handed down the story, saying, "All those who take oaths in insincerity will incur the punishment of the ghosts and spirits with just such rapidity!" If we examine what is written in the book, how can we doubt that ghosts and spirits exist?

Therefore Mozi said: Even in the deep valleys, the broad forests, the dark and distant places where no one lives, you must not fail to act with sincerity, for the ghosts and spirits will see you even there!

2 **Xunzi, from *The Xunzi*.** Xunzi, the leading Confucian teacher of the late Warring States Period, was unusual in explicitly discussing the consequences of making appeals to the gods.

■ You pray for rain and it rains. Why? For no particular reason, I say. It is just as though you had not prayed for rain and it rained anyway. The sun and moon undergo an eclipse and you try to save them; a drought occurs and you pray for rain; you consult the arts of divination before making a decision on some important matter. But it is not as though you could hope to accomplish anything by such ceremonies. They are done merely for ornament. Hence the gentleman regards them as ornaments, but the common people regard them as supernatural.

3 **Spellbinding.** In recent decades archaeologists have found books in Warring States and Han tombs that did not survive elsewhere. Several of these texts deal with determining lucky and unlucky days, quelling demons, and other occult lore. Below is just a small selection from a lengthy text on spellbinding.

■ When without cause a demon deludes a person — this is the Enticing Demon who likes to sport with people. Make a staff from mulberry heartwood. When the demon comes, strike it. It will die of terror….

When without cause the people in a household all become diseased, most of whom suffer from nightmares and die — this is the Childbirth Demon who is buried there. There is not grass or matting above it. Dig it up and get rid of it. Then it will stop….

When without cause the stove cannot cook food — the Yang Demon has taken its vapor (qi). Burn pig feces inside the house. Then it will stop.

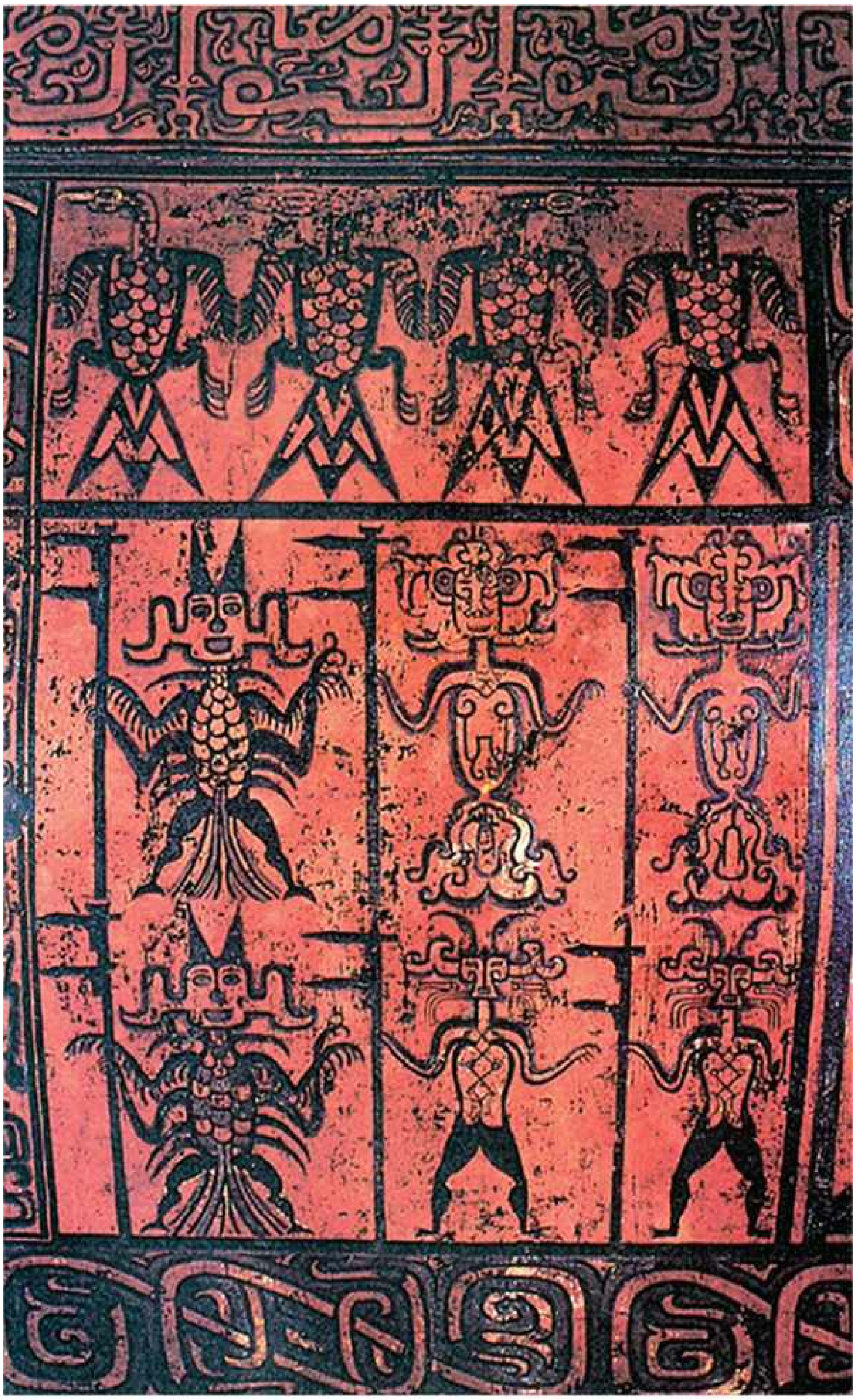
4 **The Songs of Chu.** Late Warring States poetry from the southern state of Chu was traditionally attributed to Qu Yuan (ca. 340–278 B.C.E.), a passionate man who threw himself into the river because his lord rejected him. In the three stanzas here from a longer poem, the author flies through the heavens in the company of gods.

■ “Open them wide, the gates of the heavens, in a mass I come riding dark purple clouds, and charge the whirlwinds to speed on ahead, commanding a downpour to moisten the dust.”

My Lord sweeps in circles, then He descends, It is I who go with you past Mount Kong-sang. “Earth’s nine domains are teeming with men; and their spans, long or short, depend upon me.”

High off we fly, steadily soaring, riding pure vapors, He drives Shadow and Light; then I and my Lord, dashing swiftly ahead, lead on the High God down to Nine Hills

5 **Painting on a coffin.** The coffin of Marquis Zeng of Yi, buried in 433 B.C.E., has pictures of nonhuman figures holding weapons; the figures are thought to be protecting the deceased.



© Pictures from History/The Image Works

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. What types of powers did the writers of Sources 1–4 assume spirits had?
2. Based on all the sources, do you think most educated people would have agreed with Xunzi? Why or why not?
3. Could regional differences account for some of the differences in the ideas about spirits expressed in these sources? Explain your answer.
4. Do you see any similarities between the ideas about unseen powers in early China and those in other places? If so, what are the similarities?
5. Would thinking in the ways described in these sources have much impact on how

people lived their lives? Explain your answer.

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

Using the sources above, along with what you have learned in class and in this chapter, write a short essay that analyzes the diversity of ideas about spiritual beings in early China. Is there anything that ties these ideas together? Or are the differences of greater significance than the similarities?

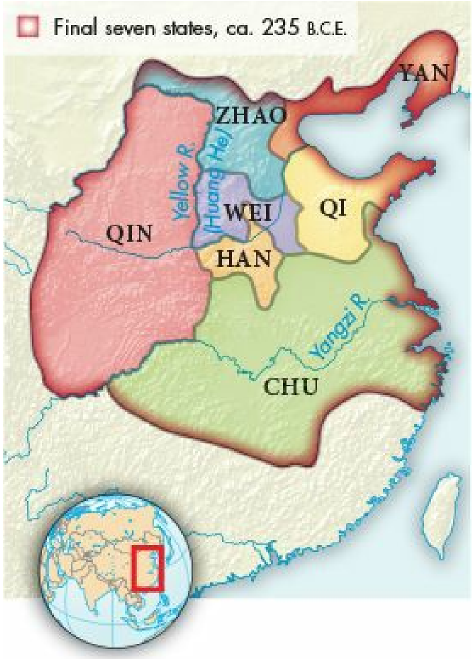
Sources: (1, 2) Burton Watson, trans., *The Basic Writings of Mo Tzu, Hsün Tzu, and Han Fei Tzu* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), pp. 98–99, 85. Reproduced with permission of COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS in the format Republish in a book via Copyright Clearance Center; (3) “Spellbinding,” in *Religions of China in Practice*, ed. Donald S. Lopez, Jr. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996), pp. 244–245. Reproduced with permission of PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS in the format Book via Copyright Clearance Center; (4) *An Anthology of Chinese Literature: Beginnings to 1911*, ed. and trans. Stephen Owen. Copyright © 1996 by Stephen Owen and The Council for Cultural Planning and Development of the Executive Yuan of the Republic of China. Used by permission of W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.

The Warring States Period, 403–221 B.C.E.

How did advances in military technology contribute to the rise of independent states?

By 400 B.C.E. advances in military technology were undermining the old aristocratic social structure of the Zhou. Large, well-drilled infantry armies able to withstand and defeat chariot-led forces became potent military forces in the **Warring States Period**, which lasted from 403 B.C.E. to 221 B.C.E. Fueled by the development of new weaponry and war tactics, the Chinese states destroyed each other one by one until only one state was left standing — the state of Qin (CHIN).

Warring States Period The period of Chinese history between 403 B.C.E. and 221 B.C.E., when states fought each other and one state after another was destroyed.



Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

The Warring States, 403–221 B.C.E.

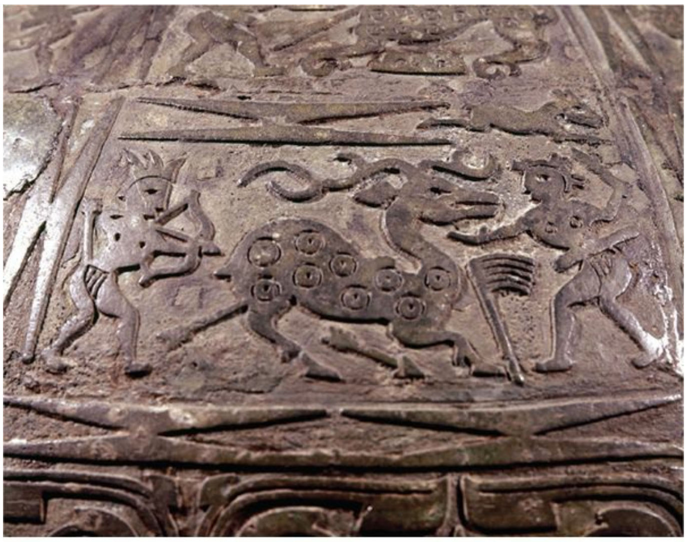
New Technologies for War

By 300 B.C.E. states were sending out armies of a few hundred thousand drafted foot soldiers, usually accompanied by horsemen. Adding to their effectiveness was the development of the **crossbow** around 350 B.C.E. The intricate bronze trigger of the crossbow allowed a foot soldier to shoot farther than could a horseman carrying a light bow. One text of the period reports that a skilled soldier with a powerful crossbow and a sharp sword was the match of a hundred ordinary men. To defend against crossbows, soldiers began wearing armor and helmets.

crossbow A powerful mechanical bow developed during the Warring States Period.

The introduction of cavalry in this period further reduced the need for a chariot-riding aristocracy. Shooting bows and arrows from horseback was first perfected by non-Chinese peoples to the north of China proper, who at that time were making the transition to a nomadic pastoral economy. The northern state of Jin developed its own cavalry to defend itself from the attacks of these horsemen. Once it started using cavalry against other Chinese states, they too had to master the new technology. From this time on, acquiring and pasturing horses was a key component of military preparedness.

As military competition intensified, rulers wanted to increase their populations, to have more commoners to serve as foot soldiers and more craftsmen to supply weapons. To increase agricultural output, they brought new land into cultivation, drained marshes, and dug irrigation channels. They wanted to undermine the power of lords over their subjects in order to get direct access to the peasants' labor power. Serfdom thus gradually declined. Registering populations led to the extension of family names to commoners at an earlier date than anywhere else in the world.



Granger, NYC — All rights reserved

Hunters This depiction of men attacking an animal is found on a late Zhou bronze ritual vessel covered with incised images of people and their activities.

The development of infantry armies also created the need for a new type of general, and rulers became less willing to let men lead troops merely because of aristocratic birth. In *The Art of War* (453–403 B.C.E.), Sun Wu described the ideal general as a master of maneuver, illusion, and deception. He argued that heroism is a useless virtue that leads to needless deaths. Discipline, however, is essential, and he insisted that the entire army had to be trained to follow the orders of its commanders without questioning them. He also explicitly called for use of deceit:

> War is the Way of deceit. Thus one who is competent pretends to be incompetent; one who uses [his army] pretends not to use it; one who draws near pretends to be distant; one who is distant pretends to draw near. If [the enemy desires] some advantage, entice him [with it]…. Attack where he does not expect it and go where he has not imagined. This is how military experts are victorious.[3]

The Victorious States

During the Warring States Period, states on the periphery of the Zhou realm had more room to expand than did states in the center. With access to more resources, they were able to pick off their neighbors, one after the other. Still, for two centuries the final outcome was far from clear, as alliances among states were regularly made and nearly as regularly broken.

By the third century B.C.E. there were only seven important states remaining. These states were much more centralized than their early Zhou predecessors. Their kings had eliminated indirect control through vassals and in their place dispatched royal officials to remote cities, controlling them from a distance through the transmission of documents and dismissing them at will. Before the end of the third century B.C.E. one state, Qin, conquered all of the others, a development discussed in Chapter 7.

Confucius and His Followers

What ideas did Confucius teach, and how were they spread after his death?

The Warring States Period was the golden age of Chinese philosophy, the era when the "Hundred Schools of Thought" were in competition. During the same period in which Indian sages and mystics were developing religious speculation about karma, souls, and ultimate reality (see "India's Great Religions" in Chapter 3), Chinese thinkers were arguing about the ideal forms of social and political organization and man's connections to nature.

Confucius

As a young man, Confucius (traditional dates: 551–479 B.C.E.) had served in the court of his home state of Lu without gaining much influence. After leaving Lu, he set out with a small band of students and wandered through neighboring states in search of a ruler who would take his advice. We know what he taught from the *Analects*, a collection of his sayings put together by his followers after his death. (See "Analyzing the Evidence: The Teachings of Confucius," page 102.)

The thrust of Confucius's thought was ethical rather than theoretical or metaphysical. He talked repeatedly of an ideal age in the early Zhou Dynasty when everyone was devoted to fulfilling his or her role: superiors looked after those dependent on them; inferiors devoted themselves to the service of their superiors; parents and children, husbands and wives all wholeheartedly embraced what was expected of them. Confucius saw five relationships as the basis of society: between ruler and subject; between father and son; between husband and wife; between elder brother and younger brother; and between friend and friend.

A man of moderation, Confucius was an earnest advocate of gentlemanly conduct. He redefined the term *gentleman* (*junzi*) to mean a man of moral cultivation rather than a man of noble birth. He repeatedly urged his followers to aspire to be gentlemen rather than petty men intent on personal gain. The Confucian gentleman found his calling in service to the ruler. Confucius asserted that loyal advisers should encourage their rulers to govern through ritual, virtue, and concern for the welfare of their subjects, and much of the *Analects* concerns the way to govern well. To Confucius the ultimate virtue was **ren** (humanity). A person of humanity cares about others and acts accordingly:

ren Humanity, the ultimate Confucian virtue.

> [The disciple] Zhonggong asked about humanity. Confucius said, “When you go abroad, behave to everyone as if you were receiving a great guest. Employ the people as though you were assisting at a great sacrifice. Do not do unto others what you would not have them do to you. Then neither in your country nor in your family will there be complaints against you.”[4]

In the Confucian tradition, studying texts came to be valued over speculation, meditation, and mystical identification with deities. Confucius encouraged the men who came to study with him to master the poetry, rituals, and historical traditions that we know today as Confucian classics.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

The Teachings of Confucius

Confucius’s ideas are known to us primarily through the sayings recorded by his disciples in the *Analects*. Although these sayings seem to have been haphazardly arranged, several themes emerge clearly from them. The passages here were selected to show Confucius’s ideas on the morally superior gentleman, filial piety, and the best way to govern.

The Superior Man

Confucius said, “If the superior man is not grave, he will not inspire awe, and his learning will not be on a firm foundation. Hold loyalty and faithfulness to be fundamental. Have no friends who are not as good as yourself. When you have made mistakes, don’t be afraid to correct them.” (1:8)

Confucius said, “The superior man does not seek fulfillment of his appetite nor comfort in his lodging. He is diligent in his duties and careful in his speech. He associates with men of moral principles and thereby realizes himself. Such a person may be said to love learning.” (1:14)

Confucius said, “The superior man is not an implement [tool or utensil].” (2:12)

Zigong asked about the superior man. Confucius said, “He acts before he speaks and then speaks according to his action.” (2:13)

Confucius said, “The superior man understands righteousness; the inferior man understands profit.” (4:16)

Confucius said, “The superior man wants to be slow in word but diligent in action.” (4:24)

Confucius said, “The superior man is conciliatory but does not identify himself with others; the inferior man identifies with others but is not conciliatory.” (13:23)

Confucius said, “The superior man understands the higher things [moral principles]; the inferior man understands the lower things [profit].” (14:24)

Filial Piety

Young men should be filial when at home and respectful to their elders when away from home. They should be earnest and faithful. They should love all extensively and be intimate with men of humanity. When they have any energy to spare after the performance of moral duties, they should use it to study literature and the arts. (1:6)

Confucius said, “When a man’s father is alive, look at the bent of his will. When his father is dead, look at his conduct. If for three years [of mourning] he does not change from the way of his father, he may be called filial.” (1:11)

Meng Yizi asked about filial piety. Confucius said, “Never disobey.” [Later,] when Fan Chi was driving him, Confucius told him, “Mengsun asked me about filial piety, and I answered him, ‘Never disobey.’ ” Fan Chi said, “What does that mean?” Confucius said, “When parents are alive, serve them according to the rules of propriety. When they die, bury them according to the rules of propriety and sacrifice to them according to the rules of propriety.” (2:5)

Ziyu asked about filial piety. Confucius said, “Filial piety nowadays means to be able to support one’s parents. But we support even dogs and horses. If there is no feeling of reverence, wherein lies the difference?” (2:7)

Confucius said, “In serving his parents, a son may gently remonstrate with them. When he sees that they are not inclined to listen to him, he should resume an attitude of reverence and not abandon his effort to serve them. He may feel worried, but does not complain.” (4:18)

Confucius said, “When his parents are alive, a son should not go far abroad; or if he does, he should let them know where he goes.” (4:19)

On Governing

Confucius said, “A ruler who governs his state by virtue is like the north polar star, which remains in its place while all the other stars revolve around it.” (2:1)

Confucius said, “Lead the people with governmental measures and regulate them by law and punishment, and they will avoid wrongdoing but will have no sense of honor and shame. Lead them with virtue and regulate them by the rules of propriety (*li*) and they will have a sense of shame and, moreover, set themselves right.” (2:3)

Confucius said, “The common people may be made to follow it [the Way] but may not be made to understand it.” (8:9)

Zigong asked about government. Confucius said, “Sufficient food, sufficient armament, and sufficient confidence of the people.” Zigong said, “Forced to give up one of these, which would you abandon first?” Confucius said, “I would abandon the armament.” Zigong said, “Forced to give up one of the remaining two, which would you abandon first?” Confucius said, “I would abandon food. There have been deaths from time immemorial, but no state can exist without the confidence of the people.” (12:7)

Duke Jing of Qi asked Confucius about government. Confucius replied, “Let the ruler *be* a ruler, the minister *be* a minister, the father *be* a father, and the son *be* a son.” The duke said, “Excellent! Indeed when the ruler is not a ruler, the minister not a minister, the father not a father, and the son not a son, although I may have all the grain, shall I ever get to eat it?” (12:11)

Ji Kangzi asked Confucius about government, saying, “What do you think of killing the wicked and associating with the good?” Confucius replied, “In your government what is the need of killing? If you desire what is good, the people will be good. The character of a ruler is like wind and that of the people is like grass. In whatever direction the wind blows, the grass always bends.” (12:19)

The Duke of She asked about government. Confucius said, “[There is good government] when those who are near are happy and those far away desire to come.” (13:16)

The Duke of She told Confucius, “In my country there is an upright man named Gong. When his father stole a sheep, he bore witness against him.” Confucius said, “The upright men in my community are different from this. The father conceals the misconduct of the son and the son conceals the misconduct of the father. Uprightness is to be found in this.” (13:18)

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What can you infer about Confucius’s opinion of rulers of his day? What were their shortcomings?
2. Which of the virtues Confucius advocates are the hardest to achieve?

Source: Wing-tsit Chan, *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1963), pp. 20–24, 28, 33, 39–42, slightly modified. Reproduced with permission of PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS in the format Book via Copyright Clearance Center.

The Spread of Confucian Ideas

The eventual success of Confucian ideas owes much to Confucius's followers in the three centuries following his death. The most important of them were Mencius (ca. 370–300 B.C.E.) and Xunzi (SHOON-dzuh) (ca. 310–215 B.C.E.).

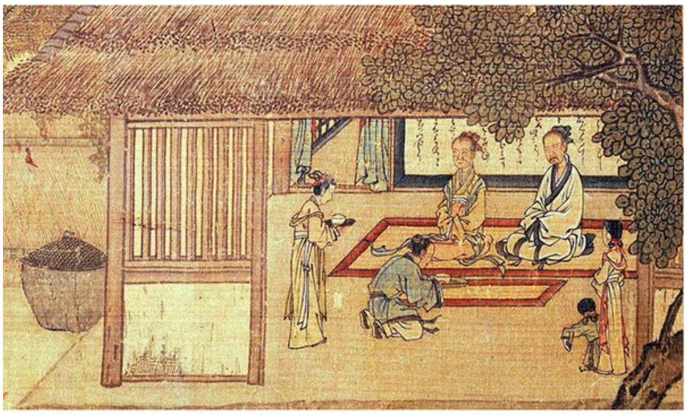
Mencius, like Confucius, traveled around offering advice to rulers of various states. Over and over he tried to convert them to the view that the ruler able to win over the people through benevolent government would succeed in unifying "all under Heaven." Mencius proposed concrete political and financial measures to ease tax burdens and otherwise improve the people's lot. Men willing to serve an unworthy ruler earned his contempt, especially when they worked hard to fill the ruler's coffers or expand his territory. In one conversation, the king of Qi (CHEE) asked if it was true that the founder of the Zhou Dynasty had taken up arms against his lord, the last king of Shang. Mencius replied that that was what the histories said. The king then asked whether it was permissible for a subject to assassinate his lord, and Mencius replied that the ruler in question was a villain and a criminal, making killing him the right thing to do.

With his disciples and fellow philosophers, Mencius also discussed other issues in moral philosophy, arguing strongly, for instance, that human nature is fundamentally good, as everyone is born with the capacity to recognize what is right and act on it. Anyone who saw a baby about to fall into a well would immediately come to its rescue. This would not be because he wanted a good reputation among his friends and neighbors or because he disliked hearing the child cry, but rather because of his inborn feeling of commiseration from which other virtues can grow.

Xunzi, a half century later, took the opposite view of human nature, arguing that people are born selfish and that only through education and ritual do they learn to put moral principle above their own interest. Much of what is desirable is not inborn but must be taught:

> The son yielding to or taking over the work of his father, or a younger brother yielding to or taking over the work of his elder brother — these two lines of action are contrary to original nature and violate natural feelings. Nevertheless, the way of filial piety is the pattern and order of propriety and righteousness.[5]

Neither Confucius nor Mencius had had much actual political or administrative experience, but Xunzi had worked for many years in the court of his home state. Not surprisingly, he showed more consideration than either Confucius or Mencius for the difficulties a ruler might face in trying to rule through ritual and virtue. Xunzi was also a more rigorous thinker than his predecessors and developed the philosophical foundations of many ideas merely outlined by Confucius and Mencius. Although he did not think gods respond to rituals, he did not propose abandoning rituals, because the rites themselves have positive effects on performers and observers. Not only do they let people express feelings and satisfy desires in an orderly way, but because they specify graduated ways to perform the rites according to social rank, ritual traditions sustain the social hierarchy. Xunzi compared and contrasted ritual and music: music shapes people’s emotions and creates feelings of solidarity, while ritual shapes people’s sense of duty and creates social differentiation.



The Art Archive/REX/Shutterstock

Serving Parents with Filial Piety This twelfth-century-C.E. illustration of a passage in the *Classic of Filial Piety* shows how commoners should serve their parents: by working hard at productive jobs such as farming and tending to their parents’ daily needs. The married son and daughter-in-law offer food or drink to the older couple as their own children look on, thus learning how they should treat their own parents after they become aged.

The Confucian vision of personal ethics and public service found a small but ardent following during the Warring States Period. In later centuries rulers came to see men educated in Confucian virtues as ideal advisers and officials. Neither revolutionaries nor flatterers, Confucian scholar-officials opposed bad government and upheld the best ideals of statecraft. Confucian political ideals shaped Chinese society into the twentieth century.

The Confucian vision also provided a moral basis for the Chinese family that continues into modern times. Repaying parents and ancestors came to be seen as a sacred duty. Because people owe their very existence to their parents, they should reciprocate by respecting their parents, making efforts to please them, honoring their memories, and placing the interests of the family line above personal preferences, all of which were aspects of **filial piety**. Since the family line is a patrilineal line from father to son to grandson, placing great importance on it has had the effect of devaluing women.

filial piety Reverent attitude of children to their parents extolled by Confucius.

Daoism, Legalism, and Other Schools of Thought

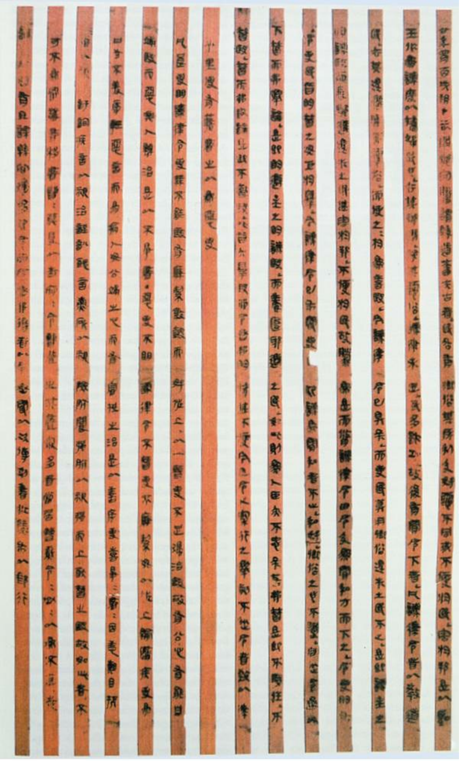
How did the teachings of Daoism, Legalism, and other schools of thought differ from those of Confucianism?

During the Warring States Period, rulers took advantage of the destruction of states to recruit newly unemployed men to serve as their advisers and court assistants. Lively debate often resulted as these strategists proposed policies and refuted opponents. Followers took to recording their teachers' ideas, and the circulation of these "books" (rolls of silk, or strips of wood or bamboo tied together) served to stimulate further debate. (See "Analyzing the Evidence: Inscribed Bamboo Slips," page 104.)

Many of these schools of thought directly opposed the ideas of Confucius and his followers. Most notable were the Daoists, who believed that the act of striving to improve society only made it worse, and the Legalists, who argued that a strong government depended not so much on moral leadership as on effective laws and procedures.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

Inscribed Bamboo Slips



Private Collection/Archives Charmet/Bridgeman Images

Newly discovered texts have recently added considerably to our knowledge of China in the Warring States Period. The wooden strips depicted here were part of a large cache discovered in 1993 in a late-fourth-century-B.C.E. tomb at Guodian, in the region of the Warring States state of Chu (modern Hubei province). This site is particularly rich in philosophical texts. Other tombs in the region have been found containing many other types of books: treatises on military matters, medicine, divination, mathematics, and gods, not to mention versions of the classics that vary from previously known versions in significant ways. One of the most recent discoveries was a multiplication table for numbers up to 99.5, perhaps used by a local official to calculate land area or taxes.

Presumably these texts were placed in tombs because they had meant a lot to the occupant, much the way other objects from daily life were placed there, such as musical instruments and ritual vessels. Military officers have been found buried with their military manuals, administrators with legal regulations, teachers with works of literature and philosophy, and so on.

It is the geography of the Chu region that made it possible for these texts to survive. The area has many lakes and streams, and wooden or bamboo objects that ended up below the water table were protected from air exposure, slowing down decomposition.

The physical form of these books is worth noting. These books survive as a set of wooden or bamboo strips with writing on them. Before the introduction of paper in the first century C.E., writing was regularly done on these hard materials, which were much less expensive than silk and were also used as a surface for writing. Using a brush, the writer would begin at the top of the strip and write one character under another for the length of the strip. For longer texts, a set of strips would be strung together and rolled up like a scroll. If a change needed to be made in a text, the unwanted words would be scraped off with a knife.

These texts have posed many challenges to archaeologists and paleographers (scholars of ancient scripts). Scholars working on deciphering these texts are often unsure whether a character they do not recognize is a variant of a known character or a word not previously seen. Because the cords have rotted and many strips have broken, sometimes the order of the strips is uncertain. Are passages not in any known text from a lost section of a known book or from a text no one knew about? Nevertheless, many texts have been reconstructed, and the results indicate that the intellectual life of the Warring States Period was even richer than previously thought.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Looking at the strips, can you spot any repeated characters? Can you see any very simple characters?
2. How would reading a text on slips of wood or bamboo have differed from reading one on silk or paper?
3. How would the transmission of texts be affected by their material form? Would certain types of errors be more likely when the text was preserved this way than when it was preserved through memorization and oral transmission?

Daoism

Confucius and his followers believed in moral action. They thought men of virtue should devote themselves to making the government work to the benefit of the people. Those who came to be labeled Daoists disagreed. They thought striving to make things better generally made them worse. They sought to go beyond everyday concerns and to let their minds wander freely. Rather than making human beings and human actions the center of concern, they focused on the larger scheme of things, the whole natural order identified as the Way, or **Dao** (DOW).

Dao The Way, a term used by Daoists to refer to the natural order.

Early Daoist teachings are known from two surviving books, the *Laozi* and the *Zhuangzi*, both dating to the third century B.C.E. Laozi (LOU-dzuh), the putative author of the *Laozi*, may not be a historical figure, but the text ascribed to him has been of enduring importance. A recurrent theme in this brief, aphoristic text is the mystical superiority of yielding over assertion and silence over words: “The Way that can be discussed is not the constant Way.” Because purposeful action is counterproductive, the ruler should let people return to a natural state of ignorance and contentment:

> Do not exalt the worthy, so that the people shall not compete.
> Do not value rare treasures, so that the people shall not steal.
> Do not display objects of desire, so that the people’s hearts shall not be disturbed.
> Therefore in the government of the sage,
> He keeps their hearts vacuous,
> Fills their bellies,
> Weakens their ambitions,
> And strengthens their bones.
> He always causes his people to be without knowledge or desire,
> And the crafty to be afraid to act.
> By acting without action, all things will be in order.[6]

In the philosophy of the *Laozi*, the people would be better off if they knew less, gave up tools, renounced writing, stopped envying their neighbors, and lost their desire to travel or engage in war.

Zhuangzi (JWANG-dzuh) (369–286 B.C.E.), the author of the book of the same name, shared many of the central ideas of the *Laozi*. The

Zhuangzi is filled with parables, flights of fancy, and fictional encounters between historical figures, including Confucius and his disciples. A more serious strain of Zhuangzi's thought concerned death. He questioned whether we can be sure life is better than death. When a friend expressed shock that Zhuangzi was not weeping at his wife's death but rather singing, Zhuangzi explained:

> When she died, how could I help being affected? But as I think the matter over, I realize that originally she had no life; and not only no life; she had no form; not only no form, she had no material force. In the limbo of existence and non-existence, there was transformation and the material force was evolved. The material force was transformed to be form, form was transformed to become life, and now birth has transformed to become death. This is like the rotation of the four seasons, spring, summer, fall, and winter. Now she lies asleep in the great house [the universe]. For me to go about weeping and wailing would be to show my ignorance of destiny. Therefore I desist.[7]

Zhuangzi was similarly iconoclastic in his political philosophy. In one parable a wheelwright insolently tells a duke that books are useless because all they contain are the dregs of men long dead. The duke, offended, threatens execution unless the wheelwright can explain his remark. The wheelwright responds by arguing that truly skilled craftsmen respond to situations spontaneously; they do not analyze or reason or even keep in mind the rules they have mastered. The most important truths they know cannot be written down or even explained to others. This strain of Daoist thought denies the validity of verbal reasoning and the sorts of knowledge conveyed through words.

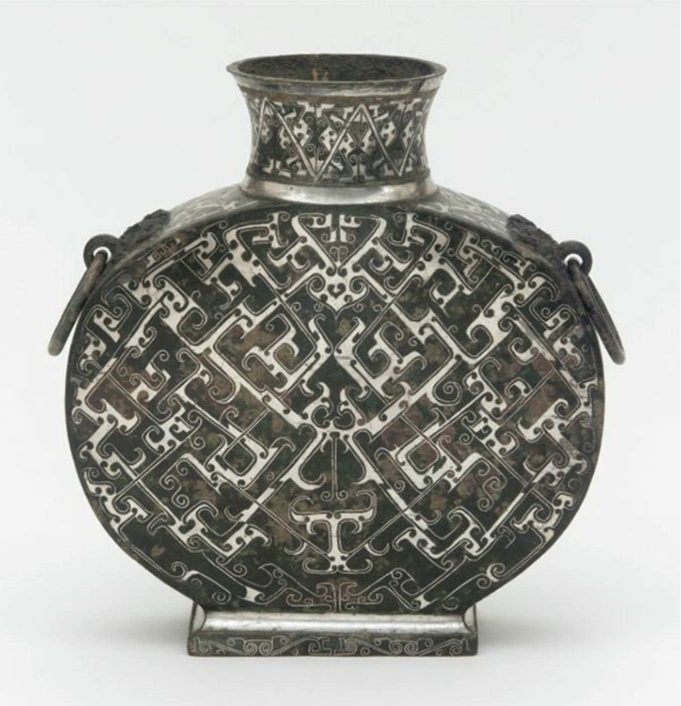
Daoism can be seen as a response to Confucianism, a rejection of many of its basic premises. Nevertheless, over the course of Chinese history, many people felt the pull of both Confucian and Daoist ideas and studied the writings of both schools. Even Confucian scholars who had devoted much of their lives to public service might find that the teachings of the *Laozi* or *Zhuangzi* helped to put their frustrations in perspective.

Legalism

Over the course of the fourth and third centuries B.C.E., one small state after another was conquered, and the number of surviving states dwindled. Rulers fearful that their states might be next were ready to listen to political theorists who claimed expertise in the accumulation of power. These theorists, labeled **Legalists** because of their emphasis on the need for rigorous laws, argued that strong government depended not on the moral qualities of the ruler and his officials, as Confucians claimed, but on the establishment of effective laws and procedures. Legalism, though eventually discredited, laid the basis for China’s later bureaucratic government.

Legalists Political theorists who emphasized the need for rigorous laws and laid the basis for China’s later bureaucratic government.

In the fourth century B.C.E. the western state of Qin radically reformed itself along Legalist lines. The king of Qin abolished the aristocracy. Social distinctions were to be based on military ranks determined by the objective criterion of the number of enemy heads cut off in battle. In place of the old fiefs, the Qin king created counties and appointed officials to govern them according to the laws he decreed at court. To increase the population, Qin recruited migrants from other states with offers of land and houses. To encourage farmers to work hard and improve their land, they were allowed to buy and sell it. Ordinary farmers were thus freed from serf-like obligations to the local nobility, but direct control by the state could be even more onerous. Taxes and labor service obligations were heavy. Travel required a permit, and vagrants could be forced into penal labor service. All families were grouped into mutual responsibility groups of five and ten families; whenever anyone in the group committed a crime, all the others were equally liable unless they reported it.



Wine flask [bianhu], Late Warring States [bronze with silver inlay], Eastern Zhou Dynasty [770–221 B.C.]/Freer Gallery, Smithsonian Institution/Bridgeman Images

Inlaid Wine Flask In the same period when the Hundred Schools of Thought competed, bronze craftsmen developed new and imaginative ways to decorate bronze vessels. The lively diagonal design on this bronze wine flask was created by pounding silver into planned spaces.

Legalism found its greatest exponent in Han Feizi (ca. 280–233 B.C.E.), who had studied with the Confucian master Xunzi but had little interest in Confucian values of goodness or ritual. In his writings he warned rulers of the political pitfalls awaiting them. They had to be careful where they placed their trust, for “when the ruler trusts someone, he falls under that person’s control.” Given subordinates’ propensities to pursue their own selfish interests, the ruler should keep them ignorant of his intentions and control them by manipulating competition among them. Warmth, affection, or candor should have no place in his relationships with others.

In Han Feizi’s view, if rulers would make the laws and prohibitions clear and the rewards and punishments automatic, then the officials and common people would be easy to govern. Uniform laws get people to do things they would not otherwise be inclined to do, such as work hard and fight wars; such laws are thus essential to the goal of establishing hegemony over all the other states.

The laws of the Legalists were designed as much to constrain officials as to regulate the common people. The third-century-B.C.E. tomb of a Qin official has yielded statutes detailing the rules for keeping accounts, supervising subordinates, managing penal labor, conducting investigations, and many other responsibilities of officials. Infractions were generally punishable through the imposition of fines.

Legalism saw no value in intellectual debate or private opinion. Divergent views of right and wrong lead to weakness and disorder. The ruler should not allow others to undermine his laws by questioning them. In Legalism, there were no laws above or independent of the wishes of the rulers, no laws that might set limits on rulers’ actions in the way that natural or divine laws did in Greek thought.

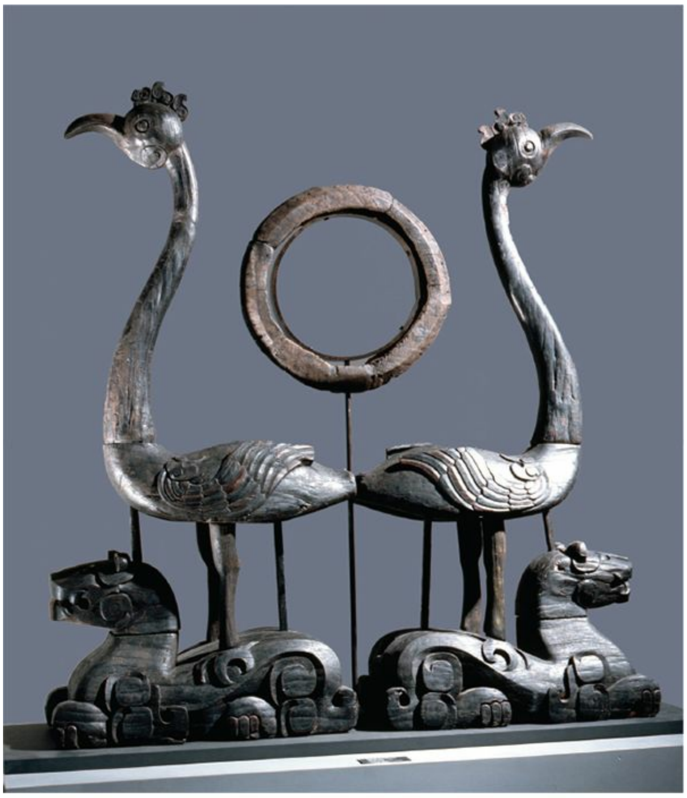
Rulers of several states adopted some Legalist ideas, but only the state of Qin systematically followed them. The extraordinary but brief success Qin had with these policies is discussed in Chapter 7.

Yin and Yang

Confucians, Daoists, and Legalists had the greatest long-term impact on Chinese civilization, but the Hundred Schools of Thought also included everyone from logicians, hedonists, and utopians to natural philosophers who analyzed the workings of nature.

A key idea developed by the natural philosophers was the concept of **yin and yang**, first described in the divination manual called the *Book of Changes* (ca. 900 B.C.E.), and developed into much more elaborate theories by late Zhou theorists. Yin is the feminine, dark, receptive, yielding, negative, and weak; yang is the masculine, bright, assertive, creative, positive, and strong. Yin and yang are complementary poles rather than distinct entities or opposing forces. The movement of yin and yang accounts for the transition from day to night and from summer to winter. These models based on observation of nature were extended to explain not only phenomena we might classify as natural, such as illness, storms, and earthquakes, but also social phenomena, such as the rise and fall of states and conflict in families. In all these realms, unwanted things happen when the balance between yin and yang gets disturbed.

yin and yang A concept of complementary poles, one of which represents the feminine, dark, and receptive, and the other the masculine, bright, and assertive.



Werner Forman/akg-images

Phoenix and Tigers Divine animals, such as dragons and phoenixes, are often portrayed in the art of the Warring States Period, especially in the south, where the art of lacquered wood was perfected. (Werner Forman/akg-images)

In recent decades archaeologists have further complicated our understanding of early Chinese thought by unearthing records of the popular religion of the time — astrological manuals, handbooks of lucky and unlucky days, medical prescriptions, exercises, and ghost stories. The tomb of an official who died in 316 B.C.E., for example, has records of divinations showing that illness was seen as the result of unsatisfied spirits or malevolent demons, best dealt with through performing exorcisms or offering sacrifices to the astral god Taiyi (Grand One).

Chapter Summary

After several thousand years of Neolithic cultures, Bronze Age civilization developed in China, with cities, writing, and sharp social distinctions. Shang kings led armies and presided at sacrifices to the high god Di and the royal ancestors. The Shang armies' bronze-tipped weapons and chariots gave them technological superiority over their neighbors. War booty, including slaves who were often sacrificed to the gods, provided the Shang king with revenue.

The Zhou Dynasty, which overthrew the Shang in about 1050 B.C.E., parceled out its territory to hereditary lords. The earliest Chinese books date to this period. The *Book of Documents* provides evidence of the belief in the Mandate of Heaven, which justified Zhou rule. The *Book of Songs* offers glimpses into what life was like for elites and ordinary people alike in the early Zhou.

By the Warring States Period, which began in 403 B.C.E., the old domains had become independent states. As states destroyed each other, military technology made many advances, including the introduction of cavalry, infantry armies, and the crossbow. This was also the golden age of Chinese philosophy. Confucius and his followers promoted the virtues of sincerity, loyalty, benevolence, filial piety, and duty. Mencius urged rulers to rule through goodness and argued that human nature is good. Xunzi stressed the power of ritual and argued that human nature is selfish and must be curbed through education. Daoists and Legalists rejected all these ideas. The Daoists Laozi and Zhuangzi looked beyond the human realm to the entire cosmos and spoke of the relativity of concepts such as good and bad and life and death. Legalists heaped ridicule on the Confucian idea that a ruler could get his people to be good by being good himself and proposed instead rigorous laws with strict rewards and punishments. Natural philosophers explained the changes of seasons and health and illness in terms of the complementary forces of yin and yang.

CONNECTIONS

China's transition from Neolithic farming villages to a much more advanced civilization with writing, metalworking, iron coinage, crossbows, philosophical speculation, and competing states occurred centuries later than in Mesopotamia or India, but by the Warring States Period China was at much the same stage of development as other advanced societies in Eurasia. Although many elements of

China’s civilization were clearly invented in China — such as its writing system, its method of casting bronze, and its Confucian philosophy — it also adopted elements that diffused across Asia, such as the cultivation of wheat, the horse-driven chariot, and riding horseback.

Greece, the subject of the next chapter, is located very close to the ancient Near Eastern civilizations, so it developed more rapidly, as it was able to borrow many elements of civilization from its neighbors. It was also much smaller than China, yet in time had enormous impact on the wider world. If we keep India and China in mind, the originality of the political forms and ideas of early Greece will stand out more clearly. We return to China’s history in Chapter 7, after looking at Greece and Rome.

CHAPTER 4 Review and Explore

Identify Key Terms

Identify and explain the significance of each item below.

loess (p. 88)
Anyang (p. 90)
taotie (p. 91)
logographic (p. 92)
Book of Documents (p. 92)
Mandate of Heaven (p. 93)
shi (p. 93)
Book of Songs (p. 93)
Warring States Period (p. 95)
crossbow (p. 97)
ren (p. 100)
filial piety (p. 102)
Dao (p. 105)
Legalists (p. 105)
yin and yang (p. 107)

Review the Main Ideas

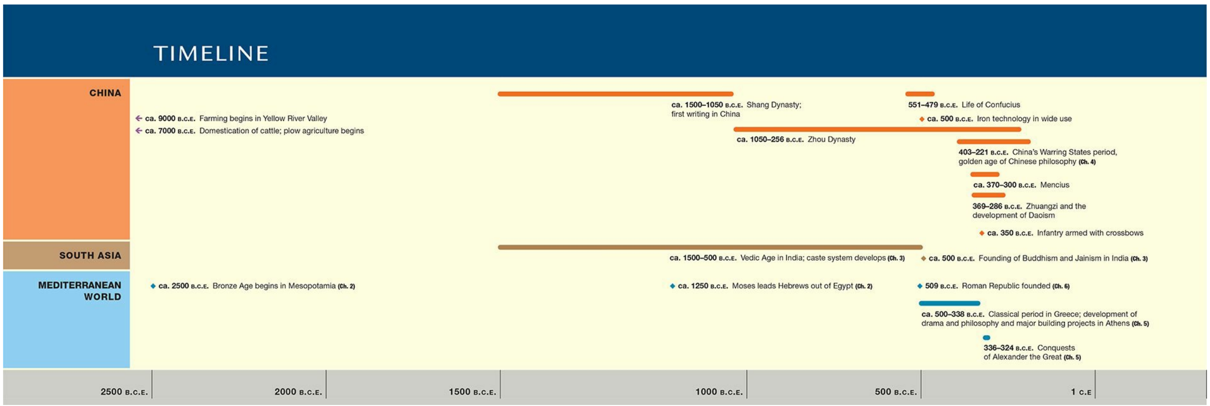
Answer the focus questions from each section of the chapter.

1. What was the impact of China's geography on the development of Chinese societies? (p. 88)
2. What was life like during the Shang Dynasty, and what effect did writing have on Chinese culture and government? (p. 89)
3. How was China governed, and what was life like during the Zhou Dynasty? (p. 92)
4. How did advances in military technology contribute to the rise of independent states? (p. 95)
5. What ideas did Confucius teach, and how were they spread after his death? (p. 100)
6. How did the teachings of Daoism, Legalism, and other schools of thought differ from those of Confucianism? (p. 103)

Make Comparisons and Connections

Analyze the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters.

1. Which features of early China's history seem closest to developments in other early civilizations, such as Mesopotamia, Egypt, and India?
2. Why do we refer to the ideas developed in India in the second half of the first millennium B.C.E. as religion and to those developed in China during the same period as philosophy? Is this a useful distinction? Why or why not?
3. Do Chinese Legalist ideas resemble ideas developed by other societies, including much more modern societies?



Suggested Resources

Books

Chang, Kwang-chih, and Xu Pingfang. *The Formation of Chinese Civilization: An Archaeological Perspective*. 2005. Essays by leading archaeologists in China.

de Bary, William Theodore, and Irene Bloom. *Sources of Chinese Tradition*. 1999. Large collection of primary sources for Chinese intellectual history, with lengthy introductions.

Ebrey, Patricia Buckley. *Cambridge Illustrated History of China*, 2d ed. 2010. Well-illustrated brief overview of Chinese history.

Feng, Li. *Early China: A Social and Cultural History*. 2013. Draws extensively on recent archaeological discoveries.

Graham, A. C. *Disputers of the Tao: Philosophical Argument in Ancient China*. 1989. A philosophically rich overview of the intellectual flowering of the Warring States Period.

Ledderose, Lothar. *Ten Thousand Things: Module and Mass Production in Chinese Art*. 2000. A new interpretation of Chinese culture in terms of modules; offers fresh perspectives on the Chinese script and the production of bronzes.

Lewis, Mark. *Writing and Authority in Early China*. 1999. An examination of early Chinese thought in terms of the ways that texts create authority.

Loewe, Michael, and Edward Shaughnessy, eds. *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 B.C.* 1999. An authoritative collection of chapters, half by historians, half by archaeologists.

Mote, F. W. *Intellectual Foundations of China.* 1989. Brief but stimulating introduction to early Chinese thought.

Puett, Michael. *To Become a God: Cosmology, Sacrifice, and Self-Divinization in Early China.* 2004. Brings an anthropological perspective to the development of early Chinese thought.

Shankman, Steven, and Stephen W. Durrant. *Early China / Ancient Greece: Thinking Through Comparisons.* 2002. A collection of articles that encourage cross-cultural comparisons.

Sterckx, Roel, ed. *Of Tripod and Palate: Food, Politics, and Religion in Traditional China.* 2005. Provides a fresh look at many elements in early Chinese culture.

Thorp, Robert. *China in the Early Bronze Age: Shang Civilization.* 2005. Clear synthesis based on recent research.

Thorp, Robert, and Richard Vinograd. *Chinese Art and Culture*. 2001. Broad coverage of all of China's visual arts.

Yang, Xin, ed. *The Golden Age of Chinese Archaeology.* 1999. The well-illustrated catalogue of a major show of Chinese archaeological finds.

Documentary

Ancient China (Films for the Humanities and Sciences, 1996). A broad overview of China through the Han Dynasty.

Feature Films

The Emperor and the Assassin (Beijing Film Studio, 1999). A film on the attempted assassination of the king of Qin; in Chinese with English subtitles.

Hero (Zhang Yimou Studio, 2002). A fictional reimaging of an attempted assassination of the king of Qin; in Chinese with English subtitles.

The Warring States (Beijing Starlit Movie and TV Culture Co., 2011). Focuses on the rivalry between two generals; in Chinese with English subtitles.

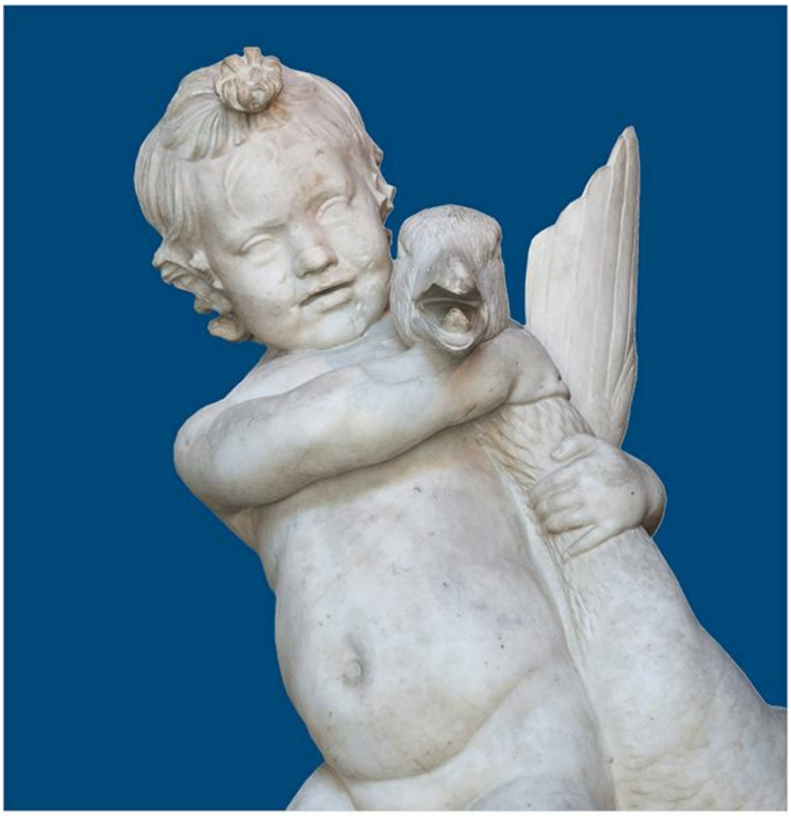
Website

Warring States Period. Wikipedia offers useful maps and a detailed history. **en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Warring_States_period**

5

The Greek Experience

3500–30 B.C.E.



Glyptothek, Stalliche Antikensammlung, Munich, Germany/© Vanni Archive/Art Resource, NY

Greek Boy with Goose

In the Hellenistic culture that developed across a huge area after Alexander the Great’s conquests, wealthy urban residents wanted art that showed real people rather than gods. This statue of a little boy wrestling a goose, originally carved about 200 B.C.E., no doubt found an eager buyer.

Humans came into Greece over many thousands of years, in waves of migrants whose place of origin and cultural characteristics have been the source of much scholarly debate. The people of ancient Greece built on the traditions and ideas of earlier societies to develop a culture that fundamentally shaped the civilization of the western part of Eurasia, much as the Chinese culture shaped the civilization of the eastern part. The Greeks were the first in the Mediterranean and neighboring areas to explore many of the questions about the world around them and the place of humans in it that continue to concern thinkers today. Drawing on their day-to-day experiences as well as logic and empirical observation, they developed ways of understanding and explaining the world around them, which grew into modern philosophy and science. They also created new political forms and new types of literature and art.

Historians, archaeologists, and classicists divide the history of the Greeks into three broad periods: the Helladic period, which covered the Bronze Age, roughly 3000 B.C.E. to 800 B.C.E.; the Hellenic period, from the Bronze Age Collapse to the death of Alexander the Great, the ruler of Macedonia who conquered Greece, in 323 B.C.E.; and the Hellenistic period, stretching from Alexander's death to the Roman conquest in 30 B.C.E. of the kingdom established in Egypt by Alexander's successors. During the Hellenic period, Greeks developed a distinctive form of city-state known as the polis and made lasting cultural and intellectual achievements. During the Hellenistic period, Macedonian and Greek armies defeated the Persian Empire and built new cities and kingdoms, spreading Greek ideas as far as India (see "Western Contact and the Mauryan Unification of North India" in Chapter 3). During their conquests they blended their ideas and traditions with those of the societies they encountered, creating a vibrant culture.

CHAPTER PREVIEW

GREECE IN THE BRONZE AGE, CA. 3000–800 B.C.E.
How did the geography of Greece shape its earliest history?

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE POLIS IN THE ARCHAIC AGE, CA. 800–500 B.C.E.
What was the role of the polis in Greek society?

TURMOIL AND CULTURE IN THE CLASSICAL PERIOD, 500–338 B.C.E.
In the classical period, how did war influence Greece, and how did the arts, religion, and philosophy develop?

HELLENISTIC SOCIETY, 323–30 B.C.E.
How did Alexander the Great's conquests shape society in the Hellenistic period?

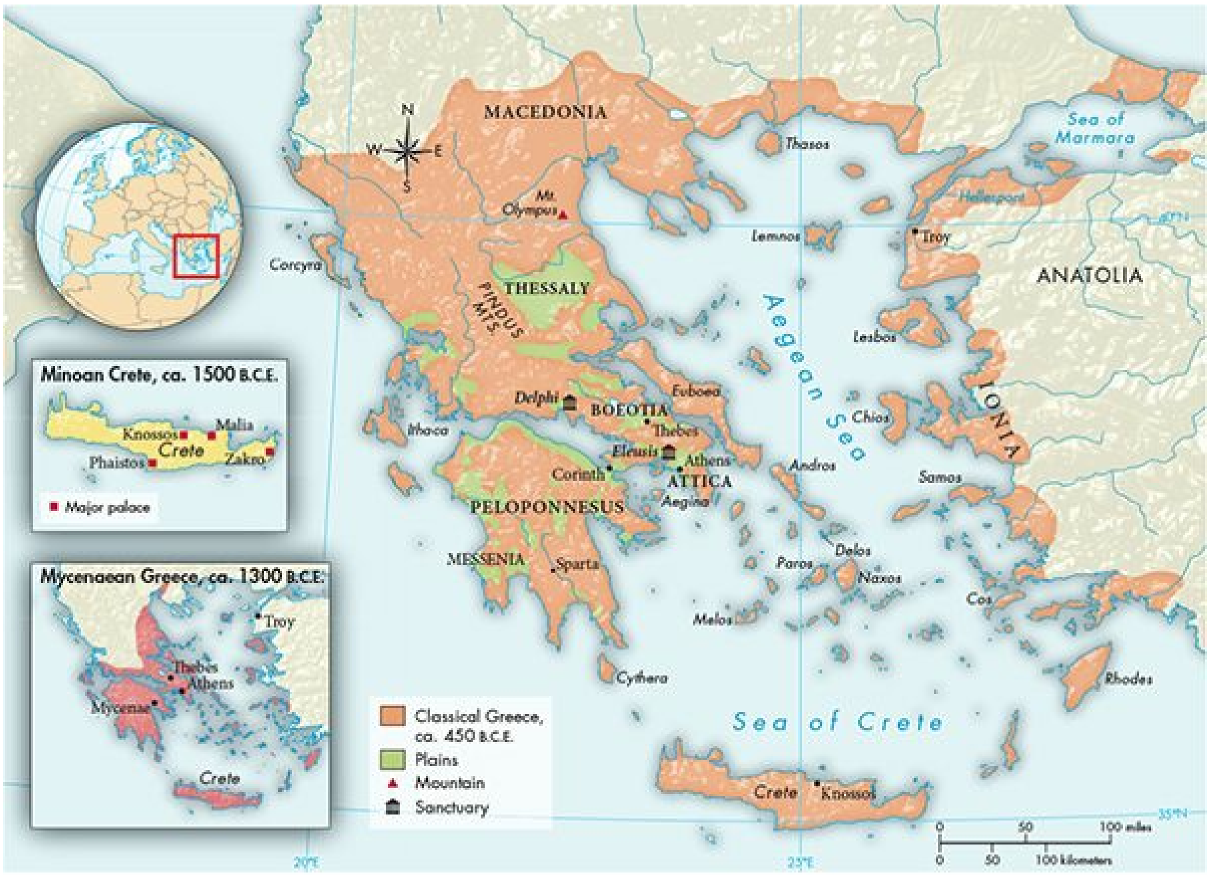
HELLENISTIC RELIGION, PHILOSOPHY, AND SCIENCE

How did religion, philosophy, and science develop in the Hellenistic world?

Greece in the Bronze Age, ca. 3000–800 B.C.E.

How did the geography of Greece shape its earliest history?

Hellas, as the Greeks call their land, encompasses the Greek peninsula with its southern peninsular extension, known as the Peloponnesus (peh-luh-puh-NEE-suhs), and the islands surrounding it, an area known as the Aegean (ah-JEE-uhn) basin (Map 5.1). During the Bronze Age, which for Greek history is called the "Helladic period," early settlers in Greece began establishing small communities contoured by the mountains and small plains that shaped the land. The geographical fragmentation of Greece encouraged political fragmentation. Early in Greek history several kingdoms did emerge — including the Minoan on the island of Crete and the Mycenaean on the mainland — but the rugged terrain prohibited the growth of a great empire like those of Mesopotamia or Egypt.


MACEDONIA
N
W
E
S
Mt. Olympus
Corcyra
THESSALY
PINDUS MTS.
Delphi
BOEOTIA
Ithaca
Euboea
Thebes
Eleusis
Athens
Corinth
ATTICA
Aegina
PELOPONNESUS
MESSENIA
Sparta
Cythera
Thasos
Lemnos
Troy
Sea of Marmara
Hellespont
ANATOLIA
Aegean Sea
Lesbos
Chios
IONIA
Andros
Samos
Delos
Paros
Naxos
Cos
Melos
Rhodes
Sea of Crete
Crete
Knossos
20°E
25°E
35°N
0
50
100 miles
0
50
100 kilometers
Minoan Crete, ca. 1500 B.C.E.
Knossos
Malia
Crete
Phaistos
Zakro
Major palace
Mycenaean Greece, ca. 1300 B.C.E.
Troy
Thebes
Athens
Mycenae
Crete
Classical Greece, ca. 450 B.C.E.
Plains
Mountain
Sanctuary

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 5.1 Classical Greece, ca. 450 B.C.E. In antiquity the home of the Greeks included the islands of the Aegean and the western shore of Turkey as well as the Greek peninsula itself. Crete, the home of Minoan civilization, is the large island at the bottom of the map. The Peloponnesian peninsula, where Sparta is located, is connected to the rest of mainland Greece by a very narrow isthmus at Corinth.

The Minoans and Mycenaeans

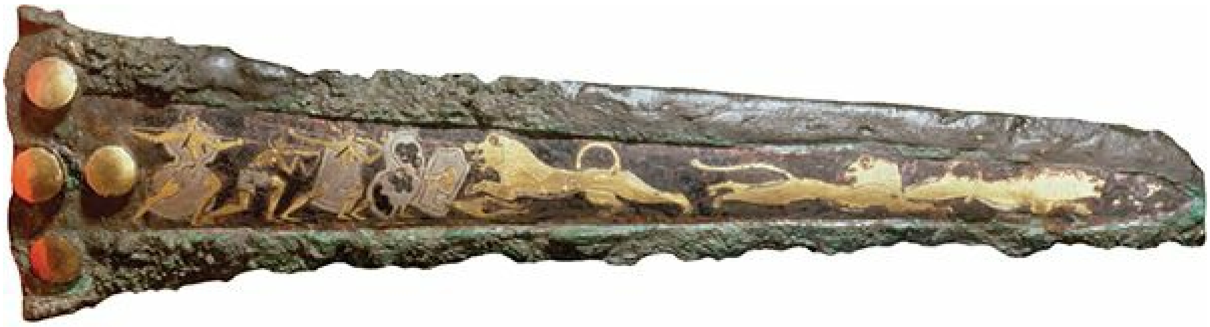
On the large island of Crete, Bronze Age farmers and fishermen began to trade their surpluses with their neighbors, and cities grew, housing artisans and merchants. Beginning about 2000 B.C.E. Cretans voyaged throughout the eastern Mediterranean and the Aegean, carrying the copper and tin needed to make bronze as well as many other goods. Social hierarchies developed, and in many cities certain individuals came to hold power. The Cretans began to use writing about 1900 B.C.E., in a form later scholars called Linear A, a script with hundreds of signs believed to be pictographs and syllables. (For more on writing, see “Writing, Mathematics, and Poetry” in Chapter 2.) The few extant examples of this writing have not been deciphered. At about the same time that writing began, rulers in several cities of Crete began to build large structures with hundreds of interconnected rooms. The archaeologists who discovered these huge structures called them palaces, and they named the flourishing and vibrant culture of this era Minoan, after the mythical king of Crete, Minos.

Few specifics are known about Minoan political life except that a king and a group of nobles stood at its head. Minoan society was long thought to have been relatively peaceful, but new excavations are revealing more and more walls around cities, which has called the peaceful nature of Minoan society into question. In terms of their religious life, Minoans appear to have worshipped goddesses far more than gods. Whether this translated into more egalitarian gender roles for real people is unclear, but surviving Minoan art, which shows women as well as men leading religious activities, watching entertainment, and engaging in athletic competitions, such as leaping over bulls, suggests that it might have.

As Minoan culture was flourishing on Crete, a different type of society developed on the mainland. This society was founded by groups who had migrated in during the period after 2000 B.C.E. By about 1650 B.C.E. one group of these immigrants had raised palaces and established cities at Thebes, Athens, Mycenae (migh-SEE-nee), and elsewhere. These palace-centers ruled by local kings formed a loose hegemony under the authority of the king of Mycenae, and the archaeologists who first discovered traces of this culture called it the Mycenaean (migh-see-NEE-ahn).

As in Crete, the political unit was the kingdom, and the king and his warrior aristocracy stood at the top of society. The seat and symbol of the king’s power was his palace, which was also the economic center of the kingdom. Palace scribes kept records with a script known as Linear B, which used roughly two hundred ideographic and syllabic signs. This script appears to have descended from Linear A, but unlike the earlier script, Linear B has been deciphered, and it is the earliest documented form of written Greek.

The available written and archaeological evidence suggests a society in which war was common. Mycenaean cities were all fortified by thick stone walls, and graves contain spears, javelins, swords, helmets, and the first examples of metal armor known in the world.



National Archaeological Museum, Athens, Greece/Ancient Art & Architecture Collection, Ltd./Bridgeman Images

Mycenaean Dagger Blade This scene in gold and silver on the blade of an iron dagger depicts hunters armed with spears and protected by shields defending themselves against charging lions. The Mycenaeans were a robust, warlike people who enjoyed the thrill and the danger of hunting.

Contacts between the Minoans and Mycenaeans were originally peaceful, and Minoan culture and trade goods flooded the Greek mainland. But most scholars think that around 1450 B.C.E., possibly in the wake of an earthquake that left Crete vulnerable, the Mycenaeans attacked Crete, destroying many towns and occupying Knossos (NOH-sohs), Crete’s leading city. For about the next fifty years, the Mycenaeans ruled much of the island. Then, between about 1300 B.C.E. and 1100 B.C.E., various kingdoms in and beyond Greece ravaged one another in a savage series of wars that destroyed both the Minoan and Mycenaean civilizations.

The fall of the Minoans and Mycenaeans was part of what some scholars see as a general collapse of Bronze Age civilizations in the eastern Mediterranean, including the end of the Egyptian New Kingdom and the fall of the Hittite Empire (see “Migrations, Revivals, and Collapse” in Chapter 2). This collapse appears to have had a number of causes: internal economic and social problems; invasions and migrations by outsiders; changes in warfare and weaponry, particularly the adoption of iron weapons, which made foot soldiers the most important factor in battles and reduced the power of kings and wealthy nobles fighting from chariots; and natural disasters such as volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, and droughts.

The “Dark Age”

In Greece these invasions, migrations, disasters, and social problems worked together to usher in a period of poverty and disruption that historians have traditionally called the “Dark Age” of Greece (ca. 1100–800 B.C.E.). Cities were destroyed, population declined, villages were abandoned, and trade decreased. Even writing, which was not widespread before this period, was a casualty of the chaos.

The Bronze Age Collapse led to the widespread and prolonged movement of Greek peoples, both within Greece itself and beyond. They dispersed beyond mainland Greece farther south to the islands of the Aegean Sea and in greater strength across the Aegean to the shores of Anatolia in modern-day Turkey (see Map 5.1). By the conclusion of the Dark Age, the Greeks had spread their culture throughout the Aegean basin, and like many other cultures around the Mediterranean and the Near East, they had adopted iron.

Archaeological sources from the Dark Age are less rich than those from the periods that came after, so they are often used in conjunction with literary sources written in later centuries to give us a more complete picture of the era. These included tales of the heroic deeds of legendary heroes similar to the epic poems of Mesopotamia and the *Ramayana* in India. Sometime in the eighth or seventh century B.C.E. many of these were gathered together in two long epic poems: the *Iliad*, which tells the story of the Trojan War, a war similar to those fought by Mycenaean kings, and the *Odyssey*, which records the adventures of one of the heroes of that war. These poems were recited orally, and once writing was reintroduced to Greece, they were written down and attributed to a poet named Homer, though scholars debate whether Homer was an actual historical individual. The two poems present human and divine characters who are larger than life but also petty, vindictive, pouting, and deceitful, flaws that drive the action forward, usually with tragic results.

Greeks also learned about the gods and goddesses of their polytheistic system from another poet, Hesiod (HEH-see-uhd), who most scholars think lived sometime between 750 and 650 B.C.E. Hesiod’s *Theogony* combines Mesopotamian and Hittite myths with a variety of Greek oral traditions to tell a coherent story of the origin of the gods, and his *Works and Days* portrays the gods watching over the earth, looking for justice and injustice, while leaving the great mass of men and women to live lives of hard work and endless toil. (See “Analyzing the Evidence: Hesiod, *Works and Days*,” at right.)

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

Hesiod, *Works and Days*

According to his description of himself in *Works and Days* (ca. 700 B.C.E.), Hesiod was born in a small village he describes as “bad in winter, godawful in summer, nice never,” and had one brother, Perses, a lazy and irresponsible swindler who cheated him out of some of his inheritance but later came to him asking for money. Whether these details are true or not, they form the framework for the work, a speech full of advice addressed to his brother, but designed for a larger audience.

And now I will tell a fable for princes who themselves understand. Thus said the hawk to the nightingale with speckled neck, while he carried her high up among the clouds, gripped fast in his talons, and she, pierced by his crooked talons, cried pitifully. To her he spoke disdainfully: “Miserable thing, why do you cry out? One far stronger than you now holds you fast, and you must go wherever I take you, songstress as you are. And if I please I will make my meal of you, or let you go. He is a fool who tries to withstand the stronger, for he does not get the mastery and suffers pain besides his shame.” So said the swiftly flying hawk, the long-winged bird.

But you, Perses, listen to right and do not foster violence; for violence is bad for a poor man. Even the prosperous cannot easily bear its burden, but is weighed down under it when he has fallen into delusion. The better path is to go by on the other side towards justice; for Justice beats Outrage when she comes at length to the end of the race. But only when he has suffered does the fool learn this. For Oath keeps pace with wrong judgements. There is a noise when Justice is being dragged in the way where those who devour bribes and give sentence with crooked judgements, take her. And she, wrapped in mist, follows to the city and haunts of the people, weeping, and bringing mischief to men, even to such as have driven her forth in that they did not deal straightly with her….

To you, foolish Perses, I will speak good sense. Badness can be got easily and in shoals: the road to her is smooth, and she lives very near us. But between us and Goodness the gods have placed the sweat of our brows: long and steep is the path that leads to her, and it is rough at the first; but when a man has reached the top, then is she easy to reach, though before that she was hard….

Do not get base gain: base gain is as bad as ruin. Be friends with the friendly, and visit him who visits you. Give to one who gives, but do not give to one who does not give. A man gives to the free-handed, but no one gives to the close-fisted. Give is a good girl, but Take is bad and she brings death. For the man who gives willingly, even though he gives a great thing, rejoices in his gift and is glad in heart; but whoever gives way to shamelessness and takes something himself, even though it be a small thing, it freezes his heart….

If your heart within you desires wealth, do these things and work with work upon work.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What does Hesiod's advice suggest about his notion of the role of humans in the world and their relationship with the gods?
2. Hesiod lived just after the period of the Greek Dark Age. How does his work reflect the situation of his own society?

Source: Hesiod, *Works and Days*, in *The Homeric Hymns and Homerica*, trans. Hugh G. Evelyn-White (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1914), lines 202–224, 286–292, 352–360, 381–382, at http://www.sacred-texts.com/cla/hesiod/works.htm.

The Development of the Polis in the Archaic Age, ca. 800–500 B.C.E.

What was the role of the polis in Greek society?

Homer lived in the era after the Dark Age, which later historians have termed the Archaic age (800–500 B.C.E.). The most important political change in this period was the development of the **polis** (PAH-lihs) (plural *poleis [pah-LEH-is]*), a word generally translated as “city-state.” During the Archaic period, poleis established colonies throughout much of the Mediterranean, spreading Greek culture, and two particular poleis rose to prominence on the Greek mainland: Sparta and Athens.

polis Generally translated as “city-state,” it was the basic political and institutional unit of ancient Greece.

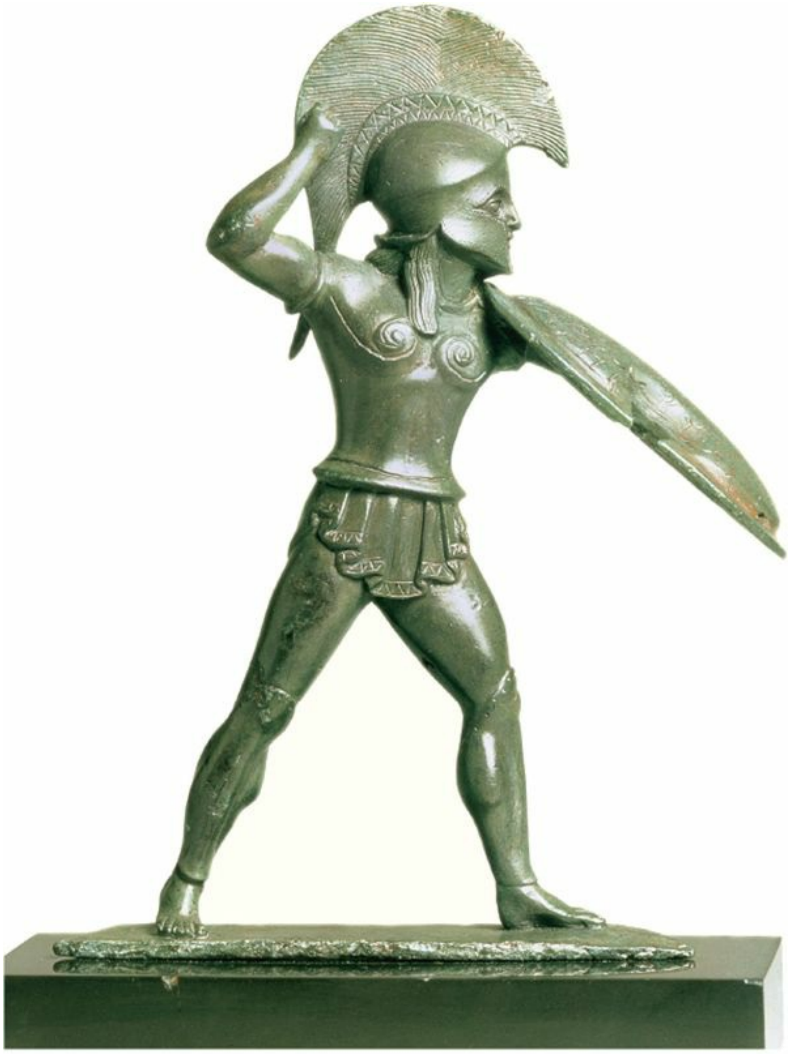
Organization of the Polis

The Greek polis was not the first form of city-state to emerge. The earliest states in Sumer were also city-states, as were many of the small Mycenaean kingdoms. What differentiated the new Greek model from older city-states was that the polis was more than a political institution — it was a community of citizens with their own customs and laws. With one exception, the poleis that emerged after 800 B.C.E. did not have kings but instead were self-governing. The physical, religious, and political forms of the polis varied from place to place, but everywhere it was relatively small, reflecting the fragmented geography of Greece. The very smallness of the polis, however, enabled Greeks to see how they fit individually into their city and thus how the individual parts made up the social whole.

The polis included a city and its surrounding countryside. The countryside was essential to the economy of the polis and provided food to sustain the entire population. The people of the polis typically lived in a compact group of houses within the city, which by the fifth century B.C.E. was generally surrounded by a wall. Another feature was a usually elevated area called the acropolis, where the people erected temples, altars, and public monuments. The polis also contained a public square or marketplace, the agora (EH-gohr-ah), where there were porticoes, shops, public buildings, and courts. The agora was the political center of the polis.

All poleis, with one exception, did not have standing armies. Instead they relied on their citizens for protection. Very rich citizens often served as cavalry, which was, however, never as important as the heavily armed infantrymen known as **hoplites**. These commoners were the backbone of the army, just as foot soldiers were in China during the Warring States Period (see “The Warring States Period” in Chapter 4). Hoplites wore bronze helmets and leather and bronze body armor, which they purchased themselves.

hoplites Heavily armed citizens who served as infantrymen and fought to defend the polis.



bpk Bildagentur/Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen, Berlin, Germany/Photo: Johannes Laurentius/Art Resource, NY

Spartan Hoplite This bronze figurine portrays an armed foot soldier about to strike an enemy. His massive helmet with its full crest gives his head nearly complete protection, while a metal corselet covers his chest and back, and greaves (similar to today's shin guards) protect his shins. In his right hand he carries a thrusting spear (now broken off), and in his left a large round shield.

Greek poleis had several different types of government. Sporadic periods of violent political and social upheaval often led to the takeover of power by one man, a type of government the Greeks called tyranny. Tyrants were not always oppressive rulers, however, and sometimes used their power to benefit average citizens. **Democracy** was rule by citizens, not the people as a whole. Almost all Greek cities defined a citizen as an adult man with at least one citizen parent. Thus citizens shared ancestry as well as a place of residence. Women were citizens for religious and reproductive purposes, but their citizenship did not give them the right to participate in government. Free men who were not children of a citizen, known as resident foreigners, and slaves were not citizens and had no political voice.

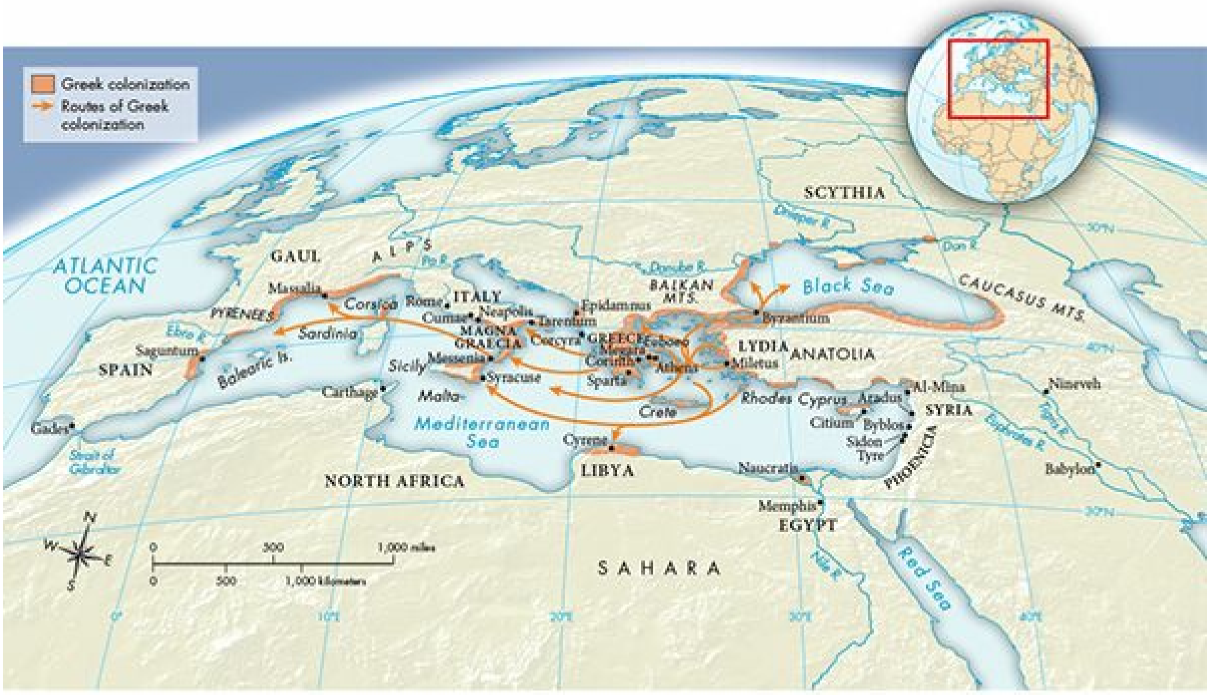
democracy A type of Greek government in which all citizens administered the workings of government.

Oligarchy was government by a small group of wealthy citizens. Many Greeks preferred oligarchy because it provided more political stability than did democracy. Although oligarchy was the government of the prosperous, it left the door open for political and social advancement. If members of the polis could meet property or money qualifications, they could enter the governing circle.

oligarchy A type of Greek government in which citizens who owned a certain amount of property ruled.

Overseas Expansion

The development of the polis coincided with the growth of the Greek world in both wealth and numbers, bringing new problems. The increase in population created more demand for food than the land could supply. The resulting social and political tensions drove many people to seek new homes outside of Greece (Map 5.2).


Greek colonization
Routes of Greek colonization
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GAUL
ALPS
Po R.
Massalia
PYRENEES
Ebro R.
Saguntum
SPAIN
Balearic Is.
Gades
Strait of Gibraltar
Corsica
Sardinia
Rome
ITALY
Cumae
Neapolis
Tarentum
MAGNA GRAECIA
Messenia
Sicily
Syracuse
Carthage
Malta
Mediterranean Sea
NORTH AFRICA
Cyrene
LIBYA
Epidamnus
Corcyra
GREECE
Megara
Euboea
Corinth
Athens
Sparta
Crete
BALKAN MTS.
Danube R.
SCYTHIA
Dnieper R.
Don R.
Black Sea
Byzantium
CAUCASUS MTS.
LYDIA
ANATOLIA
Miletus
Rhodes
Cyprus
Aradus
Al-Mina
SYRIA
Citium
Byblos
Sidon
Tyre
PHOENICIA
Naucratis
Memphis
EGYPT
Nile R.
Red Sea
Nineveh
Tigris R.
Euphrates R.
Babylon
SAHARA
N
W
E
S
0
500
1,000 miles
0
500
1,000 kilometers
0°
10°E
20°E
30°E
40°E
50°N
40°N
30°N

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 5.2 Greek Colonization, ca. 750–550 B.C.E. The Greeks established colonies along the shores of the Mediterranean and Black Seas, spreading Greek culture and creating a large trading network.

Greeks traveled throughout the Mediterranean, sailing in great numbers to Sicily and southern Italy, where there was ample space for expansion. Some adventurous Greeks sailed farther west to Sardinia, France, Spain, and perhaps even the Canary Islands. From these new outposts Greek influence extended to southern France.

In contrast to earlier military invasions and migrations of peoples, these were very often intentional colonizing ventures, organized and planned by a specific polis seeking new land for its residents, or by the losers in a political conflict within a polis who were forced to leave. Colonization changed the entire Greek world, both at home and abroad. In economic terms the expansion of the Greeks created a much larger market for agricultural and manufactured goods.

The Growth of Sparta

During the Archaic period Sparta became the leading military power in Greece. To expand their polis, the Spartans did not establish colonies but instead conquered Messenia (muh-SEE-nee-uh), a region in the southwestern Peloponnesus. They turned the Messenians into helots (HEH-luhts), unfree residents forced to work state lands. The helots soon rose in a revolt that took the Spartans thirty years to crush. Afterward, non-nobles who had shared in the fighting as foot soldiers appear to have demanded rights equal to those of the nobility and a voice in the government. Under intense pressure the aristocrats agreed to remodel the state into a new system.

The plan for the new system in Sparta was attributed to the lawgiver Lycurgus (ligh-KUHR-guhs), who may or may not have been an actual person. Political distinctions among Spartan men were eliminated, and all citizens became legally equal. Two kings, who were primarily military leaders, and a council of nobles shared executive power with five ephors (EH-fuhrs), overseers elected by the citizens. Helots worked the land, while Spartan citizens devoted their time to military training, and Sparta became extremely powerful.

In the system attributed to Lycurgus, every citizen owed primary allegiance to Sparta. Suppression of the individual along with an emphasis on military prowess led to a barracks state. Even family life was sacrificed to the polis. After long, hard military training that began at age seven, citizens became lifelong soldiers. Because men often did not see their wives or other women for long periods, not only in times of war but also in times of peace, their most meaningful relations were same-sex ones. The Spartan military leaders may have viewed such relationships as militarily advantageous because they believed that men would fight even more fiercely for lovers and comrades. An anecdote frequently repeated about one Spartan mother sums up Spartan military values. As her son was setting off to battle, the mother handed him his shield and advised him to come back either victorious and carrying the shield, or dead and being carried on it. Spartan men were expected to train vigorously, do with little, and like it, qualities reflected even today in the word *spartan*.

Spartans expected women in citizen families to be good wives and strict mothers of future soldiers. With men in military service much of their lives, women in citizen families ran the estates and owned land in their own right, and they were not physically restricted or secluded.

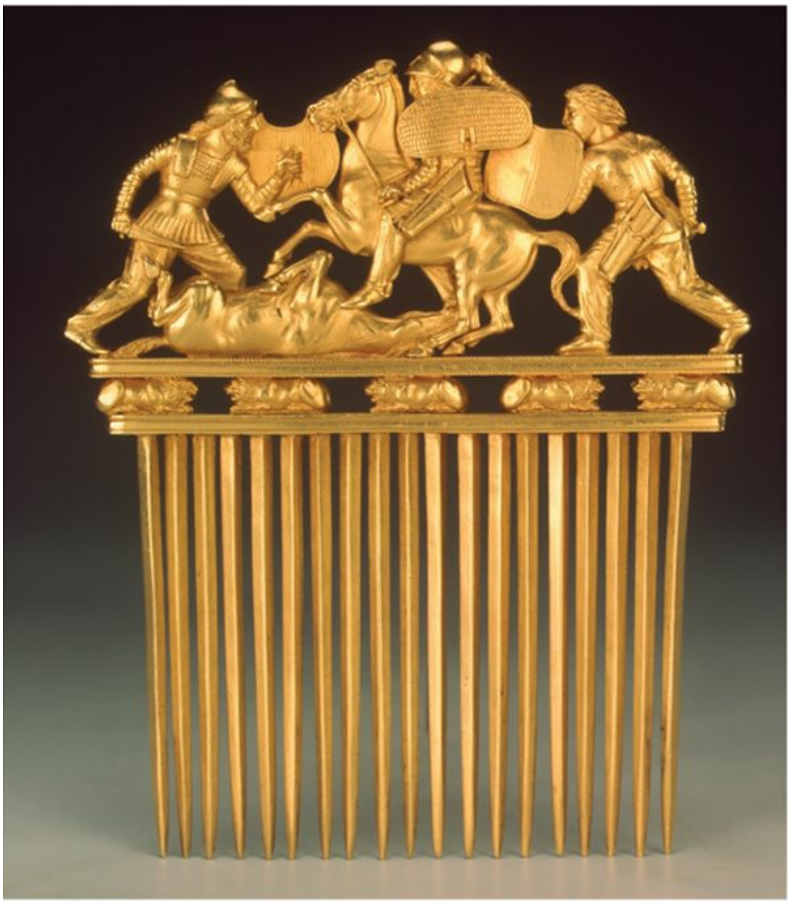
The Evolution of Athens

Like Sparta, Athens faced pressing social and economic problems during the Archaic period, but instead of creating a state devoted to the military, the Athenians created a state that became a democracy. For Athens, the late seventh century B.C.E. was a time of turmoil. In 621 B.C.E. Draco (DRAY-koh), an Athenian aristocrat, under pressure from small landholders and with the consent of the nobles, published the first law code of the Athenian polis. His code was harsh — and is thus the origin of the word *draconian* — but it embodied the ideal that the law belonged to all citizens. Yet the aristocracy still governed Athens oppressively, and the social and economic situation remained dire. Noble landholders continued to force small farmers and artisans into economic dependence. Many families were sold into slavery as settlement for debts, while others were exiled and their land mortgaged to the rich.

One person who recognized these problems was the aristocrat Solon (SOH-luhn). Solon condemned his fellow aristocrats for their greed and dishonesty. According to later sources, Solon's sincerity and good sense convinced other aristocrats that he was no crazed revolutionary. Moreover, he gained the trust of the common people. Around 594 B.C.E. the nobles elected him *archon* (AHR-kahn), chief magistrate of the polis, and gave him extraordinary power to reform the state.

Solon immediately freed all people enslaved for debt, recalled all exiles, canceled all debts on land, and made enslavement for debt illegal. Solon allowed non-nobles into the old aristocratic assembly, where they could vote in the election of magistrates. Later sixth-century-B.C.E. leaders further broadened the opportunities for commoners to take part in government, transforming Athens into a democracy.

The democracy functioned on the ideal that all full citizens should play a role in government. In 487 B.C.E. the election of the city's nine archons was replaced by reappointment by lot, which meant that any citizen with a certain amount of property had a chance of becoming an archon. Making laws was the responsibility of two bodies, the *boule* (BOO-lee), or council, composed of five hundred members, and the *ecclesia* (ee-KLEE-zhee-uh), the assembly of all citizens. By supervising the various committees of government and proposing bills and treaties to the ecclesia, the boule guided Athenian political life. Nonetheless, the ecclesia, open to all male citizens over eighteen years of age, had the final word through its votes.



State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia/Photo © Boltin Picture Library/ Bridgeman Images

Golden Comb This golden comb, produced about 400 B.C.E. in Scythia (see Map 5.2), shows a battle between three warriors, perhaps the three brothers who are the legendary founders of Scythia. Their dress shows a combination of Greek and Eastern details; the mounted horseman is clothed with largely Greek armor, while the warriors on foot are wearing Eastern dress. The comb may have been made by a Greek craftsman who had migrated to the Black Sea area, as the Greeks had established colonies there, but it was buried in a Scythian burial mound.

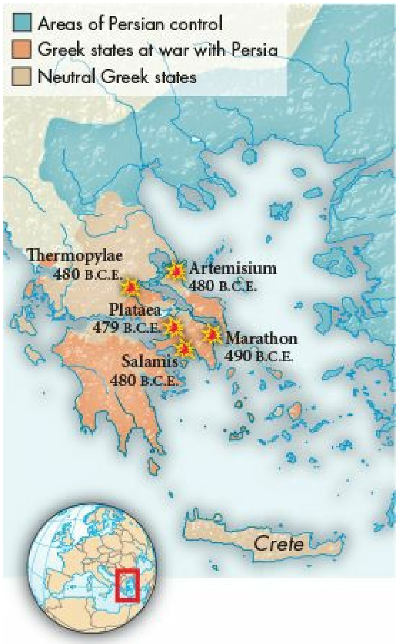
Turmoil and Culture in the Classical Period, 500–338 B.C.E.

In the classical period, how did war influence Greece, and how did the arts, religion, and philosophy develop?

From the time of the Mycenaeans, violent conflict was common in Greek society, and this did not change in the fifth century B.C.E., the beginning of what scholars later called the classical period of Greek history. First, the Greeks beat back the armies of the Persian Empire. Then, turning their spears against one another, they destroyed their own political system in a century of warfare that began with the Peloponnesian War. Although warfare was one of the hallmarks of the classical period, intellectual and artistic accomplishments were as well.

The Deadly Conflicts, 499–404 B.C.E.

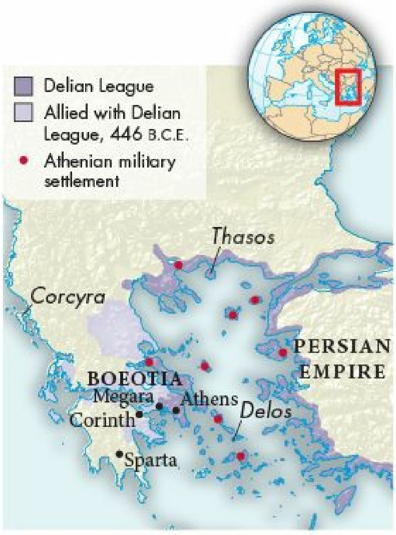
In 499 B.C.E. the Greeks who lived on the western coast of what is now Turkey, an area then known as Ionia, unsuccessfully rebelled against the Persian Empire, which had ruled the area for fifty years (see “The Rise and Expansion of the Persian Empire” in Chapter 2). The Athenians provided halfhearted help to the Ionians, and in retaliation the Persians struck at Athens, only to be surprisingly defeated by the Athenian hoplites at the Battle of Marathon. In 480 B.C.E. the Persian king Xerxes (ZUHRK-seez) personally led a massive invasion of Greece. Under the leadership of Sparta, many Greek poleis, though not all, united to fight the Persians in what later historians termed the Persian wars. The larger Persian army enjoyed early success, but the tide of the war quickly turned and the invasion ended in failure.


Areas of Persian control
Greek states at war with Persia
Neutral Greek states
Thermopylae 480 B.C.E.
Artemisium 480 B.C.E.
Plataea 479 B.C.E.
Marathon 490 B.C.E.
Salamis 480 B.C.E.
Crete

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e,
© 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

The Persian Wars, 499–479 B.C.E.

The victorious Athenians and their allies then formed the Delian League, a military alliance intended to liberate Ionia from Persian rule and keep the Persians out of Greece. The Athenians, however, turned the league into an Athenian empire. They reduced their allies to the status of subjects. Athenian ideas of freedom and democracy did not extend to the citizens of other cities, and cities that objected to or revolted over Athenian actions were put down.


Delian League
Allied with Delian League, 446 B.C.E.
Athenian military settlement
Thasos
Corcyra
PERSIAN EMPIRE
BOEOTIA
Megara
Athens
Corinth
Delos
Sparta

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e,
© 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

The Delian League, ca. 478–431 B.C.E.

Under their great leader Pericles (PEHR-uh-kleez) (ca. 494–429 B.C.E.), the Athenians grew so powerful and aggressive that they alarmed Sparta and its allies. In 431 B.C.E. Athenian imperialism finally drove Sparta into the conflict known as the Peloponnesian War. The Peloponnesian War lasted a generation (431–404 B.C.E.) and brought in its wake disease, widespread civil wars, destruction, famine, and huge loss of life. In 404 B.C.E. the Athenians finally surrendered to Sparta and its allies, and Sparta stripped it of its empire. Conflicts among the states of Greece continued, however.

Athenian Arts in the Age of Pericles

In the midst of the warfare of the fifth century B.C.E., Pericles turned Athens into the showplace of Greece. He appropriated Delian League money to pay for a huge building program to rebuild the city that had been destroyed during the Persian occupation in 480 B.C.E. and to display to all Greeks the glory of the Athenian polis. Workers erected temples and other buildings as patriotic memorials housing statues and carvings, often painted in bright colors, showing the gods in human form and celebrating the Athenian victory over the Persians. (The paint later washed away, leaving the generally white sculpture that we think of as “classical.”) The Acropolis in the center of the city was crowned by the Parthenon, a temple that celebrated the greatness of Athens and its patron goddess, Athena, who was represented by a huge statue. (See “Analyzing the Evidence: The Acropolis of Athens,” page 122.) Sculptors in Athens increasingly based their statues of gods and heroes on studies of actual human anatomy. Accordingly, the statues showed realistic musculature, although the figures were always depicted in the prime form of young adulthood and with a noble facial expression, as befit a deity. Most large-scale Greek paintings have been lost, but Greek pottery was frequently decorated with painted figures and scenes that sometimes show more ordinary humans as well as divine figures. These men and women also had realistic musculature and expressions, and they are going about the ordinary tasks of daily life — working, cooking, going in and out of doors.

Other aspects of Athenian culture were also rooted in the life of the polis. The polis sponsored plays as part of the city’s religious festivals and required wealthy citizens to pay the expenses of their production. Many plays were highly controversial, with overt political and social commentary, but they were neither suppressed nor censored. Not surprisingly, given the incessant warfare, conflict was a constant element in Athenian drama, and playwrights used their art in attempts to portray, understand, and resolve life's basic conflicts.

Aeschylus (EHS-kuh-luhs) (525–456 B.C.E.) was the first dramatist to explore such basic questions as the rights of the individual, the conflict between the individual and society, and the nature of good and evil. In his trilogy of plays, *The Oresteia*, he treats the themes of betrayal, murder, and reconciliation, urging the use of reason and justice to reconcile fundamental conflicts.

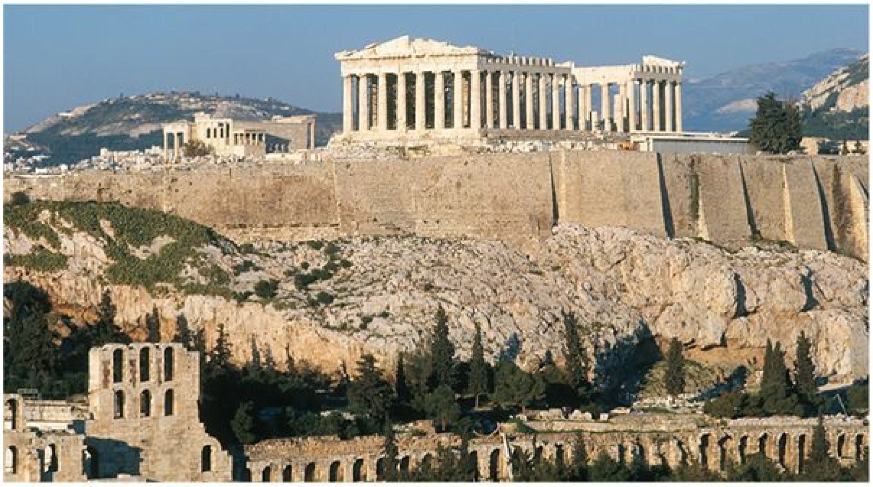
The plays of Sophocles (SAH-fuh-kleez) (496–406 B.C.E.) also deal with matters personal, political, and divine. In *Antigone* — which tells of how a king's mistakes in judgment lead to the suicides of his son, his son's fiancée, and his wife — Sophocles emphasizes the precedence of divine law over political law and family custom. In *Oedipus the King*, Sophocles tells the story of a good man doomed by the gods to kill his father and marry his mother. When Oedipus fails to avoid his fate, he blinds himself in despair and flees into exile. In *Oedipus at Colonus*, Sophocles treats the last days of the broken man, whose patient suffering and uncomplaining piety ultimately win the blessings and honor of the gods.

Euripides (yoo-RIH-puh-deez) (ca. 480–406 B.C.E.) likewise explored the theme of personal conflict within the polis and sounded the depths of the individual. With Euripides drama entered a new and more personal phase. To him the gods mattered far less than people.

Athens also produced writers of comedies, who used humor as political commentary in an effort to suggest and support the best policies for the polis. Best known of the comedians is Aristophanes (eh-ruh-STAH-fuh-neez) (ca. 445–386 B.C.E.), a merciless critic of cranks, quacks, and fools. He used his art of sarcasm to dramatize his ideas on the right conduct of citizens and their leaders for the good of the polis.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

The Acropolis of Athens



Marie Mauzy/Art Resource, NY

The natural rock formation of the Acropolis probably had a palace on top as early as the Mycenaean period, when it was also surrounded by a defensive wall. Temples were constructed beginning in the sixth century B.C.E., and after the Persian wars Pericles ordered the reconstruction and expansion of many of these, as well as the building of new and more magnificent temples and an extension of the defensive walls. The largest building is the Parthenon, a temple dedicated to the goddess Athena, which originally housed a 40-foot-tall statue of Athena made of ivory and gold sheets attached to a wooden frame. Near it were smaller temples built to commemorate the victory over the Persians. Much of the Parthenon was damaged when it was shelled during a war between Venice and the Ottoman Empire in the seventeenth century, and air pollution continues to eat away at the marble.

The Athenians normally hiked up the long approach to the Acropolis only for religious festivals, of which the most important and joyous was the Great Panathenaea, held every four years to honor the virgin goddess Athena and perhaps offer sacrifices to older deities as well. For this festival, Athenian citizens and legal noncitizen residents formed a huge procession to bring the statue of Athena in the Parthenon an exquisite robe, richly embroidered by the citizen women of Athens with mythological scenes. After the religious ceremonies, all the people joined in a feast.

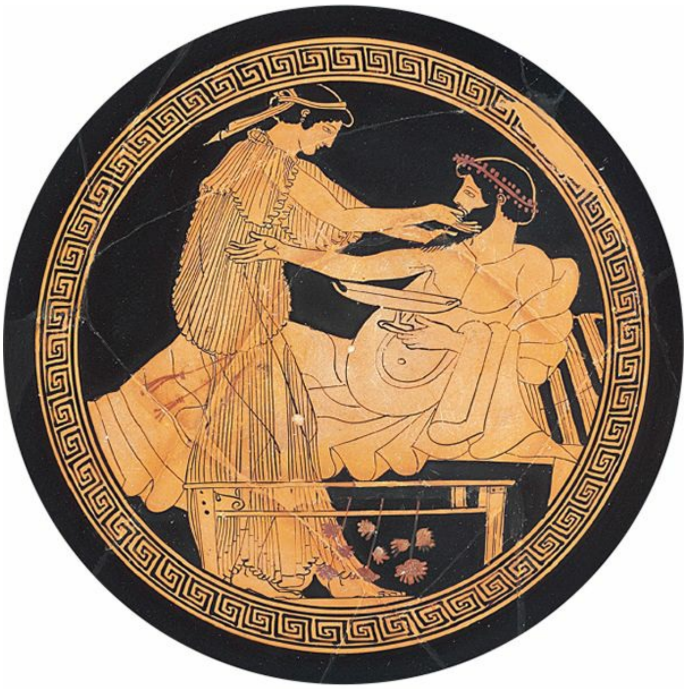
QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Look at the Parthenon in the center of the photograph. What words would you use to describe the building and its style?
2. Imagine yourself as an Athenian walking up the hill toward the Parthenon. What impression would the setting and the building itself convey?

Families and Sexual Relations

The Athenians, like other Greeks, lived with comparatively few material possessions in houses that were rather simple. A typical Athenian house consisted of a series of rooms opening onto a central courtyard that contained a well, an altar, and a washbasin. Larger houses often had a front room where the men of the family ate and entertained guests, as well as women’s quarters at the back. Meals consisted primarily of various grains, especially wheat and barley, as well as lentils, olives, figs, grapes, fish, and a little meat, foods that are now part of the highly touted “Mediterranean diet.”

In the city a man might support himself as a craftsman, or he could contract with the polis to work on public buildings. Certain crafts, including spinning and weaving, were generally done by women. Men and women without skills worked as paid laborers. Slavery was commonplace in Greece, as it was throughout the ancient world. Slaves, who were paid for their work, were usually foreigners.



Symposium scene, interior, drinking cup, Late Archaic Period, c. 490–480 B.C. [kylix], Makron Painter [fl. c. 490–480 B.C.] Museum of Fine Arts, Boston/Henry Lillie Pierce Fund/Bridgeman Images

Hetaera and Man at a Dinner Party In this scene painted on the inside of a drinking cup, a hetaera (one of Athens’s sophisticated courtesans known for their intellectual accomplishments as well as sexual allure) strokes the beard of a man who holds a drinking cup. Sexual and comic scenes were common on Greek pottery, particularly on objects that would have been used at a private dinner party hosted by a citizen, known as a symposium. Wives did not attend symposia, but hetaerae and entertainers were often hired to perform for the male guests.

Citizenship was the basis of political power for men in ancient Athens, and was inherited. After the middle of the fifth century, only those whose parents were both citizens were citizens, except for a few men given citizenship as a reward for service to the city. Adult male citizens were expected to take part in political decisions and be active in civic life, no matter what their occupation. They were also in charge of relations between the household and the wider community. (See “Thinking Like a Historian: Gender Roles in Classical Athens,” page 124.)

Women in Athens and elsewhere in Greece, like those in Mesopotamia, brought dowries to their husbands upon marriage, which went back to their fathers in cases of divorce. Women did not play a public role in classical Athens, and we know the names of no female poets, artists, or philosophers. Women in wealthier citizen families probably spent most of their time at home, leaving the house only to attend some religious festivals, and perhaps occasionally plays. The main function of women from citizen families was to bear and raise children. In their quarters of the house women oversaw domestic slaves and hired labor, and together with servants and friends worked wool into cloth. Women from noncitizen families lived freer lives, although they worked harder and had fewer material comforts. They performed manual labor in the fields or sold goods and services in the agora, going about their affairs much as men did.

Same-sex relations were generally accepted in all of ancient Greece. In classical Athens part of a male adolescent citizen’s training might entail a hierarchical sexual and tutorial relationship with an older man, who most likely was married and may have had female sexual partners as well. These relationships between young men and older men were often celebrated in literature and art, in part because Athenians regarded perfection as possible only in the male. Women were generally seen as inferior to men, dominated by their bodies rather than their minds. A small number of sources refer to female-female sexual desire, the most famous of which are a few of the poems of Sappho (SEH-foh), a female poet of the sixth century B.C.E.

Same-sex relations did not mean that people did not marry, for Athenians saw the continuation of the family line as essential. Sappho, for example, appears to have been married and had a daughter. Sexual desire and procreation were both important aspects of life, but ancient Greeks did not necessarily link them.

THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN

Gender Roles in Classical Athens

Athenian men's ideas about the proper roles for men and women, conveyed in written and visual form, became a foundation of Western notions of gender. How do the qualities they view as ideal and praiseworthy for men compare with those they view as ideal for women?

1 **Pericles's funeral oration, from Thucydides's *History of the Peloponnesian War*, 430 B.C.E.** In this speech given in honor of those who had died in the war, the Athenian leader Pericles glorifies the achievements of Athenian men and women.

■ If we look to the laws, they afford equal justice to all in their private differences; if to social standing, advancement in public life falls to reputation for capacity, class considerations not being allowed to interfere with merit; nor again does poverty bar the way, if a man is able to serve the state, he is not hindered by the obscurity of his condition.... Further, we provide plenty of means for the mind to refresh itself from business. We celebrate games and sacrifices all the year round, and the elegance of our private establishments forms a daily source of pleasure.... [I]n education, where our rivals from their very cradles by a painful discipline seek after manliness, at Athens we live exactly as we please, and yet are just as ready to encounter every legitimate danger.... We cultivate refinement without extravagance and knowledge without effeminacy; wealth we employ more for use than for show.... Again, in our enterprises we present the singular spectacle of daring and deliberation, each carried to its highest point, and both united in the same persons.... In short, I say that as a city we are the school of Hellas; while I doubt if the world can produce a man, who where he has only himself to depend upon, is equal to so many emergencies, and graced by so happy a versatility as the Athenian....

If I must say anything on the subject of female excellence to those of you who will now be in widowhood, it will be all comprised in this brief exhortation: Great will be your glory in not falling short of your natural character; and greatest will be hers who is least talked of among the men whether for good or for bad.

2 **Xenophon, *Oeconomicus*, ca. 360 B.C.E.** In a treatise on household management, the historian, soldier, and philosopher Xenophon creates a character, Isomachus, who provides his much younger wife with advice and informs her about ideal gender roles. "God" in this selection means all of the gods, personified as male; "law" is personified as female ("law gives her consent").

■ ISOMACHUS: "God made provision from the first by shaping, as it seems to me, the woman's nature for indoor and the man's for outdoor occupations. Man's body and soul He furnished with a greater capacity for enduring heat and cold, wayfaring and military marches; or, to repeat, He laid upon his shoulders the outdoor works. While in creating the body of woman with less capacity for these things," I continued, "God would seem to have imposed on her the indoor works; and knowing that He had implanted in the woman and imposed upon her the nurture of new-born babies, He endowed her with a larger share of affection for the new-born child than He bestowed upon man. And since He imposed on woman the guardianship of the things imported from without, God, in His wisdom, perceiving that a fearful spirit was no detriment to guardianship, endowed the woman with a larger measure of timidity than He bestowed on man. Knowing further that he to whom the outdoor works belonged would need to defend them against malign attack, He endowed the man in turn with a larger share of courage…. Law, too, gives her consent — law and the usage of mankind, by sanctioning the wedlock of man and wife; and just as God ordained them to be partners in their children, so the law establishes their common ownership of house and estate. Custom, moreover, proclaims as beautiful those excellences of man and woman with which God gifted them at birth. Thus for a woman to bide tranquilly at home rather than roam abroad is no dishonour; but for a man to remain indoors, instead of devoting himself to outdoor pursuits, is a thing discreditable."

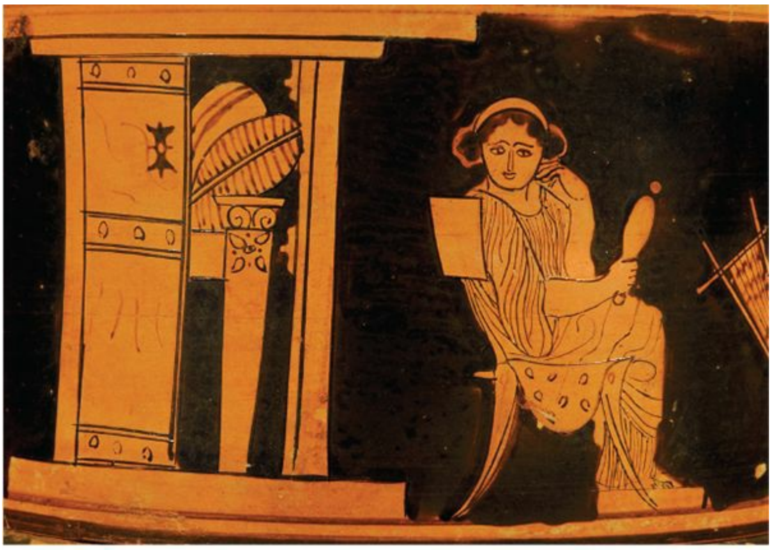
3 **Aristotle, *The Politics*.** In *The Politics*, one of his most important works, Aristotle examines the development of government, which he sees as originating in the power relations in the family and household.

■ The city belongs among the things that exist by nature, and man is by nature a political animal…. The family is the association established by nature for the supply of men's everyday wants….

It is clear that the rule of the soul over the body, and of the mind and the rational element over the passionate, is natural and expedient; whereas the equality of the two or the rule of the inferior is always hurtful. The same holds good of animals in relation to men; for tame animals have a better nature than wild, and all tame animals are better off when they are ruled by man; for then they are preserved. Again, the male is by nature superior, and the female inferior; and the one rules, and the other is ruled; this principle, of necessity, extends to all mankind….

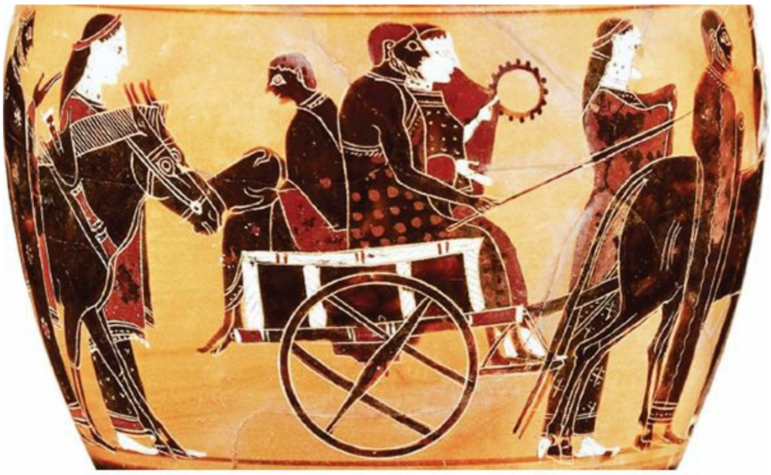
A similar question may be raised about women and children, whether they too have virtues: ought a woman to be temperate and brave and just, and is a child to be called temperate, and intemperate, or not? … Here the very constitution of the soul has shown us the way; in it one part naturally rules, and the other is subject, and the virtue of the ruler we maintain to be different from that of the subject; the one being the virtue of the rational, and the other of the irrational part. Now, it is obvious that the same principle applies generally, and therefore almost all things rule and are ruled according to nature…. For the slave has no deliberative faculty at all; the woman has, but it is without authority, and the child has, but it is immature. So it must necessarily be supposed to be with the moral virtues also; all should partake of them, but only in such manner and degree as is required by each for the fulfillment of his duty…. Clearly, then, moral virtue belongs to all of them; but the temperance of a man and of a woman, or the courage and justice of a man and of a woman, are not, as Socrates maintained, the same; the courage of a man is shown in commanding, of a woman in obeying…. All classes must be deemed to have their special attributes; as the poet says of women, "Silence is a woman's glory," but this is not equally the glory of man.

4 **Vase painting showing Athenian woman at home, fifth century B.C.E.** A well-to-do young woman sits on an elegant chair inside a house, spinning and weaving. The bed piled high with coverlets on the left was a symbol of marriage.



Musée du Louvre, Paris, France/Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY

5 **Lekythos (oil flask), with a wedding scene, attributed to the Amasis Painter, ca. 550 B.C.E.** In this early representation of an Athenian wedding procession, the bearded groom drives the cart to his home, while the bride (right) pulls her veil forward in a gesture associated with marriage in Greek art.



Lekythos by Amasis Painter/Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York/De Agostini Picture Library/Bridgeman Images

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. In Sources 1–3, what qualities do the authors see as praiseworthy in men? In women?
2. In Sources 2 and 3, what do Xenophon and Aristotle view as the underlying reasons for gender differences?
3. The two paintings in Sources 4 and 5 show scenes that were normal parts of real Athenian life, but how do they also convey ideals for men and women? What are these ideals?
4. Because no writing or art by Athenian women has survived, we have to extrapolate women's opinions from works by men. What does the body language and expression of the young woman in Source 4 suggest she thought about her situation?

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

Using the sources above, along with what you have learned in class and in this chapter, write a short essay that compares ideals for men and women in classical Athens. How did these ideas about gender roles both reflect and shape Athenian society and political life?

Sources: (1) Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War* (London: J. M. Dent; New York, E. P. Dutton, 1910), at Perseus Digital Library;
(2) Xenophon, *The Economist*, trans. H. G. Dakyns, at http://www.gutenberg.org/files/1173/1173-h/1173-h.htm;
(3) Aristotle, *Politics*, Book One, translated by Benjamin Jowett, at http://classics.mit.edu/Aristotle/politics.1.one.html.

Public and Personal Religion

Like most peoples of the ancient world, the Greeks were polytheists, worshipping a variety of gods and goddesses who were immortal but otherwise acted just like people. As elsewhere, Greek religion was primarily a matter of ritual, with rituals designed to appease the divinities believed to control the forces of the natural world. Processions, festivals, and sacrifices offered to the gods were frequently occasions for people to meet together socially. Migration, invasion, and colonization brought the Greeks into contact with other peoples and caused their religious beliefs to evolve.

By the classical era, the primary gods were understood to live metaphorically on Mount Olympus, the highest mountain in Greece. Besides these Olympian gods, each polis had its own minor deities, each with his or her own local group of worshippers. The polis administered the cults and religious festivals, and everyone was expected to participate in these civic rituals. In contrast to Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Vedic India, priests held little power in Greece; their purpose was to care for temples and sacred property and to conduct the proper rituals, but not to make religious or political rules or doctrines. Much religion was local and domestic, and individual families honored various deities privately in their homes.

Along with public and family forms of honoring the gods, some Greeks also participated in what later historians have termed **mystery religions**, in which participants underwent an initiation ritual and gained secret knowledge that they were forbidden to reveal to the uninitiated. Many of these religions promised rebirth or an afterlife to adherents.

mystery religions Belief systems that were characterized by secret doctrines, rituals of initiation, and sometimes the promise of rebirth or an afterlife.

The Greeks also shared some Pan-Hellenic festivals, the chief of which were held at Olympia to honor the god Zeus and at Delphi to honor the god Apollo. The festivities at Olympia included athletic contests that inspired the modern Olympic games. Held every four years after they started in 776 B.C.E., the contests attracted visitors from all over the Greek world and lasted until the fourth century C.E., when they were banned by a Christian emperor because they were pagan. The Pythian games at Delphi were also held every four years, and these contests included musical and literary competitions.

The Flowering of Philosophy

Just as the Greeks developed rituals to honor gods, they spun myths and epics to explain the origins of the universe. Over time, however, some Greeks began to question their old gods and myths, and they sought rational rather than supernatural explanations for natural phenomena. These Greek thinkers, based in Ionia, are called the Pre-Socratics because their rational efforts preceded those of the better-known Socrates. Taking individual facts, they wove them into general theories that led them to conclude that, despite appearances, the universe is actually simple and subject to natural laws.

Drawing on their observations, the Pre-Socratics speculated about the basic building blocks of the universe, and most decided that all things were made of four simple substances: fire, air, earth, and water. Democritus (dih-MAW-kruh-tuhs) (ca. 460–370 B.C.E.) broke this down further and created the atomic theory that the universe is made up of invisible, indestructible particles. The stream of thought started by the Pre-Socratics branched into several directions. Hippocrates (hih-PAW-kruh-teez) (ca. 470–400 B.C.E.) became the most prominent physician and teacher of medicine of his time. He sought natural explanations for diseases and natural means to treat them. Illness was caused not by evil spirits, he asserted, but by physical problems in the body, particularly by imbalances in what he saw as four basic bodily fluids: blood, phlegm, black bile, and yellow bile. In a healthy body these fluids, called humors, were in perfect balance, and medical treatment of the ill sought to help the body bring them back into balance. Hippocrates seems to have advocated letting nature take its course and not intervening too much, though later medicine based on the humoral theory would be much more interventionist, with bloodletting emerging as the central treatment for many illnesses.

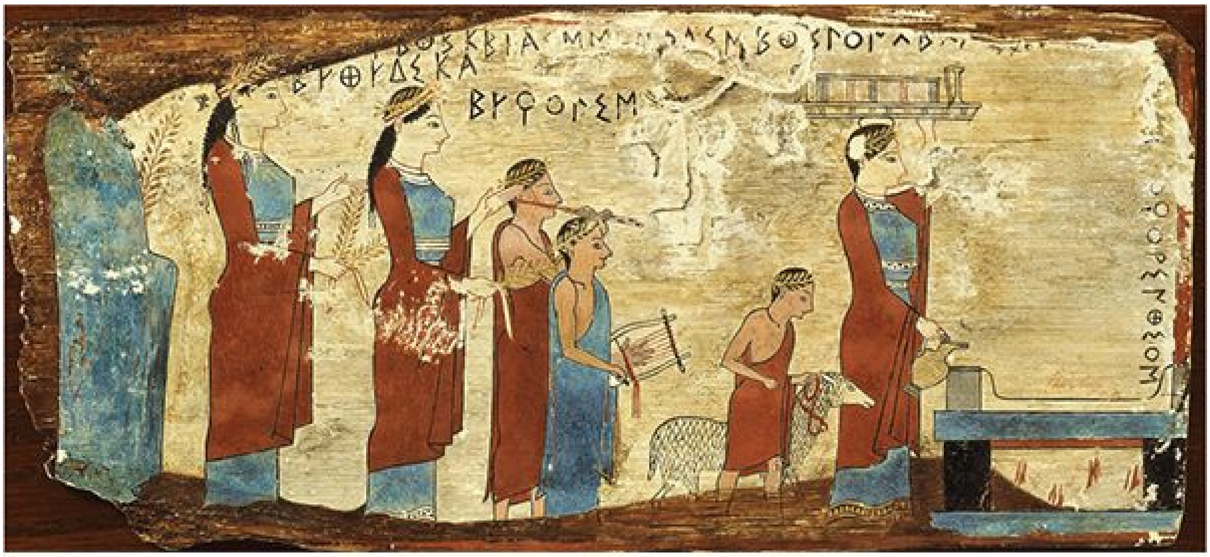
The Sophists (SOFF-ihsts), a group of thinkers in fifth-century-B.C.E. Athens, applied philosophical speculation to politics and language, questioning the beliefs and laws of the polis to understand their origin. They believed that excellence in both politics and language could be taught, and they provided lessons for the young men of Athens who wished to learn how to persuade others.

Socrates (SOK-ruh-teez) (ca. 470–399 B.C.E.), whose ideas are known only through the works of others, also applied philosophy to politics and to people. His approach when exploring ethical issues and defining concepts was to start with a general topic or problem and to narrow the matter to its essentials. He did so by continuously questioning participants in a discussion or argument rather than lecturing, a process known as the Socratic method. Many Athenians viewed Socrates with suspicion because he challenged the traditional beliefs and values of Athens. His views brought him into conflict with the government. The leaders of Athens tried him for corrupting the youth of the city, and for impiety, that is, for not believing in the gods honored in the city. In 399 B.C.E. they executed him.

Most of what we know about Socrates comes from his student Plato (427–347 B.C.E.), who wrote dialogues in which Socrates asks questions and who also founded the Academy, a school dedicated to philosophy. Plato developed the theory that there are two worlds: the impermanent, changing world that we know through our senses, and the eternal, unchanging realm of "forms" that constitute the essence of true reality. According to Plato, true knowledge and the possibility of living a virtuous life come from contemplating ideal forms — what later came to be called **Platonic ideals** — not from observing the visible world.

Platonic ideals In Plato's thought, the eternal unchanging ideal forms that are the essence of true reality.

Plato's student Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.) believed that true knowledge came from observation of the world, analysis of natural phenomena, and logical reasoning, not contemplation. Aristotle thought that everything had a purpose, so that to know something, one also had to know its function. The range of Aristotle's thought is staggering. His interests embraced logic, ethics, natural science, physics, politics, poetry, and art. He studied the heavens as well as earth and judged the earth to be the center of the universe, with the stars and planets revolving around it. Plato's idealism profoundly shaped Western philosophy, but Aristotle came to have an even wider influence. For many centuries in Europe, the authority of his ideas was second only to the Bible's, and his ideas had a great impact in the Muslim world as well.



National Archaeological Museum, Athens, Greece/Gianni Dagli Orti/De Agostini Picture Library/Bridgeman Images

Religious Procession in Hellenic Greece This painted wooden slab from about 540 B.C.E., found in a cave near Corinth, shows adults and children about to sacrifice a sheep to the deities worshipped in this area. The participants are dressed in their finest clothes and crowned with garlands. Music adds to the festivities. Rituals such as this were a common part of religious life throughout Greece. The boys are shown with tanned skin and women with white, reflecting the ideal that men’s lives took place largely outside in the sun-filled public squares, and women’s in the shaded interiors of homes. The woman at the front of the procession has her hair up, indicating her married status, while the women at the rear have the long uncovered hair of unmarried women.

The philosophers of ancient Athens lived at roughly the same time as major thinkers in religious and philosophical movements in other parts of the world, including Mahavira (the founder of Jainism), the Buddha, Confucius, and several prophets in Hebrew Scripture. All of these individuals thought deeply about how to live a moral life, and all had tremendous influence on later intellectual, religious, and social developments. There is no evidence that they had any contact with one another, but the parallels among them are strong enough that some historians describe the period from about 800 B.C.E. to 200 B.C.E. as the “Axial Age,” by which they mean that this was a pivotal period of intellectual and spiritual transformation.

Hellenistic Society, 323–30 B.C.E.

How did Alexander the Great's conquests shape society in the Hellenistic period?

The Greek city-states wore themselves out fighting one another, and Philip II, the ruler of Macedonia, a kingdom in the north of Greece, gradually conquered one after another and took over their lands. He then turned against the Persian Empire but was killed by an assassin. His son Alexander continued the fight. Alexander conquered the entire Persian Empire from Libya in the west to Bactria in the east (see Map 5.3). He also founded new cities in which Greek and local populations mixed, although he died while planning his next campaign. Alexander left behind an empire that quickly broke into smaller kingdoms, but more important, his death in 323 B.C.E. ushered in an era, the **Hellenistic**, in which Greek culture, the Greek language, and Greek thought spread as far as India, blending with local traditions.

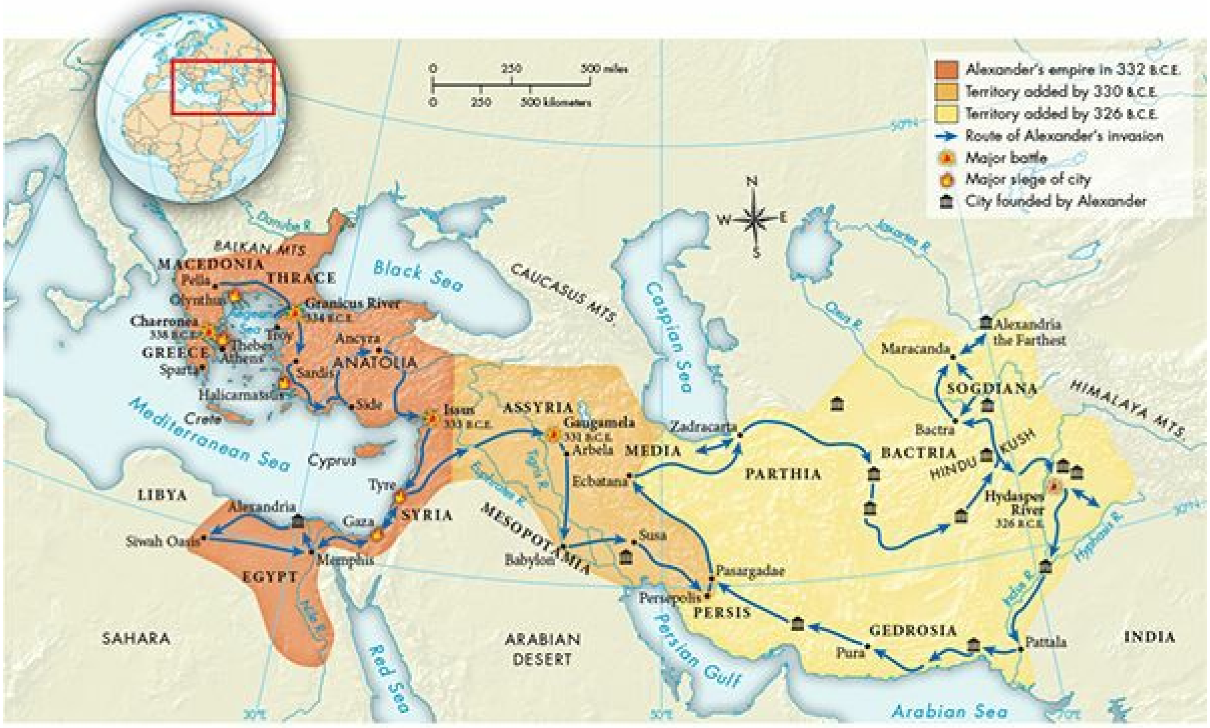
Hellenistic Literally means "like the Greek"; describes the period from the death of Alexander the Great in 323 B.C.E. to the Roman conquest of Egypt in 30 B.C.E., when Greek culture spread.

From Polis to Monarchy, 404–200 B.C.E.

Immediately after the Peloponnesian War, Sparta began striving for empire over all the Greeks but could not maintain its hold. In 371 B.C.E. an army from the polis of Thebes destroyed the Spartan army, but the Thebans were unable to bring peace to Greece. Philip II (r. 359–336 B.C.E.), ruler of the kingdom of Macedonia on the northern border of Greece, turned the situation to his advantage. By clever use of his wealth and superb army, Philip won control of the northern Aegean, and in 338 B.C.E. he defeated a combined Theban-Athenian army, conquering Greece.

After his victory, Philip united the Greek states with his Macedonian kingdom and got the states to cooperate in a crusade to liberate the Ionian Greeks from Persian rule. Before he could launch his crusade, Philip fell to an assassin's dagger in 336 B.C.E. His son Alexander vowed to carry on Philip's mission and led an army of Macedonians and Greeks into western Asia. He won major battles against the Persians and seized Egypt from them without a fight. He ordered the building of a new city where the Nile meets the Mediterranean, a city that would soon be called Alexandria and that within a century would grow into an enormous city, rivaling Chang-an in China and Pataliputra in the Mauryan Empire of India.

By 330 B.C.E. the Persian Empire had fallen, but Alexander had no intention of stopping, and he set out to conquer much of the rest of Asia. After four years of fighting his soldiers crossed the Indus River (in the area that is now Pakistan), and finally, at the Hyphasis River, the troops refused to go farther. Alexander was enraged by the mutiny, but the army stood firm. Still eager to explore the limits of the world, Alexander turned south to the Arabian Sea and then back west (Map 5.3).


0 250 500 miles
0 250 500 kilometers
Alexander's empire in 332 B.C.E.
Territory added by 330 B.C.E.
Territory added by 326 B.C.E.
Route of Alexander's invasion
Major battle
Major siege of city
City founded by Alexander
N
W
E
S
Danube R.
BALKAN MTS.
MACEDONIA
Pella
THRACE
Olynthus
Aegean Sea
Granicus River 334 B.C.E.
Chaeronea 338 B.C.E.
Troy
Thebes
Athens
GREECE
Sparta
Ancyra
ANATOLIA
Sardis
Halicarnassus
Side
Black Sea
CAUCASUS MTS.
Caspian Sea
Crete
Mediterranean Sea
Cyprus
Issus 333 B.C.E.
ASSYRIA
Gaugamela 331 B.C.E.
Arbela
MEDIA
Tigris R.
Euphrates R.
Ecbatana
Zadracarta
PARTHIA
Tyre
SYRIA
LIBYA
Alexandria
Gaza
Siwah Oasis
Memphis
EGYPT
Nile R.
MESOPOTAMIA
Babylon
Susa
Pasargadae
Persepolis
PERSIS
Persian Gulf
SAHARA
Red Sea
ARABIAN DESERT
Jaxartes R.
Oxus R.
Alexandria the Farthest
Maracanda
SOGDIANA
HIMALAYA MTS.
Bactra
BACTRIA
HINDU KUSH
Hydaspes River 326 B.C.E.
Hyphasis R.
Indus R.
GEDROSIA
Pura
Pattala
INDIA
Arabian Sea
30°N
50°N
30°E
50°E
70°E

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Mapping the Past

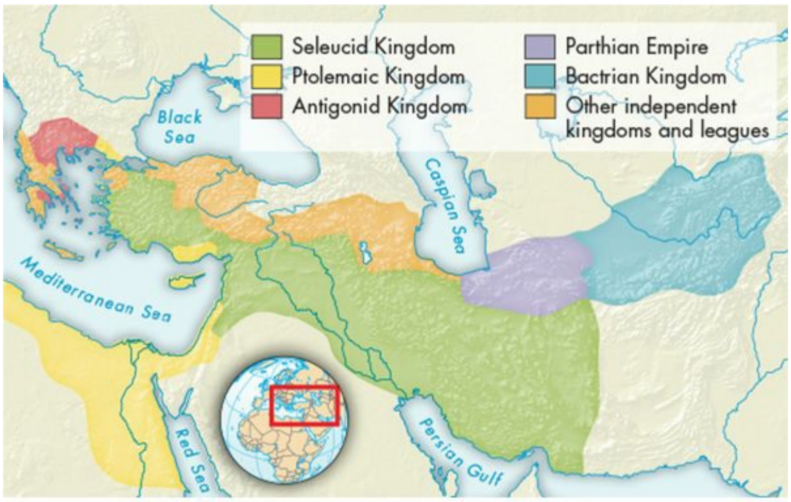
MAP 5.3 Alexander's Conquests, 336–324 B.C.E. Alexander's campaign of conquest was extensive and speedy. More important than the great success of his military campaigns was his founding of Hellenistic cities.

ANALYZING THE MAP Where are most of the cities founded by Alexander located in relation to Greece? What does this suggest about his aims?

CONNECTIONS Compare this map with Map 5.2, which shows Greek colonization in the Hellenic period. What are the major differences between the two processes of expansion?

Alexander died in Babylon in 323 B.C.E. from fever, wounds, and excessive drinking. In just thirteen years he had created an empire that stretched from his homeland of Macedonia to India, gaining the title "the Great" along the way. His campaign swept away the Persian Empire, and in its place he established a Macedonian monarchy, although this fell apart with his death. Several of the chief Macedonian generals aspired to become sole ruler, which led to civil wars that lasted for decades and tore Alexander’s empire apart. By the end of these conflicts in about 300 B.C.E., the most successful generals had carved out their own smaller monarchies, although these monarchies continued to be threatened by internal splits and external attacks.

Ptolemy (TAH-luh-mee) seized Egypt, and his descendants, the Ptolemies, ruled Egypt for nearly three hundred years, until the death of the last Ptolemaic ruler, Cleopatra VII, in 30 B.C.E. Antigonus and his descendants, the Antigonids (an-TIH-guh-nuhds), gained control of the Macedonian kingdom in Europe, which they held until they were overthrown by the Romans in 168 B.C.E. (see “Roman Expansion and Its Repercussions” in Chapter 6). Seleucus won the bulk of Alexander’s empire; his monarchy initially extended from western Asia to India, although it gradually broke into smaller states. In terms of political stability and peace, these monarchies were no improvement on the Greek polis.



Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin’s

The Hellenistic World, ca. 263 B.C.E.

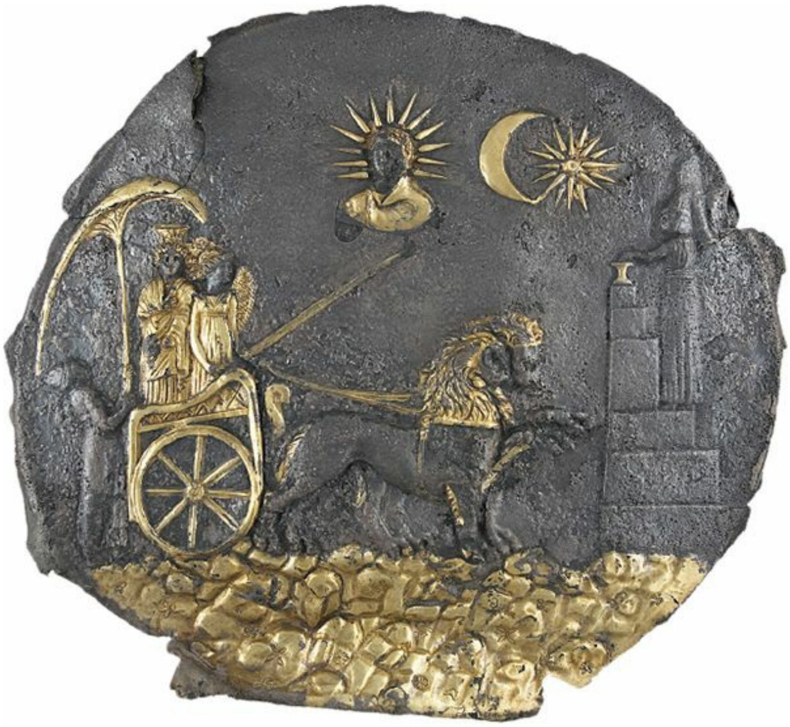
To encourage obedience, Hellenistic kings often created ruler cults that linked the king’s authority with that of the gods, or they adopted ruler cults that already existed. This created a symbol of unity within kingdoms ruling different peoples who at first had little in common. Kings sometimes gave the cities in their territory all the external trappings of a polis, such as a council or an assembly of citizens, but these had no power. The city was not autonomous, as the polis had been, but had to follow royal orders. Hellenistic rulers generally relied on paid professionals to staff their bureaucracies and on trained, paid, full-time soldiers rather than citizen hoplites to fight their wars.

Building a Hellenized Society

Alexander's most important legacy was the spread of Greek ideas and traditions across a wide area, a process scholars later called **Hellenization**. To maintain contact with the Greek world as he moved farther eastward, Alexander founded new cities and military colonies and settled Greek and Macedonian troops and veterans in them. This practice continued after his death. These cities and colonies became powerful instruments in the spread of Hellenism and in the blending of Greek and other cultures. Wherever it was established, the Hellenistic city resembled a modern city. It was a cultural center with theaters, temples, and libraries — a seat of learning and a place for amusement. The Hellenistic city was also an economic center — a marketplace and a scene of trade and manufacturing.

Hellenization The spread of Greek ideas, culture, and traditions to non-Greek groups across a wide area.

The ruling dynasties of the Hellenistic world were Macedonian in origin, and Greeks and Macedonians initially filled all important political, military, and diplomatic positions. The prevailing institutions and laws were Greek, and Greek became the common spoken language of the entire eastern Mediterranean. Everyone who wanted to find an official position or compete in business had to learn it. Those who did gained an avenue of social mobility, and as early as the third century B.C.E. local people in some Greek cities began to rise in power and prominence. Cultural influences in the other direction occurred less frequently because they brought fewer advantages. Few Greeks learned a non-Greek language unless they were required to because of their official position. Greeks did begin to worship local deities, but often these were somewhat Hellenized and their qualities blended with those of an existing Greek god or goddess.



National Museum of Afghanistan, Kabul/Photo by Thierry Ollivier/Musée Guimet/Getty Images

Metal Plate from Ay Khanoum This spectacular metal plate, made in the Bactrian city of Ay Khanoum on the Oxus River in the second century B.C.E., probably depicts the goddess Cybele being pulled in a chariot by lions with the sun-god above. Worship of Cybele, an earth-mother goddess, spread into Greece from the east, and was then spread by her Greek followers as they traveled and migrated.

In the booming city of Alexandria, the Ptolemies generally promoted Greek culture over that of the local Egyptians. This favoritism eventually led to civil unrest, but it also led the Ptolemies to support anything that enhanced Greek learning or traditions. Ptolemaic kings established what became the largest library in the ancient world. Alexandria was also home to the largest Jewish community in the ancient world, and here Jewish scholars translated the Hebrew Bible into Greek for the first time.

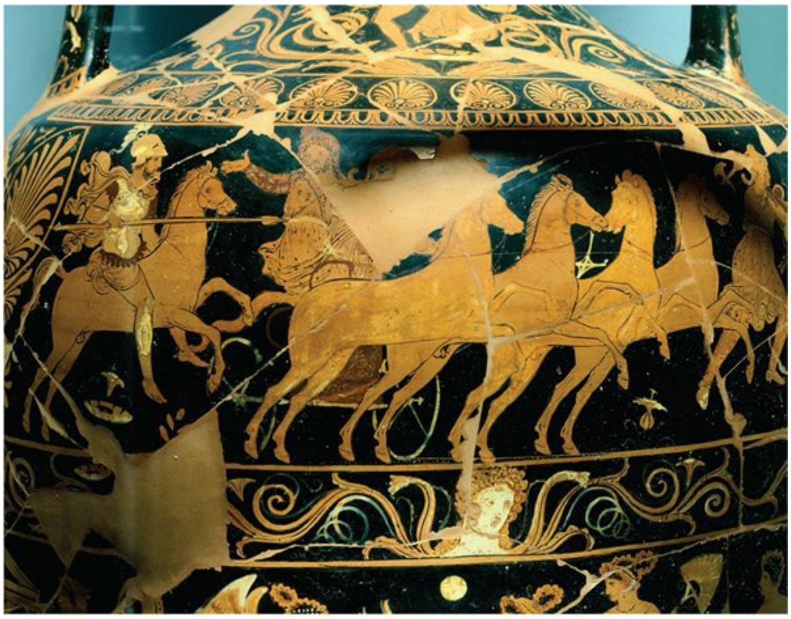
The kings of Bactria and Parthia (see the map “The Hellenistic World”) spread Greek culture far to the east, and their kingdoms became outposts of Hellenism. Some Bactrian and Parthian rulers converted to Buddhism, and the Buddhist ruler of the Mauryan Empire in northern India, Ashoka, may have ordered translations of his laws into Greek for the Greek-speaking residents of Bactria and Parthia. In the second century B.C.E., after the collapse of the Mauryan Empire, Bactrian armies conquered part of northern India, establishing several small Indo-Greek states where the mixing of religious and artistic traditions was particularly pronounced (see “Western Contact and the Mauryan Unification of North

India” in Chapter 3).

Yet the spread of Greek culture was wider than it was deep, as it generally did not extend far beyond the reaches of the cities. Many urban residents adopted the aspects of Hellenism that they found useful, but people in the countryside generally did not embrace it, nor were they encouraged to.

The Growth of Trade and Commerce

Not only did Alexander’s conquests change the political face of the ancient world, but the spread of Greeks eastward also created new markets, causing trade to flourish. The economic connections of the Hellenistic world later proved valuable to the Romans, allowing them to trade products and ideas more easily over a broad area.



Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, Italy/De Agostini Picture Library/Alfredo Dagli Orti/Bridgeman Images

Amphora with Alexander and Darius at the Battle of Issus Alexander, riding bareback, charges King Darius III, who is standing in a chariot. This jug was made within a decade after the battle, in a Greek colony in southern Italy, beyond the area of Alexander’s conquests, a good indication of how quickly Alexander’s fame spread.

Alexander used the wealth of the Persian Empire to finance the building of roads, the development of harbors, and especially, as noted earlier, the founding of new cities. These cities opened whole new markets to merchants. Whenever possible, merchants sent their goods by water, but overland trade also became more prominent in the Hellenistic era. This period also saw the development of standardized business customs, so that merchants of different nationalities communicated in a way understandable to them all. Trade was further facilitated by the coining of money, which provided merchants with a standard way to value goods as well as a convenient method of payment.

The increased volume of trade helped create prosperity that made luxury goods affordable to more people. As a result, overland traders brought easily transportable luxuries such as gold, silver, and precious stones to market. They extended their networks into China, from which the most prominent good in terms of volume was silk. The trade in silk later gave the major east-west route its name: the Great Silk Road. In return the peoples of the eastern Mediterranean sent east manufactured or extracted goods, especially metal weapons, cloth, wine, and olive oil. (For more on the Silk Road in East Asia, see "Inner Asia and the Silk Road" in Chapter 7.)

More economically important than trade in exotic goods were commercial dealings in essential commodities like raw materials and grain and industrial products such as pottery. Most trade in bulk commodities like grain and wood was seaborne.

For the cities of Greece and the Aegean, the trade in grain was essential because many of them could not grow enough in their mountainous terrain. Fortunately for them, abundant wheat supplies were available nearby in Egypt and in the area north of the Black Sea. The Greek cities often paid for their grain by exporting olive oil, wine, honey, dried fruit, nuts, and vegetables. Another significant commodity supplied by the Greeks was fish, which for export was salted, pickled, or dried.

Slaves were a staple of Hellenistic trade, traveling in all directions on both land and sea routes. War provided prisoners for the slave market; to a lesser extent, so did kidnapping and capture by pirates, although the origin of most slaves is unknown. Both old Greek states and new Hellenistic kingdoms were ready slave markets, and throughout the Mediterranean world slaves were almost always in demand for work in shops, fields, farms, mines, and the homes of wealthier people.

Despite the increase in trade, the Hellenistic period did not see widespread improvements in the way most people lived and worked. Cities flourished, but many people who lived in rural areas were actually worse off than they had been before, because of higher levels of rents and taxes. Technology was applied to military needs, but not to the production of food or other goods. Manual labor, not machinery, continued to turn out the agricultural produce, raw materials, and manufactured goods the Hellenistic world used.

Hellenistic Religion, Philosophy, and Science

How did religion, philosophy, and science develop in the Hellenistic world?

The mixing of peoples in the Hellenistic era influenced religion, philosophy, and science. The Hellenistic kings built temples to the old Olympian gods and promoted rituals and ceremonies like those in earlier Greek cities, but new deities also gained prominence. More people turned to mystery religions that blended Greek and non-Greek elements. Others turned to practical philosophies that provided advice on how to live a good life. In the scholarly realm, Hellenistic thinkers made advances in mathematics, astronomy, and mechanical design. Additionally, physicians used observation and dissection to better understand the way the human body works.

Religion in the Hellenistic World

When Hellenistic kings founded cities, they also built temples for the old Olympian gods. In this way they spread Greek religious beliefs throughout the Hellenistic world. Greeks and non-Greeks in the Hellenistic world also honored and worshipped deities that had not been important in the Hellenic period or that were a blend of imported Greek and indigenous gods and goddesses. Tyche (TIGH-kee), for example, was a new deity, the goddess and personification of luck, fate, chance, and fortune. Many people also believed that magic rituals and spells that invoked Tyche along with other Greek and non-Greek deities were effective, and they sought the assistance of individuals reputed to have special knowledge or powers in convincing supernatural forces to help them or to leave them alone. (See “Global Viewpoints: Hellenistic and Chinese Spells,” page 132.)

Increasingly, many people were attracted to mystery religions, which in the Hellenic period had been linked to specific gods in particular places, which meant that people who wished to become members had to travel. But new mystery religions, like Hellenistic culture in general, were not tied to a particular place; instead they were spread throughout the Hellenistic world, and temples of the new deities sprang up wherever Greeks lived.

Mystery religions incorporated aspects of both Greek and non-Greek religions and claimed to save their adherents from the worst that fate could do. Most taught that by the rites of initiation, in which the secrets of the religion were shared, devotees became united with a deity who had also died and risen from the dead. The sacrifice of the god and his victory over death saved the devotee from eternal death. Similarly, mystery religions demanded a period of preparation in which the converts strove to become pure and holy, that is, to live by the religion’s precepts. Once aspirants had prepared themselves, they went through the initiation, usually a ritual of great emotional intensity symbolizing the entry into a new life.

Louvre, Paris, France/Peter Willi/Bridgeman Images

Isis and Horus In this small statue from Egypt, the goddess Isis is shown suckling her son, Horus. Worship of Isis spread throughout the Hellenistic world; her followers believed that Isis offered them life after death, just as she had brought Horus’s father, Osiris, back to life.

Among the mystery religions, the Egyptian cult of Isis took the Hellenistic world by storm. In Egyptian mythology Isis brought her husband, Osiris, back to life (see “The Nile and the God-King” in Chapter 2), and during the Hellenistic era this power came to be understood by her followers as extending to them as well. She promised to save any mortal who came to her, and her priests asserted that she had bestowed on humanity the gift of civilization and founded law and literature. Isis was understood to be a devoted mother as well as a devoted wife, and she became the goddess of marriage, conception, and childbirth. She became the most important goddess of the Hellenistic world. Devotion to Isis, and to many other mystery religions, spread to the Romans as well as the Greeks when the two civilizations came into greater contact.

GLOBAL VIEWPOINTS

Hellenistic and Chinese Spells

Throughout the ancient world, people carried out rituals and ceremonies to attract good spirits and drive away bad ones, and in many places they also sought to use the spirits and gods to accomplish tasks for them. Most of these rituals were oral, but sometimes they were written down. The first text is from a Hellenistic spell inscribed on a lead tablet and is directed toward Anubis, the dog-headed Egyptian god of the underworld; by means of this spell, a woman named Sophia seeks to attract a woman named Gorgonia. With the religious mixing common in the Hellenistic world, the text mentions a number of Egyptian and Greek deities of the underworld and was most likely written by a professional spell caster. The second text is from a third-century-B.C.E. Chinese manuscript written on bamboo slips (for an example of these, see “Analyzing the Evidence: Inscribed Bamboo Slips” in Chapter 4) and discovered in a tomb. It provides a series of spells designed to identify demons and instruct people in how to lessen the demons’ power.

Hellenistic Spell of Attraction

■ “Fundament of the gloomy darkness, jagged-toothed dog, covered with coiling snakes, turning three heads, traveler in the recesses of the underworld, come, spirit-driver, with the Erinyes [or Furies, Greek goddesses of vengeance, often shown with snake hair and whips], savage with their stinging whips; holy serpents, maenads [frenzied female followers of Dionysus], frightful maidens, come to my wroth incantations. Before I persuade by force this one and you, render him immediately a fire-breathing daemon. Listen and do everything quickly, in no way opposing me in the performance of this action; for you are the governors of the earth.” … By means of this corpse-daemon inflame the heart, the liver [which people also saw as a location of emotions], the spirit of Gorgonia, whom Nilogenia bore, with love and affection for Sophia, whom Isara bore…. Drive Gorgonia, whom Nilogenia bore, drive her, torment her body night and day, force her to rush forth from every place and every house, loving Sophia, whom Isara bore, she, surrendered like a slave, giving herself and all her possessions to her, because this is the will and command of the great god…. “Blessed lord of the immortals, holding the scepters of Tartaros and of terrible, fearful Styx [?] and of life-robbing Lethe, the hair of Kerberos trembles in fear of you, you crack the loud whips of the Erinyes; the couch of Persephone delights you, when you go to the longed bed, whether you be the immortal Sarapis, whom the universe fears, whether you be Osiris, star of the land of Egypt; your messenger is the all-wise boy; yours is Anubis, the pious herald of the dead. Come hither, fulfill my wishes, because I summon you by these secret symbols."

Chinese Spells to Repel Demons

■ Spellbinding to inflict odium on demons. The Wang-hang [demons who live underground] who injure people treat people unpropitiously. Let the way for how to spellbind them be declared, to enable the people to not encounter the baleful and calamitous. What demons detest are namely reclining in a crouch, sitting like a winnowing basket, interlinked motion [with the legs apart and extended], and the leaning stand [all postures thought to make the body resistant to demons]….

The dwelling places of the great spirits cannot be passed through. They like to injure people. Make pellets from dog excrement and carry them when passing through. Throw them at the spirit when it appears, and it will not injure people….

If human or birds or beasts as well as the six domestic animals constantly roam through a person's domicile, these are spirits from above who like to descend and take pleasure in entering. Have boys and girls who have never entered the domicile beat drums, ring bells with clappers, and screech at them, and they will not come.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. In the Hellenistic spell, what feelings does Sophia direct Anubis and the other spirits to create in Gorgonia, and what behavior is the expected result of these feelings?
2. In the Chinese spell, what actions are people to take to drive away demons?
3. Belief in the power of spirits is sometimes viewed as making people feel helpless and fatalistic. Do these sources provide evidence of this? Why or why not?

Sources: Bernadette J. Brooten, *Love Between Women: Early Christian Responses to Female Homoeroticism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), pp. 83–87; Donald Harper, "A Chinese Demonography of the Third Century B.C.," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 45, no. 2 (December 1985): 480, 495, 496.

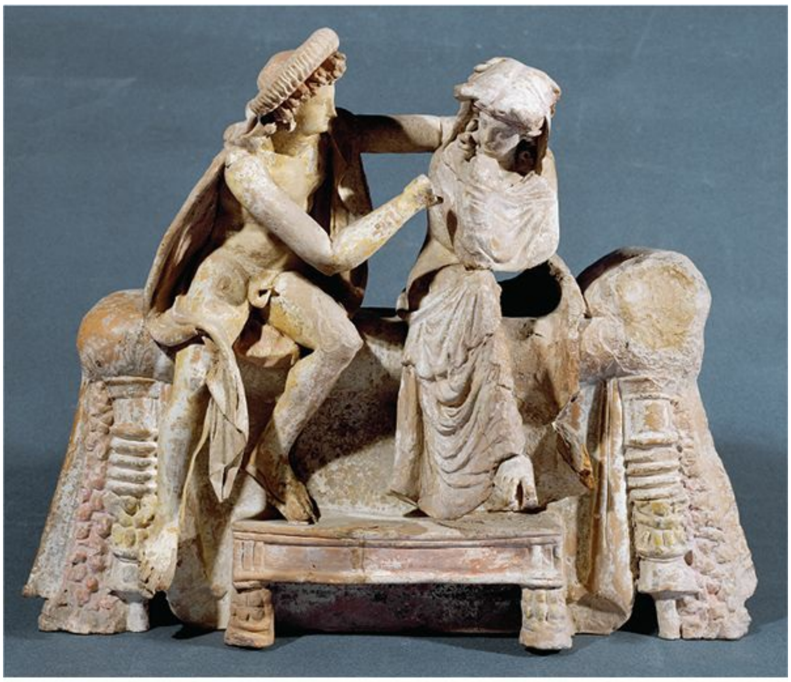
Philosophy and Its Guidance for Life

While some people turned to mystery religions to overcome Tyche and provide something permanent in a world that seemed unstable, others turned to philosophy. Several new schools of philosophical thought emerged in the Hellenistic period. One of these was **Epicureanism**, a practical philosophy of serenity in an often-tumultuous world. Epicurus (340–270 B.C.E.) decided that the principal goods of human life were contentment and pleasure, which he defined as the absence of pain, fear, and suffering. By encouraging the pursuit of pleasure, he was not advocating drunken revels or sexual excess, which he thought caused pain, but promoting moderation. Epicurus also taught that individuals could most easily attain peace and serenity by ignoring the outside world and looking instead into their personal feelings. His followers ignored politics because it led to tumult, which would disturb the soul.

Epicureanism A system of philosophy based on the teachings of Epicurus, who viewed a life of contentment, free from fear and suffering, as the greatest good.

Zeno (335–262 B.C.E.), a philosopher from Cyprus, advanced a different concept of human beings and the universe. Zeno first came to Athens to form his own school, the Stoa. His philosophy, **Stoicism** (STOH-uh-sih-zuhm), in turn, came to be named for his school. Zeno and his followers considered nature an expression of divine will; in their view, people could be happy only when living in accordance with nature. They stressed the unity of humans and the universe, stating that all people were obliged to help one another.

Stoicism A philosophy, based on the ideas of Zeno, that held that people could only be happy when living in accordance with nature and accepting whatever happened.



Louvre, Paris, France/Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY

Hellenistic Married Life This small terra-cotta figurine from Myrina in what is now Turkey, made in the second century B.C.E., shows a newly married couple sitting on a bridal bed. The groom is drawing back the bride's veil, and she is exhibiting the modesty that was a desired quality in young women. Figurines representing every stage of life became popular in the Hellenistic period and were used for religious offerings in temples and sacred places. This one was found in a tomb.

The Stoics' most lasting practical achievement was the creation of the concept of natural law. They concluded that as all people were kindred, partook of divine reason, and were in harmony with the universe, one natural law governed them all.

Hellenistic Science and Medicine

Hellenistic thinkers made advances in mathematics, astronomy, and mechanical design. The most notable of the Hellenistic astronomers was Aristarchus of Samos (ca. 310–230 B.C.E.). Aristarchus rightly concluded that the sun is far larger than the earth and that the stars are enormously distant from the earth. He also argued against Aristotle's view that the earth is the center of the universe, instead propounding the heliocentric theory — that the earth and planets revolve around the sun.

In geometry Euclid (YOO-kluhd) (fl. ca. 300 B.C.E.), a mathematician living in Alexandria, compiled a valuable textbook of existing knowledge. His *Elements of Geometry* became the standard introduction to the subject.

The greatest thinker of the Hellenistic period was Archimedes (ahr-kuh-MEE-deez) (ca. 287–212 B.C.E.). A clever inventor, he devised new artillery for military purposes. In peacetime he created the water screw to draw water from a lower to a higher level. (See “Individuals in Society: Archimedes, Scientist and Inventor,” at right.) He also invented the compound pulley to lift heavy weights. His chief interest, however, lay in pure mathematics. He founded the science of hydrostatics (the study of fluids at rest) and discovered the principle that the weight of a solid floating in a liquid is equal to the weight of the liquid displaced by the solid.

Eratosthenes (ehr-uh-TOSS-thuh-neez) (285–ca. 204 B.C.E.), who was the librarian of the vast Ptolemaic royal library in Alexandria, used mathematics to further the geographical studies for which he is most famous. He concluded that the earth is a spherical globe and calculated the circumference of the earth geometrically with remarkable accuracy.

As the new artillery devised by Archimedes indicates, Hellenistic science was used for purposes of war as well as peace. Theories of mechanics were applied to build military machines. The catapult became the most widely used artillery piece. As the Assyrians had earlier, engineers built siege towers, large wooden structures that served as artillery platforms, and put them on wheels so that soldiers could roll them up to a town’s walls. Generals added battering rams to bring down large portions of walls. If these new engines made warfare more efficient, they also added to the misery of the people, as war often directly involved the populations of cities. War and illness fed the need for medical advances, and doctors as well as scientists combined observation with theory during the Hellenistic period. Herophilus, who lived in the first half of the third century B.C.E., worked in Alexandria and studied the writings attributed to Hippocrates. He approached the study of medicine in a systematic, scientific fashion: he dissected dead bodies and measured what he observed. His students carried on his work, searching for the causes and nature of illness and pain.

Medical study did not lead to effective cures for the infectious diseases that were the leading cause of death for most people, however, and people attempted to combat illness in a variety of ways. Medicines prescribed by physicians or prepared at home often included natural products blended with materials understood to work magically. People in the Hellenistic world may have thought that fate determined what would happen, but they also actively sought to make their lives longer and healthier.

INDIVIDUALS IN SOCIETY

Archimedes, Scientist and Inventor

Image by the Rochester Institute of Technology. Copyright resides with the owner of the Archimedes Palimpsest, but digital images of the entire manuscript can be found at www.archimedespalimpsest.org.

Several of Archimedes's treatises were found on a palimpsest, a manuscript that has been scraped and washed so that another text can be written over it, thus reusing the expensive parchment. Reusing parchment was a common practice in the Middle Ages, but the original text can sometimes be reconstructed. Using digital processing with several types of light and X-rays to study this thirteenth-century-C.E. prayer book, scientists were slowly able to decipher the texts by Archimedes that were underneath, including one that had been completely lost.

ARCHIMEDES WAS BORN IN THE GREEK CITY OF SYRACUSE in Sicily, an intellectual center in which he pursued scientific interests. He was the most original thinker of his time and a practical inventor. In his book *On Plane Equilibriums*, he dealt for the first time with the basic principles of mathematics, including the principle of the lever. He once said that if he were given a lever and a suitable place to stand, he could move the world. He also demonstrated how easily his compound pulley could move huge weights with little effort, as reported by the Roman biographer Plutarch:

> A three-masted merchant ship of the royal fleet had been hauled on land by

> hard work and many hands. Archimedes put aboard her many men and the usual freight. He sat far away from her; and without haste, but gently working a compound pulley with his hand, he drew her towards him smoothly and without faltering, just as though she were running on the surface.

He likewise invented the Archimedian screw, a pump to bring subterranean water up to irrigate fields, which quickly came into common use. In his treatise *On Floating Bodies,* Archimedes founded the science of hydrostatics. He concluded that an object will float if it weighs less than the water it displaces, and that whenever a solid floats in a liquid, the weight of the solid equals the weight of the liquid displaced. A story told later by the Roman architect Vitruvius recounts that Archimedes discovered this when he climbed into a public bath and noticed the water flowing out because of the bulk of his body, which enabled him to prove that a king's gold crown was really part silver. He sprang out of the tub and rushed through the streets naked, yelling in a loud voice, "Eureka, eureka" ("I have found it, I have found it").

War between Rome and Syracuse unfortunately interrupted Archimedes's scientific life. In 213 B.C.E., during the Second Punic War, the Romans besieged the city. Hiero, its king and Archimedes's friend, asked the scientist for help in repulsing Roman attacks. Archimedes began to build remarkable devices, including weapons that threw stones to break up infantry attacks. For use against Roman warships he is said to have designed a machine with beams from which large claws dropped onto the hulls of enemy warships, hoisted them into the air, and dropped them back into the sea. Later Greek authors reported that he destroyed Roman ships with a series of polished mirrors that focused sunlight and caused the ships to catch fire. Modern experiments re-creating Archimedes's weapons have found that the claw may have been workable, but the mirrors probably were not, as they required a ship to remain stationary for the fire to ignite. It is not certain whether his war machines were actually effective, but later people recounted tales that the Romans became so fearful that whenever they saw a bit of rope or a stick of timber projecting over one of the walls protecting Syracuse, they shouted, "There it is — Archimedes is trying some engine on us," and fled. After many months the Roman siege was successful, however, and Archimedes was killed by a Roman soldier.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. How did Archimedes combine theoretical mathematics and practical issues in his work?

2. What applications do you see in the world around you of the devices Archimedes improved or invented, such as the lever, the pulley, and artillery?

Chapter Summary

Greece's mountainous terrain encouraged the development of small, independent communities and political fragmentation. Sometime after 2000 B.C.E. two kingdoms — the Minoan on Crete and the Mycenaean on the mainland — did emerge, but these remained smaller than the great empires of Mesopotamia, India, and China. The fall of these kingdoms led to a period of disruption and decline known as the Greek Dark Age (ca. 1100–800 B.C.E.). However, Greek culture survived, and Greeks developed the independent city-state, known as the polis. Greeks also established colonies and traveled and traded as far east as the Black Sea and as far west as the Atlantic Ocean. Two poleis became especially powerful: Sparta, which created a military state in which men remained in the army most of their lives, and Athens, which created a democracy in which male citizens had a direct voice. In the classical period, between 500 B.C.E. and 338 B.C.E., Greeks engaged in war with the Persians and with one another, but they also created drama, philosophy, and magnificent art and architecture.

In the middle of the fourth century B.C.E. the Greek city-states were conquered by the Macedonians under King Philip II and his son Alexander. Alexander conquered the entire Persian Empire and founded new cities in which Greek and local populations mixed. His successors continued to build cities and colonies, which were centers of trade and spread Greek culture over a broad area, extending as far east as India. The mixing of peoples in the Hellenistic era influenced religion, philosophy, and science. New deities gained prominence, and many people turned to mystery religions that blended Greek and non-Greek elements as they offered followers secret knowledge and eternal life. Others turned to practical philosophies that provided advice on how to live a good life. Advances were made in technology, mathematics, science, and medicine, but these were applied primarily to military purposes, not to improving the way ordinary people lived and worked.

CONNECTIONS

The ancient Greeks built on the achievements of earlier societies in the eastern Mediterranean, but they also added new elements, including drama, philosophy, science, and realistic art. Eventually the Greek world was largely conquered by the

Romans, as you will learn in the following chapter, and the various Hellenistic monarchies became part of the Roman Empire. In cultural terms the lines of conquest were reversed: the Romans derived their alphabet from the Greek alphabet, though they changed the letters somewhat. Roman statuary was modeled on Greek and was often, in fact, made by Greek sculptors, who found ready customers among wealthy Romans. Furthermore, the major Roman gods and goddesses were largely the same as Greek ones, though they had different names. Although the Romans did not seem to have been particularly interested in the speculative philosophy of Socrates and Plato, they were drawn to the more practical philosophies of the Epicureans and Stoics. And like the Hellenistic Greeks, many Romans turned to mystery religions that offered secret knowledge and promised eternal life.

The influence of the ancient Greeks was not limited to the Romans, of course. The cities and military colonies founded in the wake of Alexander’s conquests spread Greek ideas and culture around the entire eastern Mediterranean and eastward to Central and South Asia — today’s Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Tajikistan. As discussed in Chapter 3, art and thought in northern India were shaped by the blending of Greek and Buddhist traditions. And as you will see in Chapter 15, European thinkers and writers made conscious attempts to return to classical ideals in art, literature, and philosophy during the Renaissance. In the United States political leaders from the Revolutionary era on decided that important government buildings should be modeled on the Parthenon or other temples. In some ways, capitol buildings in the United States are good symbols of the legacy of Greece — gleaming ideals of harmony, freedom, democracy, and beauty that (as with all ideals) do not always correspond with realities.

CHAPTER 5 Review and Explore

Identify Key Terms

Identify and explain the significance of each item below.

polis (p. 116)
hoplites (p. 117)
democracy (p. 117)
oligarchy (p. 117)
mystery religions (p. 126)
Platonic ideals (p. 126)
Hellenistic (p. 127)
Hellenization (p. 129)
Epicureanism (p. 133)
Stoicism (p. 133)

Review the Main Ideas

Answer the focus questions from each section of the chapter.

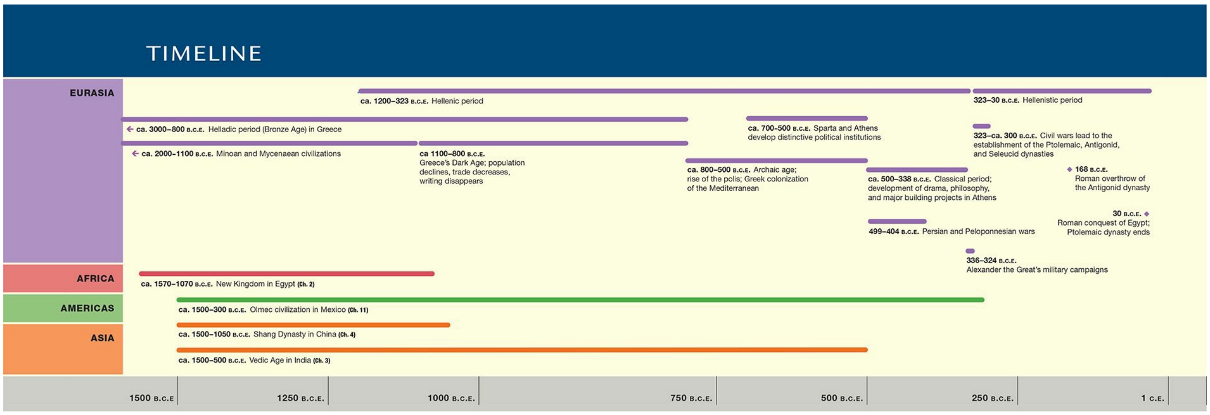
1. How did the geography of Greece shape its earliest history? (p. 114)
2. What was the role of the polis in Greek society? (p. 116)
3. In the classical period, how did war influence Greece, and how did the arts, religion, and philosophy develop? (p. 120)
4. How did Alexander the Great's conquests shape society in the Hellenistic period? (p. 127)
5. How did religion, philosophy, and science develop in the Hellenistic world? (p. 131)

Make Comparisons and Connections

Analyze the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters.

1. Philosophers and religious thinkers in ancient India, China, and Greece, such as Mahavira and the Buddha (Chapter 3), Confucius and Zhuangzi (Chapter 4), and Socrates and Zeno (this chapter), all developed ideas about the ultimate aim of human life. What similarities and differences do you see among them?
2. The Persian Empire (Chapter 2) first brought India and the Mediterranean in contact with one another, and these contacts increased with the conquests of Alexander (Chapter 3 and this chapter). What were the major results of these contacts in terms of politics, culture, and economics?

3. Cities had existed in the areas conquered by Alexander long before his conquests. What would the residents of Sumer or Babylon (Chapter 2), the early cities of the Indus River Valley (Chapter 3), and a Hellenistic city find unusual about one another's cities? What would seem familiar?
4. Looking at your own town or city, what evidence do you find of the cultural legacy of ancient Greece?



Suggested Resources

Books

Beard, Mary. *The Parthenon*. 2010. A cultural history of Athens's most famous building, including the many controversies that surround it.

Bowden, Hugh. *Mystery Cults of the Ancient World*. 2010. Examines the main mystery religions of the ancient Mediterranean, using artistic and literary evidence.

Davidson, James. *Courtesans and Fishcakes: The Consuming Passions of Classical Athens*. 1999. A witty examination of sex, wine, food, and other objects of desire, based on plays, poems, speeches, and philosophical treatises.

Errington, R. Malcolm. *A History of the Hellenistic World, 323 – 30* B.C. 2008. Easily the best coverage of the period: full, scholarly, and readable.

Freeman, Philip. *Alexander the Great*. 2010. Designed for general readers, this excellent biography portrays Alexander as both ruthless and cultured.

Hansen, Mogens Herman. *Polis: An Introduction to the Ancient Greek City-State*. 2006. The authoritative study of the polis.

Kagan, Donald. *The Peloponnesian War*. 2003. A comprehensive yet accessible study that focuses on not only leaders and battles, but also the human costs.

Manning, J. G. *The Last Pharaohs: Egypt Under the Ptolemies, 305 – 30* B.C. 2009. Examines the impact of the Ptolemies on Egyptian society and the way their state blended Greek and Egyptian elements.

Patterson, Cynthia B. *The Family in Greek History*. 2001. Treats public and private family relations.

Roochnik, David. *Retrieving the Ancients: An Introduction to Greek Philosophy*. 2004. A sophisticated and well-written narrative of ancient

Greek thought designed for students.

Waterfield, Robin. *Dividing the Spoils: The War for Alexander the Great's Empire*. 2011. A cultural and political narrative of this turbulent period, based on up-to-date research.

Documentaries

Athens: The Truth About Democracy (BBC, 2007). Historian Bettany Hughes takes a critical look at classical Athens, with attention to slavery, imperialism, the flow of money, and restrictions on women.

In the Footsteps of Alexander the Great (BBC, 2010). Michael Wood follows Alexander's two-thousand-mile journey from Greece to India, tracing his conquests and the meaning these have for the peoples of these areas today.

The Rise and Fall of the Spartans (History Channel, 2003). Examines the creation, maintenance, and end of Sparta's distinctive military/political system.

Feature Films

The Odyssey (Andrey Konchalovskiy, 1997). Originally made as a television miniseries, this film portrays many of Odysseus's adventures much as Homer wrote them. Shot on location in the Mediterranean.

Troy (Wolfgang Petersen, 2004). A fairly decent Hollywood film that focuses, as did Homer in his epic, on the personalities and motivations of the characters as well as on the Trojan War itself.

Websites

Diotima: Materials for the Study of Women and Gender in the Ancient World. Contains an extensive anthology of translated Greek, Latin, Egyptian, and Coptic texts, along with articles, book reviews, databases, and images. **www.stoa.org/diotima/**

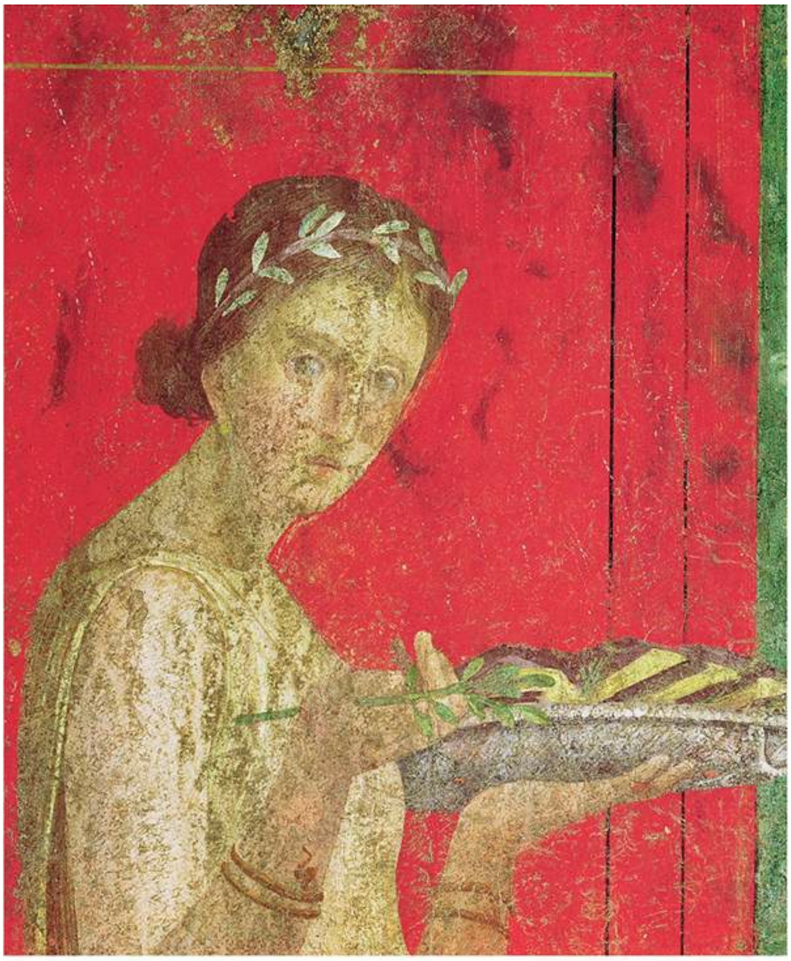
Internet Ancient History Sourcebook. Well-organized collection of ancient Mediterranean texts and art and archaeological sources. Organized chronologically and topically, with materials from 2000 B.C.E. to 500 C.E. **www.fordham.edu/Halsall/ancient/asbook.html**

Perseus Digital Library. The premier site for accessing the literature and archaeology of ancient Greek culture and now Roman as well, with hundreds of primary texts in Greek, Latin, and English translation, and thousands of images from museum collections and archaeological sites. **www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/**

6

The World of Rome

ca. 1000 B.C.E.–400 C.E.



Detail of the Initiate, from the Catechism Scene, North Wall, fresco/Villa dei Misteri, Pompeii, Italy/Bridgeman Images

Woman from Pompeii

This brightly painted fresco from a villa in Pompeii shows a young woman carrying a tray in a religious ritual. Pompeii was completely buried in ash in a volcanic explosion in 79 C.E., and excavations have revealed life in what was a vacation spot for wealthy Romans.

Like the Persians under Cyrus, the Mauryans under Chandragupta, and the Macedonians under Alexander, the Romans conquered vast territories. With a republican government under the leadership of the Senate, a political assembly whose members were primarily wealthy landowners, the Romans conquered all of Italy, then the western Mediterranean basin, and then areas in the East that had been part of Alexander the Great's empire. As they did, they learned about and incorporated Greek art, literature, philosophy, and religion, but the wars of conquest also led to serious problems that the Senate proved unable to handle. After a grim period of civil war that ended in 31 B.C.E., the emperor Augustus restored peace and expanded Roman power and law as far east as the Euphrates River, creating the institution that the modern world calls the "Roman Empire." Later emperors extended Roman authority farther still, so that at its largest the Roman Empire stretched from England to Egypt and from Portugal to Persia.

Roman history is generally divided into three periods: the monarchical period, traditionally dated from 753 B.C.E. to 509 B.C.E., in which the city of Rome was ruled by kings; the republic, traditionally dated from 509 B.C.E. to 27 B.C.E., in which it was ruled by the Senate; and the empire, from 27 B.C.E. to 476 C.E., in which Roman territories were ruled by an emperor.

CHAPTER PREVIEW

THE ROMANS IN ITALY
How did the Romans come to dominate Italy, and what political institutions did they create?

ROMAN EXPANSION AND ITS REPERCUSSIONS
How did Rome expand its power beyond Italy, and what were the effects of this expansion?

ROME AND THE PROVINCES
What was life like in Rome, and what was it like in the provinces?

THE COMING OF CHRISTIANITY
What was Christianity, and how did it affect life in the Roman Empire?

TURMOIL AND REFORM
How did the emperors respond to political, economic, and religious issues in the third and fourth centuries?

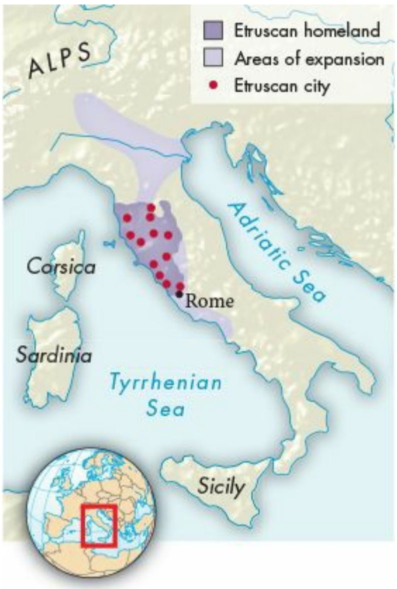
The Romans in Italy

How did the Romans come to dominate Italy, and what political institutions did they create?

The colonies established by Greek poleis (city-states) in the Hellenic era included a number along the coast of southern Italy and Sicily. So many Greek settlers came to this area that it later became known as Magna Graecia — Greater Greece. These Greek colonies transmitted much of their culture to people who lived farther north in the Italian peninsula. These included the Etruscans (ih-TRUHS-kuhns), who built the first cities north of Magna Graecia, and then the Romans, who eventually came to dominate the peninsula. In addition to allying with conquered peoples and granting them citizenship, the Romans established a republic ruled by a Senate. However, social conflicts over the rights to power eventually erupted and had to be resolved.

The Etruscans

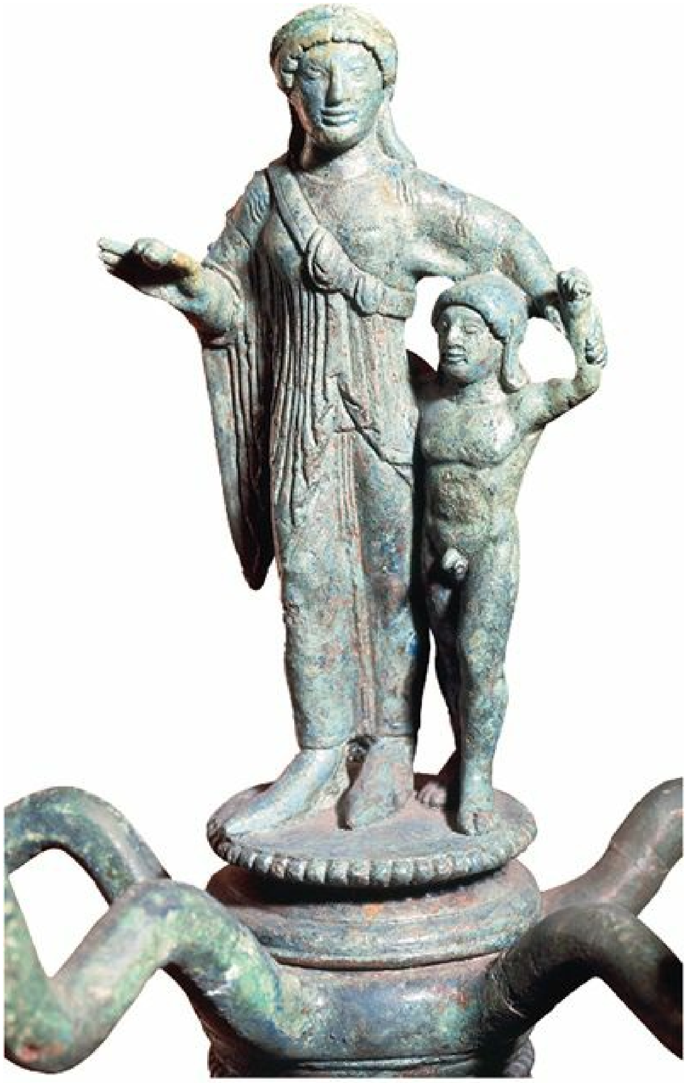
The culture that is now called Etruscan developed in north-central Italy about 800 B.C.E. The Etruscans most likely originated in Turkey or elsewhere in southwest Asia, although when they migrated to Italy is not clear. The Etruscans spoke a language that was very different from Greek and Latin, but they adopted the Greek alphabet to write their language.



Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

The Etruscans, ca. 500 B.C.E.

The Etruscans established permanent settlements that evolved into cities resembling the Greek city-states (see “Organization of the Polis” in Chapter 5) and thereby built a rich cultural life, full of art and music, that became the foundation of civilization in much of Italy. They spread their influence over the surrounding countryside, which they farmed and mined for its rich mineral resources. From an early period the Etruscans began to trade natural products, especially iron, with their Greek neighbors to the south and with other peoples throughout the Mediterranean in exchange for luxury goods. Etruscan cities appear to have been organized in leagues, and beginning about 750 B.C.E. the Etruscans expanded southward into central Italy through military actions and through the establishment of colony cities. In the process they encountered a small collection of villages subsequently called Rome.



Museo Civico Archeologico, Bologna, Italy/De Agostini Picture Library/akg-images

Etruscan Figure of a Mother and Son This bronze Etruscan sculpture from the sixth to fourth century

B.C.E. shows a mother and child. The influence of Hellenistic Greek art is evident in the musculature of the little boy and the drape of the woman's clothing. The holders at the sides may have held candles.

The Founding of Rome

Archaeological evidence indicates that the ancestors of the Romans began to settle on the hills east of the Tiber during the early Iron Age, around 1000 B.C.E. to 800 B.C.E. Later Romans told a number of stories about the founding of Rome. These mix legend and history, but they illustrate the traditional ethics, morals, and ideals of Rome.

According to legend, Romulus and Remus founded the city of Rome, an event later Roman authors dated precisely to 753 B.C.E. These twin brothers were the sons of the war god Mars, and their mother, Rhea Silvia, was a descendant of Aeneas, a brave and pious Trojan who left Troy after it was destroyed by the Greeks in the Trojan War. The brothers, who were left to die by a jealous uncle, were raised by a female wolf. When they were grown they decided to build a city, but quarreled over its location; Romulus killed Remus and named the city after himself. He also established a council of advisers later called the Senate. He and his mostly male followers expanded their power over neighboring peoples, in part by abducting and marrying their women. The women then arranged a peace by throwing themselves between their brothers and their husbands, convincing them that killing kin would make the men cursed. The Romans, favored by the gods, continued their rise to power. This founding myth ascribes positive traits to the Romans: they are descended from gods and heroes, can thrive in wild and tough settings, will defend their boundaries at all costs, and mix with other peoples rather than simply conquering them. Also, the story portrays women who were ancestors of Rome as virtuous and brave.

Later Roman historians continued the story by describing a series of kings after Romulus, each elected by the Senate. According to tradition, the last three kings were Etruscan, and another tale about female virtue was told to explain why the Etruscan kings were overthrown. In this story, the son of King Tarquin, the Etruscan king who ruled Rome, raped Lucretia, a virtuous Roman wife, in her own home. She demanded that her husband and father seek vengeance and then committed suicide in front of them. Her father and husband and the other Roman nobles swore to avenge Lucretia's death by throwing out the Etruscan kings, and they did. The Romans generally accepted this story as historical fact and dated the expulsion of the Etruscan kings to 509 B.C.E. They thus saw this year as marking the end of the monarchical period and the dawn of the republic, which had come about because of a wronged woman and her demands.

Most historians today view the idea that Etruscan kings ruled the city of Rome as legendary, but they stress the influence of the Etruscans on Rome. The Etruscans transformed Rome into a real city with walls, temples, a drainage system, and other urban structures. The Romans adopted the Etruscan alphabet, which the Etruscans themselves had adopted from the Greeks. Even the toga came from the Etruscans, as did gladiatorial combat honoring the dead. In engineering and architecture the Romans adopted some design elements and the basic plan of their temples, along with paved roads, from the Etruscans.

In this early period the city of Rome does appear to have been ruled by kings. A hereditary aristocracy advised the kings and may have played a role in choosing them. And sometime in the sixth century B.C.E. a group of aristocrats revolted against these kings and established a government in which the main institution of power would be the **Senate**, an assembly of aristocrats, rather than a single monarch. Executive power was in the hands of leaders called **consuls**, who commanded the army in battle, administered state business, and supervised financial affairs, but there were always two of them and they were elected for one-year terms only, not for life. Rome thereby became a republic, not a monarchy. Thus at the core of the myths is a bit of history.

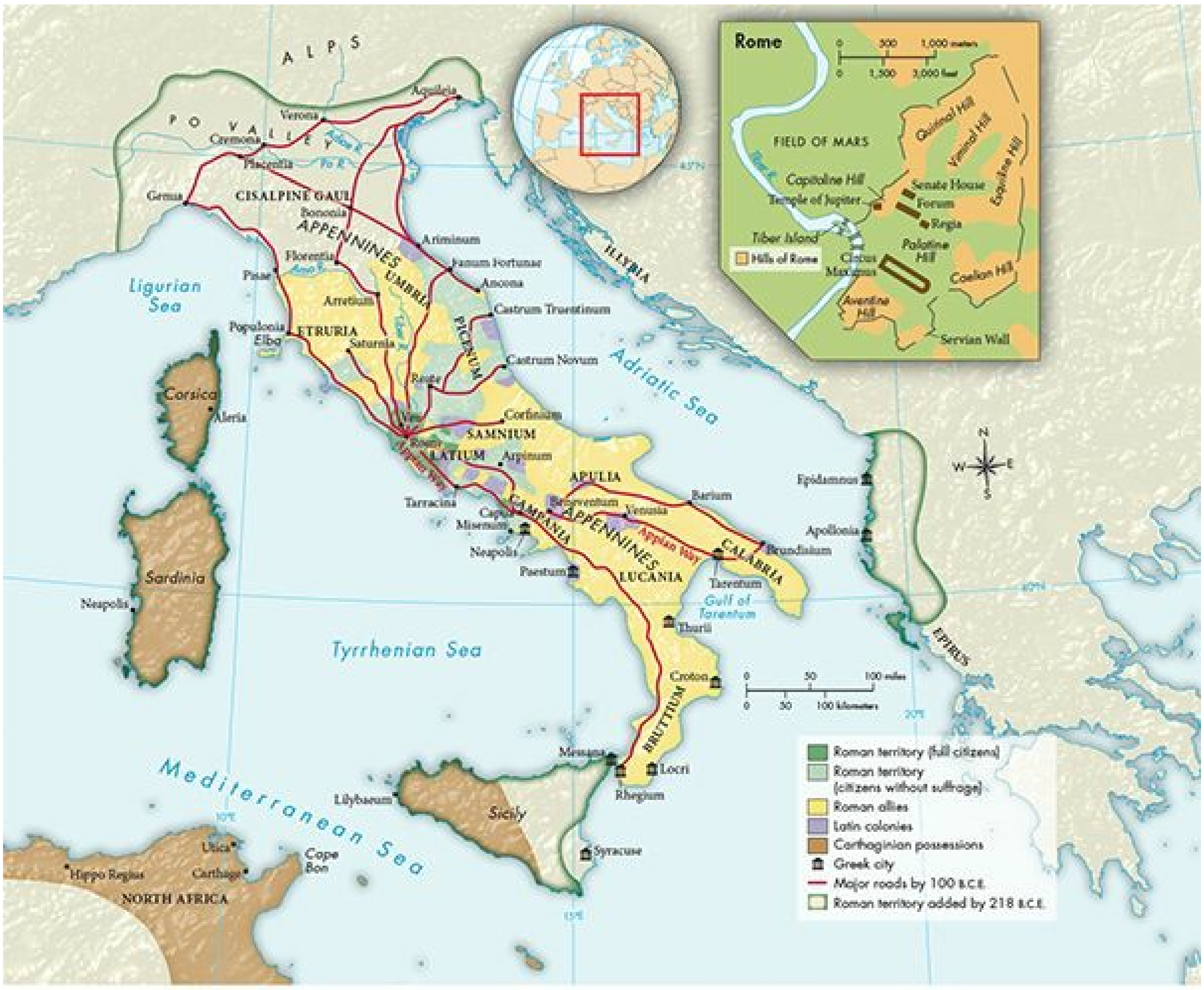
Senate The assembly that was the main institution of power in the Roman Republic, originally composed only of aristocrats.

consuls Primary executives in the Roman Republic, elected for one-year terms, who commanded the army in battle, administered state business, and supervised financial affairs.

The Roman Conquest of Italy

In the years following the establishment of the republic, the Romans fought numerous wars with their neighbors on the Italian peninsula. The Roman army was made up primarily of citizens of Rome, who were organized for military campaigns into legions. War also involved diplomacy, at which the Romans became masters.

In 387 B.C.E. the Romans suffered a major setback when the Celts — or Gauls, as the Romans called them — invaded the Italian peninsula from the north and sacked the city of Rome. The Celts agreed to abandon Rome in return for a thousand pounds of gold. In the century that followed, the Romans rebuilt their city and recouped their losses. They brought Latium and their Latin allies fully under their control and conquered Etruria. In a series of bitter wars the Romans also subdued southern Italy and then turned north. Their superior military institutions, organization, and manpower allowed them to conquer or bring under their influence most of Italy by about 265 B.C.E. (Map 6.1).


ALPS
PO VALLEY
Aquileia
Verona
Cremona
Placentia
Po R.
Genua
CISALPINE GAUL
Bononia
APPENNINES
Ariminum
Florentia
Arno R.
Fanum Fortunae
Pisae
UMBRIA
Ancona
Ligurian Sea
Arretium
Castrum Truentinum
Populonia
Elba
ETRURIA
PICENUM
Saturnia
Castrum Novum
Reate
Corsica
Aleria
Corfinium
SAMNIUM
Rome
LATIUM
Arpinum
Adriatic Sea
ILLYRIA
APULIA
Appian Way
Tarracina
Beneventum
Venusia
Barium
Capua
Misenum
CAMPANIA
APPENNINES
CALABRIA
Brundisium
Neapolis
Paestum
LUCANIA
Tarentum
Gulf of Tarentum
Sardinia
Neapolis
Thurii
Tyrrhenian Sea
Croton
BRUTTIUM
Messana
Locri
Rhegium
Mediterranean Sea
Lilybaeum
Sicily
Syracuse
Utica
Cape Bon
Hippo Regius
Carthage
NORTH AFRICA
Epidamnus
Apollonia
EPIRUS
N
W
E
S
0 50 100 miles
0 50 100 kilometers
Rome
0 500 1,000 meters
0 1,500 3,000 feet
FIELD OF MARS
Tiber R.
Capitoline Hill
Temple of Jupiter
Senate House
Forum
Regia
Quirinal Hill
Viminal Hill
Esquiline Hill
Tiber Island
Hills of Rome
Circus Maximus
Palatine Hill
Caelian Hill
Aventine Hill
Servian Wall
Roman territory (full citizens)
Roman territory (citizens without suffrage)
Roman allies
Latin colonies
Carthaginian possessions
Greek city
Major roads by 100 B.C.E.
Roman territory added by 218 B.C.E.

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 6.1 **Roman Italy and the City of Rome, ca. 218 B.C.E.** As Rome expanded, it built roads linking major cities and offered various degrees of citizenship to the territories it conquered or with which it made alliances. The territories outlined in green that are separate from the Italian peninsula were added by 218 B.C.E., largely as a result of the Punic Wars.

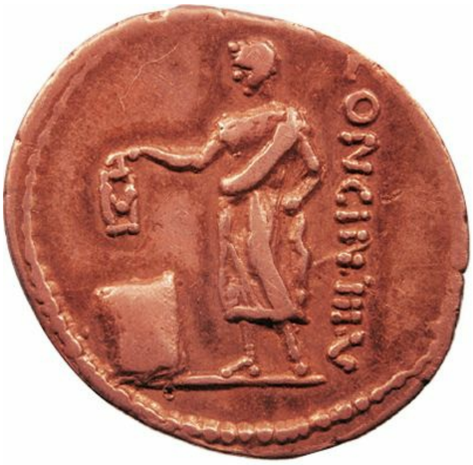
As they expanded their territory, the Romans spread their religious traditions throughout Italy, blending them with local beliefs and practices. Religion for the Romans was largely a matter of honoring one's own ancestors and kin, and showing loyalty to the state. The main goal of religion was to secure the peace of the gods and to harness divine power for public and private enterprises. Religious rituals were an important way of expressing common civic values, which for Romans meant those evident in their foundation myths: bravery, morality, seriousness, family, and home. Victorious generals made sure to honor the gods of people they had conquered and by doing so transformed them into gods they could also call on for assistance in their future campaigns. As the Romans conquered the cities of Magna Graecia, the Greek deities were absorbed into the Roman pantheon.

Once they had conquered an area, the Romans did what the Persians had earlier done to help cement their new territory: they built roads. Roman roads facilitated the flow of communication, trade, and armies from the capital to outlying areas.

In politics the Romans shared full Roman citizenship with many of their oldest allies, particularly the inhabitants of the cities of Latium. In other instances they granted citizenship without the franchise, that is, without the right to vote or hold Roman office. These allies were subject to Roman taxes and calls for military service but ran their own local affairs.

The Roman State

Along with citizenship, the republican government was another important institution of Roman political life. The Romans summed up their political existence in a single phrase: *senatus populusque Romanus*, “the Senate and the Roman people,” which they abbreviated “SPQR.” This phrase stands for the beliefs, customs, and laws of the republic — its unwritten constitution that evolved over two centuries to meet the demands of the governed.



Bibliothèque Nationale de France [BnF]/Snark/Art Resource, NY

Coin Showing a Voter This coin from 63 B.C.E. shows a citizen dropping a tablet into a voting urn, the Roman equivalent of today’s ballot box. The *V* on the tablet means a yes vote, and an inscription on the coin identifies the moneyer, the official who controlled coin production and decided what would be shown on the coins. This moneyer, Lucius Cassius Longinus, depicted a vote held fifty years earlier about whether an ancestor of his should be named prosecutor in a trial charging three vestal virgins with unchastity. As was common among moneyers, Longinus chose this image as a way to advance his political career, in this case by suggesting his family’s long history of public office.

In the early republic, social divisions determined the shape of politics. Political power was in the hands of a hereditary aristocracy — the **patricians**, whose privileged legal status was determined by their birth as members of certain families. The common people of Rome, the **plebeians** (plih-BEE-uhns), were free citizens with a voice in politics, but they had few of the patricians’ political and social advantages. While some plebeian merchants rivaled the patricians in wealth, most plebeians were poor artisans, small farmers, and landless urban dwellers.

patricians The Roman hereditary aristocracy, who held most of the political power in the republic.

plebeians The common people of Rome, who were free but had few of the patricians’ advantages.

The Romans created several assemblies through which men elected high officials and passed ordinances. The most important of these was the Senate. During the republic, the Senate advised the consuls and other officials about military and political matters and handled government finances. Because the Senate sat year after year with the same members, while the consuls changed annually, it provided stability, and its advice came to have the force of law. Another responsibility of the Senate was to handle relations between Rome and other powers.

The highest officials of the republic were the two consuls, positions initially open only to patrician men. The consuls commanded the army in battle, administered state business, and supervised financial affairs. When the consuls were away from Rome, praetors (PREE-tuhrz) could act in their place. After the age of overseas conquests (see “Roman Expansion and Its Repercussions”), the Romans divided their lands in the Mediterranean into provinces governed by ex-consuls and ex-praetors.

A lasting achievement of the Romans was their development of law. Roman civil law, the *ius civile,* consisted of statutes, customs, and forms of procedure that regulated the lives of citizens. As the Romans came into more frequent contact with foreigners, the praetors applied a broader *ius gentium,* the “law of the peoples,” to such matters as peace treaties, the treatment of prisoners of war, and the exchange of diplomats. In the ius gentium, all sides were to be treated the same regardless of their nationality. By the late republic, Roman jurists had widened this still further into the concept of *ius naturale*, “natural law” based in part on Stoic beliefs (see “Philosophy and Its Guidance for Life” in Chapter 5). Natural law, according to these thinkers, is made up of rules that govern human behavior that come from applying reason rather than customs or traditions, and so apply to all societies. In reality, Roman officials generally interpreted the law to the advantage of Rome, of course, at least to the extent that the strength of Roman armies allowed them to enforce it. But Roman law came to be seen as one of Rome’s most important legacies.

Social Conflict in Rome

Inequality between plebeians and patricians led to a conflict known as the Struggle of the Orders. In this conflict the plebeians sought to increase their power by taking advantage of the fact that Rome’s survival depended on its army, which needed plebeians to fill the ranks of the infantry. According to tradition, in 494 B.C.E. the plebeians literally walked out of Rome and refused to serve in the army. Their general strike worked, and the patricians made important concessions. They allowed the plebeians to elect their own officials, the tribunes, who could bring plebeian grievances to the Senate for resolution and could also veto the decisions of the consuls. Thus, as in Archaic age Greece (see “The Development of the Polis in the Archaic Age” in Chapter 5), political rights were broadened because of military needs for foot soldiers.

The law itself was the plebeians’ primary target. Only the patricians knew what the law was, and only they could argue cases in court. All too often they used the law for their own benefit. The plebeians wanted the law codified and published. After much struggle, in 449 B.C.E. the patricians surrendered their legal monopoly and codified and published the

Laws of the Twelve Tables. The patricians also made legal procedures public so that plebeians could argue cases in court. Several years later the patricians passed a law that for the first time allowed patricians and plebeians to marry one another.

After a ten-year battle, the Licinian-Sextian laws passed in 367 B.C.E. gave wealthy plebeians access to all the offices of Rome, including the right to hold one of the two consulships. Once plebeians could hold the consulship, they could also sit in the Senate and advise on policy. Though decisive, this victory did not automatically end the Struggle of the Orders. That happened only in 287 B.C.E. with the passage of the *lex Hortensia*, which gave the resolutions of the *concilium plebis*, the plebeian assembly, the force of law for patricians and plebeians alike.

Roman Expansion and Its Repercussions

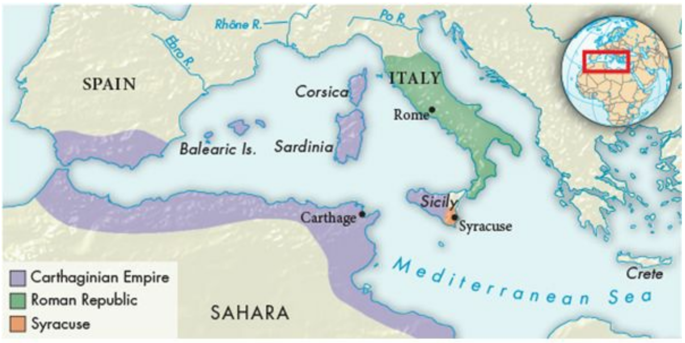
How did Rome expand its power beyond Italy, and what were the effects of this expansion?

As the republican government was developing, Roman territory continued to expand. The Romans conquered lands all around the Mediterranean, bringing them unheard-of power and wealth. As a result, many Romans became more cosmopolitan and comfortable, and they were especially influenced by the culture of one conquered land: Greece. Yet social unrest also came in the wake of the wars, opening unprecedented opportunities for ambitious generals who wanted to rule Rome like an empire. A series of civil wars ensued, wars that republican government did not survive.

Overseas Conquests and the Punic Wars, 264 –133 B.C.E.

The Romans did not map out grandiose strategies to conquer the world. Rather they responded to situations as they arose. This meant that they sought to eliminate any state they saw as a military threat.

Their presence in southern Italy brought the Romans to the island of Sicily, where they confronted another great power in the western Mediterranean, Carthage (CAHR-thij). The city of Carthage had been founded by Phoenicians as a trading colony in the eighth century B.C.E. (see “Iron and the Emergence of New States” in Chapter 2). By the fourth century B.C.E. the Carthaginians began to expand their holdings. At the end of a long string of wars, the Carthaginians had created a mercantile empire that stretched from western Sicily to beyond Gibraltar.



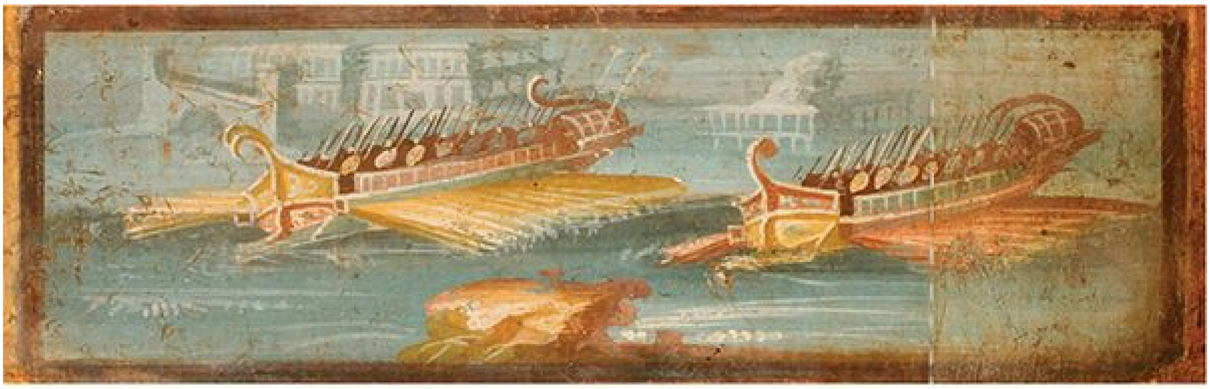
Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin’s

The Carthaginian Empire and the Roman Republic, 264 B.C.E.

The conflicting ambitions of the Romans and Carthaginians led to the first of the three **Punic Wars**. During the course of the first war, which lasted from 264 B.C.E. to 241 B.C.E., Rome built a navy and defeated

Carthage in a series of sea battles. Sicily became Rome's first province, but despite a peace treaty, the conflict was not over.

Punic Wars A series of three wars between Rome and Carthage in which Rome emerged the victor.



Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, Italy/Ministero per I Beni Culturali/Scala/Art Resource, NY

Two Triremes Race In this fresco painting from the temple of Isis in Pompeii, two triremes — narrow warships powered by several banks of long oars — race in what was most likely a festival celebrating the goddess. Greeks, Carthaginians, and Romans all used triremes, which had bronze front pieces designed to smash into enemy ships. The one hundred to two hundred oarsmen had to row in time to achieve the necessary speed, which took long practice, so this religious celebration also served a military purpose.

Carthaginian armies moved into Spain, where Rome was also claiming territory. The brilliant Carthaginian general Hannibal (ca. 247–183 B.C.E.) marched an army of tens of thousands of troops — and, more famously, several dozen war elephants — from Spain across what is now France and over the Alps into Italy, beginning the Second Punic (PYOO-nik) War (218–201 B.C.E.). Hannibal won three major victories, including a devastating blow at Cannae in southeastern Italy in 216 B.C.E. He then spread devastation throughout Italy. Yet Hannibal was not able to win areas near Rome in central Italy.

The Roman general Scipio Africanus (ca. 236–ca. 183 B.C.E.) took Spain from the Carthaginians and then struck directly at Carthage itself, prompting the Carthaginians to recall Hannibal from Italy to defend the homeland. In 202 B.C.E., near the town of Zama, Scipio defeated Hannibal in one of the world's truly decisive battles. Scipio's victory meant that the world of the western Mediterranean would henceforth be Roman. Roman language, law, and culture, fertilized by Greek influences, would in time permeate this entire region.

The Second Punic War contained the seeds of still other wars. Unabated fear of Carthage led to the Third Punic War (149–146 B.C.E.), a needless, unjust, and savage conflict that ended with obliteration of the city of Carthage itself.

After the Second Punic War, the Romans turned east. Roman victory in Macedonia turned Antigonid Macedonia into a Roman province. Then they moved farther east and defeated the Seleucid monarchy. In 133 B.C.E. the king of Pergamum in Asia Minor willed his kingdom to Rome when he died. The Ptolemies of Egypt retained formal control of their kingdom, but they obeyed Roman wishes in terms of trade policy. Declaring the Mediterranean *mare nostrum*, "our sea," the Romans began to create a political and administrative machinery to hold the Mediterranean together under a system of provinces ruled by governors sent from Rome.

New Influences and Old Values in Roman Culture

With the conquest of the Mediterranean world, Rome became a great city. The spoils of war went to build theaters, stadiums, and other places of amusement, and Romans and Italian townspeople began to spend more of their time in leisure pursuits. This new urban culture reflected Hellenistic influences. Romans developed a liking for Greek literature and art, and it became common for an educated Roman to speak both Latin and Greek. Furthermore, the Roman conquest of the Hellenistic East resulted in wholesale confiscation of Greek paintings and sculpture to grace Roman temples, public buildings, and private homes.

The Greek custom of bathing also gained popularity in the Roman world. Increasingly, Romans built large public buildings containing pools supplied by intricate systems of aqueducts. These structures were more than just places to bathe. Baths included gymnasia where men exercised, snack bars and halls where people chatted and read, and even libraries and lecture halls. Women had opportunities to bathe, generally in separate facilities or at separate times, and both women and men went to the baths to see and be seen. Conservative commentators objected to these new pastimes as a corruption of traditional Roman values, but most Romans saw them as a normal part of urban life.

© REDA and CO srl/Alamy Stock Photo

Roman Bath This Roman bath in Bath, England (a city to which it gave its name), was built around a natural hot spring beginning in the first century C.E. The Romans spread the custom of bathing, which they had adopted from the Greeks, to the outer reaches of their empire. In addition to hot water, bathers used oil for massage and metal scrapers to clean and exfoliate their skin. Many Roman artifacts have been unearthed at Bath, including a number of curse tablets, small tablets made of lead calling on the gods to harm someone, which were common in the Greco-Roman world. Not surprisingly, many of the curse tablets found at Bath relate to the theft of clothing while people were bathing.

New customs did not change the core Roman social structures. The male head of the household was called the **paterfamilias**, and he had great power over his children. Fathers had the power to decide how family resources should be spent, and sons did not inherit until after their fathers had died. Women could inherit and own property, though they generally received a smaller portion of any family inheritance than their brothers did. The Romans praised women, like Lucretia of old, who were virtuous and loyal to their husbands and devoted to their children. Very young children were under their mother’s care, and most children learned the skills they needed from their own parents. For children from wealthier urban families, opportunities for formal education increased in the late republic. Boys and girls might be educated in their homes by tutors, and boys also might go to a school, paid for by their parents.

paterfamilias The oldest dominant male of the family, who held great power over the lives of family members.

An influx of slaves from Rome’s conquests provided labor for the fields, mines, and cities. To the Romans slavery was a misfortune that befell some people, but it did not entail any racial theories. For loyal slaves the Romans always held out the possibility of freedom, and manumission — the freeing of individual slaves by their masters — became common. Nonetheless, slaves rebelled from time to time in large-scale revolts, which were put down by Roman armies.

Membership in a family did not end with death, as the spirits of the family’s ancestors were understood to remain with the family. They and other gods regarded as protectors of the household were represented by small statues that were kept in a special cupboard, honored at family celebrations, and taken with the family when they moved.

The Late Republic and the Rise of Augustus, 133–27 B.C.E.

The wars of conquest eventually created serious political problems for the Romans. When the soldiers returned home, they found their farms practically in ruins. Many were forced to sell their land to ready buyers who had grown rich from the wars. These wealthy men created huge estates called latifundia. Now landless, veterans moved to the cities, especially Rome, but could not find work. These developments not only created unrest in the city but also threatened Rome’s army by reducing its ranks, because landless men, even if they were Romans and lived in Rome, were forbidden to serve in the Roman army. The landless veterans found a leader in Tiberius Gracchus (163–133 B.C.E.), an aristocrat who was appalled by the situation. He proposed dividing public land among the poor. But a group of wealthy senators murdered him, launching a long era of political violence that would destroy the republic. Still, Tiberius’s brother Gaius Gracchus (153–121 B.C.E.) passed a law providing the urban poor with cheap grain and urged practical reforms. Once again senators tried to stem the tide of reform by murdering him.

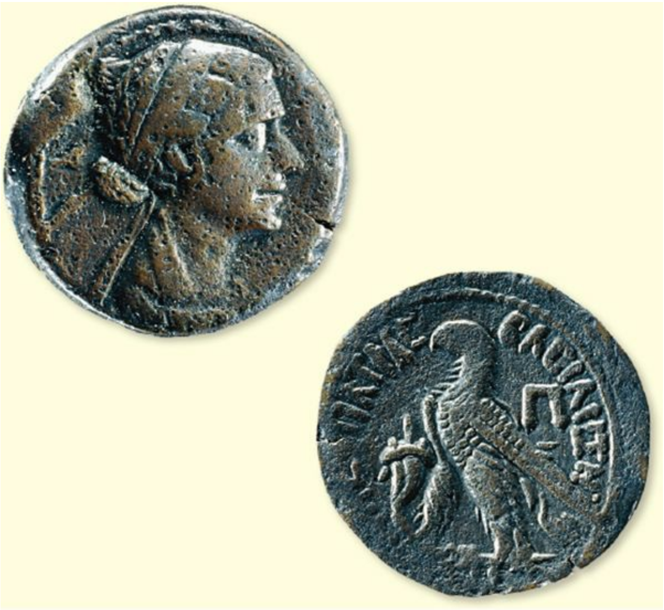
The next reformer, Gaius Marius (ca. 157–86 B.C.E.), recruited landless men into the army to put down a rebel king in Africa. He promised them land for their service. But after his victory, the Senate refused to honor his promise. From then on, Roman soldiers looked to their commanders, not to the Senate or the state, to protect their interests. Rome was also dividing into two political factions, both of which wanted political power. Both factions named individuals as supreme military commander, and each led Roman troops against an external enemy but also against each other. One of these generals, Sulla, gained power in Rome, and in 81 B.C.E. the Senate made him dictator, an official office in the Roman Republic given to a man who was granted absolute power temporarily to handle emergencies such as war. Dictators were supposed to step down after six months, but Sulla held this position for nine years, and after that it was too late to restore the republican constitution.

The history of the late republic is the story of power struggles among many famous Roman figures against a background of unrest at home and military campaigns abroad. Pompey (PAHM-pee) used military victories in Spain to force the Senate to allow him to run for consul. In 59 B.C.E. he was joined in a political alliance called the First Triumvirate by Crassus, another ambitious politician and the wealthiest man in Rome, and by Julius Caesar (100–44 B.C.E.). Born of a noble family, Caesar, an able general, was also a brilliant politician with unbridled ambition and a superb orator with immense literary ability. Recognizing that military success led to power, Caesar led his troops to victory in Spain and Gaul, modern France. The First Triumvirate fell apart after Crassus was killed in battle in 53 B.C.E. while trying to conquer Parthia, leaving Caesar and Pompey in competition with each other for power. The result was civil war. The Ptolemaic rulers of Egypt became mixed up in this war, particularly Cleopatra VII, who allied herself with Caesar and had a son by him. (See “Individuals in Society: Queen Cleopatra,” page 150.) Caesar emerged victorious, and he began to make a number of legal and economic reforms, acting on his own authority, though often with the approval of the Senate, which he packed with his supporters. He issued laws about debt, the collection of taxes, and the distribution of grain and land. Roman allies in Italy were to have full citizenship. He founded new colonies, which were to be populated by veterans and the poor.

Caesar was wildly popular with most people in Rome, but some senators opposed his rise to what was becoming absolute power. In 44 B.C.E. a group of conspirators assassinated him and set off another round of civil war. His grandnephew, the eighteen-year-old Octavian (63 B.C.E.–14 C.E.), joined with two of Caesar’s followers, Marc Antony and Lepidus, in the Second Triumvirate. After defeating Caesar’s murderers, they had a falling-out. Octavian forced Lepidus out of office and waged war against Antony, who had now also become allied with Cleopatra. In 31 B.C.E. Octavian defeated the combined forces of Antony and Cleopatra at the Battle of Actium in Greece. His victory ended the age of civil war. For his success, in 27 B.C.E. the Senate gave Octavian the name Augustus, meaning “revered one.” Although the Senate did not mean this to be a decisive break, that date is generally used to mark the end of the Roman Republic and the start of the Roman Empire.

INDIVIDUALS IN SOCIETY

Queen Cleopatra



© The Trustees of the British Museum/Art Resource, NY

The only portraits of Cleopatra that date from her own lifetime are on the coins that she issued. This one, made at the mint of Alexandria, shows her as quite plain, reinforcing the point made by Cicero that her attractiveness was based more on intelligence and wit than physical beauty. The reverse of the coin shows an eagle, a symbol of rule.

CLEOPATRA VII (69–30 B.C.E.) WAS A PTOLEMY, A MEMBER of the dynasty of Hellenistic rulers of Egypt who had established power in the third century B.C.E. Although she was a Greek, she was passionately devoted to her Egyptian subjects and was the first in her dynasty who could speak Egyptian as well as Greek. Just as ancient pharaohs had linked themselves with the gods, she had herself portrayed as the goddess Isis and may have seen herself as a reincarnation of Isis (see “The Nile and the God-King” in Chapter 2).

At the same time that civil war was raging in the late Roman Republic, Cleopatra and her brother Ptolemy XIII were in a dispute over who would be supreme ruler in Egypt. Julius Caesar captured the Egyptian capital of Alexandria, Cleopatra arranged to meet him, and the two became lovers, although Cleopatra was much younger and Caesar was married. The two apparently had a son, Caesarion, and Caesar's army defeated Ptolemy's army, ending the power struggle. In 46 B.C.E. Cleopatra arrived in Rome, where Caesar put up a statue of her as Isis in one of the city's temples. The Romans hated her because they saw her as a decadent Eastern queen and a threat to what were considered traditional Roman values.

After Caesar's assassination, Cleopatra returned to Alexandria. There she became involved in the continuing Roman civil war that now pitted Octavian, Caesar's heir, against Marc Antony, who commanded the Roman army in the East. When Antony visited Alexandria in 41 B.C.E. he met Cleopatra, and though he was already married to Octavian's sister, he became her lover. He abandoned (and later divorced) his Roman wife, married Cleopatra in 37 B.C.E., and changed his will to favor his children by Cleopatra. Antony's wedding present to Cleopatra was a huge grant of territory, much of it Roman, that greatly increased her power and that of all her children, including Caesarion. Antony also declared Caesarion to be Julius Caesar's rightful heir.

Octavian used the wedding gift as the reason to declare Antony a traitor. He and other Roman leaders described Antony as a romantic fool captivated by the seductive Cleopatra. Roman troops turned against Antony and joined with Octavian, and at the Battle of Actium in 31 B.C.E. Octavian defeated the army and navy of Antony and Cleopatra. Antony committed suicide, as did Cleopatra shortly afterward. Octavian ordered the teenage Caesarion killed, but the young children of Antony and Cleopatra were allowed to go back to Rome, where they were raised by Antony's widow. In another consequence of Octavian's victory, Egypt became a Roman province.

Roman sources are viciously hostile to Cleopatra, and she became the model of the alluring woman whose sexual attraction led men to their doom. Stories about her beauty, sophistication, lavish spending, desire for power, and ruthlessness abounded and were retold for centuries. The most dramatic story was that she committed suicide through the bite of a poisonous snake, which may have been true and which has been the subject of countless paintings. Her tumultuous relationships with Caesar and Antony have been portrayed in plays, novels, movies, and television programs.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. How did Cleopatra benefit from her relationships with Caesar and Antony? How did they benefit from their relationships with her?
2. How did ideas about gender and Roman suspicion of the more

sophisticated Greek culture combine to shape Cleopatra’s fate and the way she is remembered?

3. “Individuals in Society: Hatshepsut and Nefertiti” in Chapter 2 also focuses on leading female figures in Egypt, but these two women lived more than a thousand years before Cleopatra. How would you compare their situation with hers?

The Successes of Augustus

After Augustus ended the civil wars, he faced the monumental problems of reconstruction. He had to rebuild effective government, pay his army for its services, care for the welfare of the provinces, and address the danger of various groups on Rome's frontiers. Augustus was highly successful in meeting these challenges.

Augustus claimed that he was restoring the republic, but he was actually transforming the government into one in which all power was held by a single ruler. Augustus fit his own position into the republican constitution not by creating a new office for himself but by gradually taking over many of the offices that traditionally had been held by separate people.

The Senate named him often as both consul and tribune. He was also named imperator (ihm-puh-RAH-tuhr), a title given to victorious commanders, and held control of the army, which he made a permanent standing organization. Furthermore, recognizing the importance of religion, he had himself named *pontifex maximus*, or chief priest. The Senate also gave him the honorary title *princeps civitatis*, "first citizen of the state."

Considering what had happened to Julius Caesar, Augustus wisely wielded all this power in the background, and his period of rule is officially called the "principate." The Senate continued to exist as a court of law and deliberative body. Without specifically saying so, however, Augustus created the office of emperor. The English word *emperor* is derived from the Latin word *imperator*, an origin that reflects the fact that Augustus's command of the army was the main source of his power. In other reforms, Augustus made provincial administration more orderly and improved its functioning. He further professionalized the army and awarded grants of land in the frontier provinces to veterans. He encouraged local self-government and the development of cities. As a spiritual bond between the provinces and Rome, Augustus encouraged the cult of *Roma et Augustus* (Rome and Augustus) as the guardian of the state. The cult spread rapidly and became a symbol of Roman unity, part of Roman civic religion. (See "Analyzing the Evidence: Ara Pacis," page 152.) Augustus had himself portrayed on coins standing alongside the goddess Victory and on celebratory stone arches built to commemorate military victories. In addition, he had temples, stadiums, marketplaces, and public buildings constructed in Rome and other cities.

In the social realm, Augustus promoted marriage and childbearing through legal changes that released free women and freedwomen (female slaves who had been freed) from male guardianship if they had given birth to a certain number of children. Men and women who were unmarried or had no children were restricted in the inheritance of property.

Aside from addressing legal issues and matters of state, Augustus actively encouraged poets and writers. For this reason the period of his rule is known as the “golden age” of Latin literature. Roman poets and prose writers celebrated human accomplishments in works that were highly polished, elegant in style, and intellectual in conception.

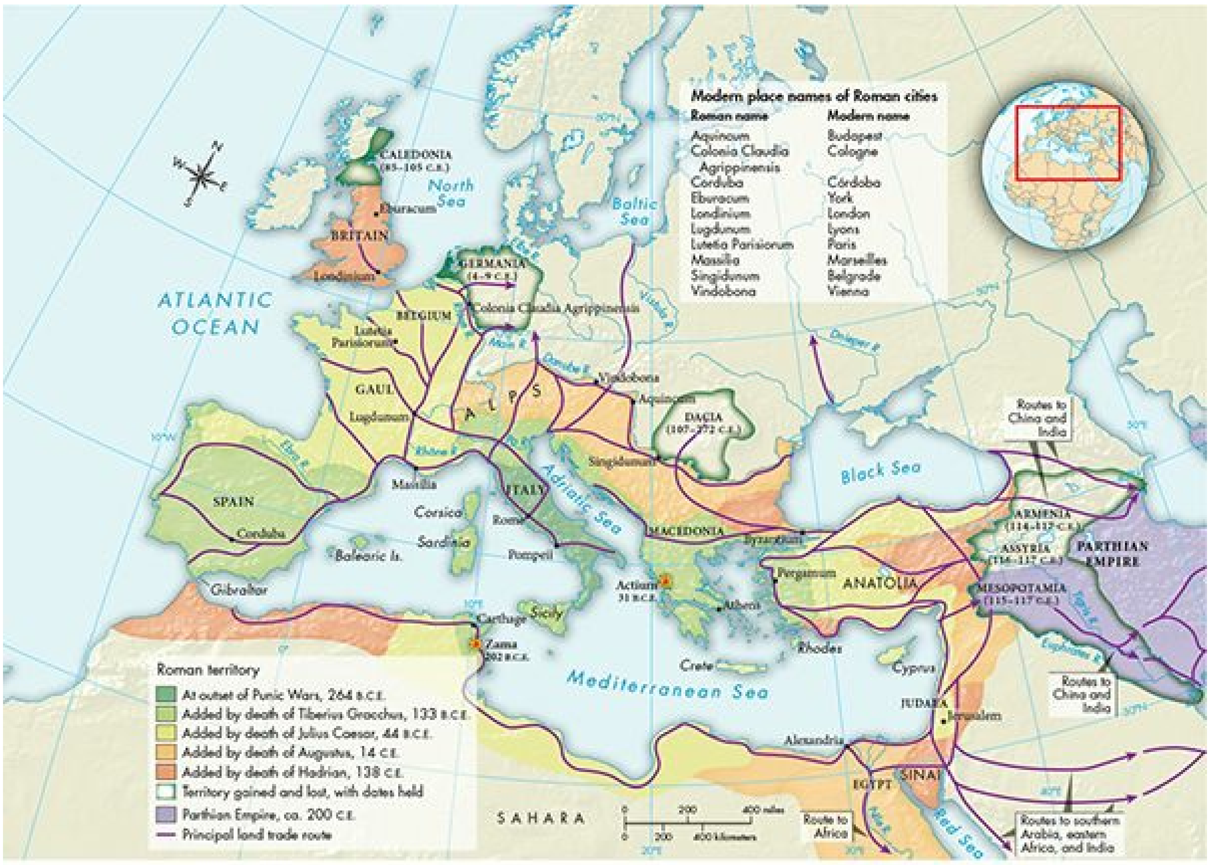
MVNIF. P... P.M.
AN. XVIII

Vatican Museum and Galleries, Vatican State/Bridgeman Images

Augustus as Imperator In this marble statue, found in the villa of Augustus's widow, Augustus is dressed in a military uniform and in a pose usually used to show leaders addressing their troops. This emphasizes his role as imperator, the head of the army. The figures on his breastplate show various peoples the Romans had defeated or with whom they had made treaties, along with assorted deities. Although Augustus did not declare himself a god — as later Roman emperors would — this statue shows him barefoot, just as gods and heroes were in classical Greek statuary, and accompanied by Cupid riding a dolphin, both symbols of the goddess Venus, whom he claimed as an ancestor.

Rome's greatest poet was Virgil (70–19 B.C.E.), whose masterpiece is the *Aeneid* (uh-NEE-id), an epic poem that is the Latin equivalent of the Greek *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (see "The 'Dark Age' " in Chapter 5). Virgil's account of the founding of Rome and the early years of the city gave final form to the legend of Aeneas, the Trojan hero (and ancestor of Romulus and Remus; see "The Founding of Rome") who escaped to Italy at the fall of Troy. As Virgil told it, Aeneas became the lover of Dido (DIGH-doh), the widowed queen of Carthage, but left her because his destiny called him to found Rome. Swearing the destruction of Rome, Dido committed suicide, and, according to Virgil, her enmity helped cause the Punic Wars. In leaving Dido, an "Eastern" queen, Aeneas put the good of the state ahead of marriage or pleasure. The parallels between this story and the real events involving Antony and Cleopatra were not lost on Augustus, who encouraged Virgil to write the *Aeneid* and made sure it was circulated widely immediately after Virgil died.

One of the most significant aspects of Augustus's reign was Roman expansion into northern and western Europe (Map 6.2). Augustus completed the conquest of Spain, founded twelve new towns in Gaul, and saw that the Roman road system linked new settlements with one another and with Italy. After hard fighting, he made the Rhine River the Roman frontier in Germania (Germany). Meanwhile, generals conquered areas as far as the Danube River, and Roman legions penetrated the areas of modern Austria, southern Bavaria, and western Hungary. The regions of modern Serbia, Bulgaria, and Romania also fell. Within this area the legionaries built fortified camps. Roads linked these camps with one another, and settlements grew up around the camps, eventually becoming towns. Traders began to frequent the frontier and to do business with the people who lived there; as a result, for the first time, central and northern Europe came into direct and continuous contact with Mediterranean culture.


Modern place names of Roman cities
Roman name / Modern name
Aquincum / Budapest
Colonia Claudia Agrippinensis / Cologne
Corduba / Córdoba
Eburacum / York
Londinium / London
Lugdunum / Lyons
Lutetia Parisiorum / Paris
Massilia / Marseilles
Singidunum / Belgrade
Vindobona / Vienna
CALEDONIA (85–105 C.E.)
BRITAIN
Eburacum
Londinium
GERMANIA (4–9 C.E.)
North Sea
Baltic Sea
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BELGIUM
Colonia Claudia Agrippinensis
Lutetia Parisiorum
GAUL
Lugdunum
ALPS
Vindobona
Aquincum
DACIA (107–272 C.E.)
Singidunum
SPAIN
Corduba
Massilia
Corsica
Sardinia
Balearic Is.
ITALY
Rome
Pompeii
Adriatic Sea
MACEDONIA
Byzantium
Black Sea
Gibraltar
Carthage
Sicily
Zama 202 B.C.E.
Actium 31 B.C.E.
Athens
Pergamum
ANATOLIA
ARMENIA (114–117 C.E.)
ASSYRIA (116–117 C.E.)
MESOPOTAMIA (115–117 C.E.)
PARTHIAN EMPIRE
Rhodes
Crete
Cyprus
Mediterranean Sea
JUDAEA
Jerusalem
Alexandria
SINAI
EGYPT
Red Sea
SAHARA
Routes to China and India
Routes to China and India
Route to Africa
Routes to southern Arabia, eastern Africa, and India
Roman territory
🟩 At outset of Punic Wars, 264 B.C.E.
🟩 Added by death of Tiberius Gracchus, 133 B.C.E.
🟨 Added by death of Julius Caesar, 44 B.C.E.
🟧 Added by death of Augustus, 14 C.E.
🟥 Added by death of Hadrian, 138 C.E.
☐ Territory gained and lost, with dates held
🟪 Parthian Empire, ca. 200 C.E.
— Principal land trade route
0 200 400 miles
0 200 400 kilometers

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Mapping the Past

MAP 6.2 Roman Expansion, 262 B.C.E.–180 C.E. Rome expanded in all directions, eventually controlling every shore of the Mediterranean and vast amounts of land.

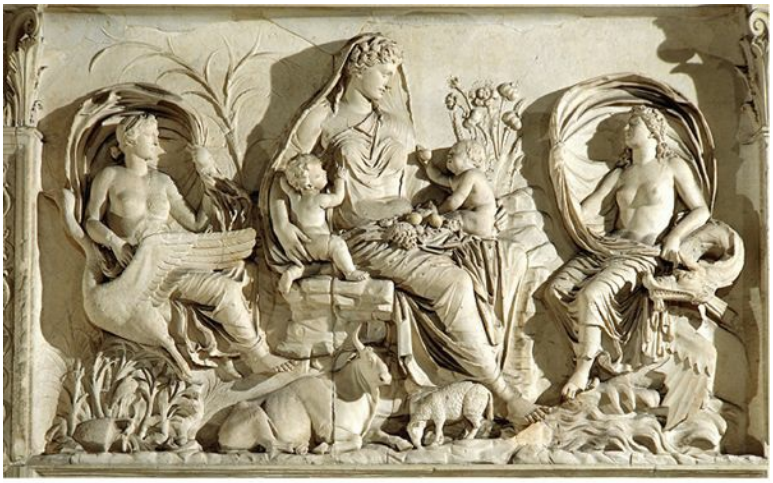
ANALYZING THE MAP How would you summarize the pattern of Roman expansion — that is, which areas were conquered first and which later? How long was Rome able to hold on to territories at the outermost boundaries of its empire?

CONNECTIONS Many of today's major cities in these areas were founded as Roman colonies. Why do you think so many of these cities were founded along the northern border of Roman territory?

Romans did not force their culture on native people in Roman territories. However, just as earlier ambitious people in the Hellenistic world knew that the surest path to political and social advancement lay in embracing Greek culture and learning to speak Greek (see "Building a Hellenized Society" in Chapter 5), those determined to get ahead now learned Latin and adopted aspects of Roman culture.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

Ara Pacis



De Agostini Picture Library/Gianni Dagli Orti/Bridgeman Images

In the middle years of Augustus's reign, the Roman Senate ordered a huge altar, the Ara Pacis, built to honor him and the peace he had brought to the empire, as well as celebrate the traditional Roman civic religion. The altar itself sits inside a walled enclosure made of marble and decorated with elaborate sculptures. These include vines and garlands connoting abundance and control of nature, along with life-size reliefs of Augustus and members of his family, civil servants, priests, women, and children, all in a procession toward a religious sacrifice. Several walls show deities or mythological figures, though they are often so badly damaged that it is not clear what they originally represented. The panel shown here, which is the best preserved, depicts a goddess figure, most likely the goddess Peace herself, with twin babies on her lap, flanked by nymphs representing land and sea and surrounded by plants, fruits, and animals. The altar was built in the flood plain of the Tiber River and gradually became buried under a thick layer of silt. Fragments were gradually discovered and unearthed, and in the 1930s the Fascist government of Italy ordered a complete excavation and reconstruction. Fascist dictator Benito Mussolini moved it to a new protective building near other monuments that honored Augustus as part of his plan to connect Fascist Italy with the glories of ancient Rome.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What do the elements depicted here most likely symbolize?
2. The Ara Pacis was a work of public art and political propaganda designed to honor both the deeds of Augustus and traditional Roman civic religion. Why might the Senate have commissioned such a work during this time of transformation in Roman power?
3. Why might the Ara Pacis have been especially appealing to Mussolini? Can you think of other examples of old symbols that have been repurposed for new political uses?

Rome and the Provinces

What was life like in Rome, and what was it like in the provinces?

In the late eighteenth century the English historian Edward Gibbon dubbed the stability and relative peace within the empire that Augustus created the **pax Romana**, the “Roman peace,” which he saw as lasting about two hundred years. People being conquered by the Romans might not have agreed that things were so peaceful, but during this time the growing city of Rome saw great improvements, and trade and production flourished in the provinces. Rome also expanded eastward and came into indirect contact with China.

pax Romana The “Roman peace,” a period during the first and second centuries C.E. of political stability and relative peace.

Political and Military Changes in the Empire

For about fifty years after Augustus’s death in 14 C.E. the dynasty that he established — known as the Julio-Claudians because all were members of the Julian and Claudian clans — provided the emperors of Rome. Two of the Julio-Claudians, Tiberius and Claudius, were sound rulers and created a bureaucracy of able administrators to help them govern. Two of them, Caligula and Nero, were weak and frivolous.

In 68 C.E. Nero’s inept rule led to military rebellion and widespread disruption. Two years later Vespasian (r. 69–79 C.E.), who established the Flavian dynasty, restored order. He also turned Augustus’s principate into a hereditary monarchy and expanded the emperor’s powers. During the brief reign of Vespasian’s son Titus, Mount Vesuvius in southern Italy erupted, destroying Pompeii and other cities and killing thousands of people. (See “Global Viewpoints: Roman and Chinese Officials in Times of Disaster,” at right.) The Flavians (69–96 C.E.) paved the way for the Antonines (96–192 C.E.), a dynasty of emperors under whose leadership the Roman Empire experienced a long period of prosperity and the height of the pax Romana. Wars generally ended victoriously and were confined to the frontiers. Second-century emperors made further changes in government that helped the empire run more efficiently while increasing the authority of the emperor.

The Roman army also saw changes, transforming from a mobile unit to a much larger defensive force, with more and more troops who were noncitizens. Because army service could lead to citizenship, non-Romans joined the army willingly to gain citizenship, receive a salary, and learn a trade. (See “Thinking Like a Historian: Army and Empire,” page 158.) The frontiers became firmly fixed and were defended by a system of forts and walls. Behind these walls, the network of roads was expanded and improved, both to supply the forts and to reinforce them in times of trouble.

GLOBAL VIEWPOINTS

Roman and Chinese Officials in Times of Disaster

Government officials in ancient empires were often confronted with natural disasters, and their response to them was seen as a mark of their character and capabilities, just as it is today. In the first text below, the Roman author Pliny the Younger describes the actions of his uncle Pliny the Elder during the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 79 C.E. In the second text, the Chinese historian Sima Qian (145–ca. 85 B.C.E.) (see Chapter 7) describes the actions of the official Ji An during a famine.

Pliny the Younger on Pliny the Elder

■ My uncle was stationed at Misenum, in active command of the fleet. On 24 August, in the early afternoon, my mother drew his attention to a cloud of unusual size and appearance…. My uncle's scholarly acumen saw at once that it was important enough for a closer inspection, and he ordered a boat to be made ready, … [but] what he had begun in a spirit of inquiry he completed as a hero. He gave orders for the warships to be launched and went on board himself with the intention of bringing help to many more people…. He hurried to the place which everyone else was hastily leaving, steering his course straight for the danger zone. He was entirely fearless, describing each new movement and phase of the portent to be noted down exactly as he observed them. Ashes were already falling, hotter and thicker as the ships drew near, followed by bits of pumice and blackened stones, charred and cracked by the flames…. He was able to bring his ship in….

Meanwhile on Mount Vesuvius broad sheets of fire and leaping flames blazed at several points, their bright glare emphasized by the darkness of night…. The buildings were now shaking with violent shocks, and seemed to be swaying to and fro as if they were torn from their foundations…. My uncle decided to go down to the shore and investigate on the spot the possibility of any escape by sea, but he found the waves still wild and dangerous…. He stood leaning on two slaves and then suddenly collapsed, I imagine because the dense fumes choked his breathing…. His body was found intact and uninjured, still fully clothed and looking more like sleep than death.

Sima Qian on Ji An

■ During the reign of Emperor Jing, Ji An, on the recommendation of his father, was appointed as a mounted guard to the heir apparent…. When a great fire broke out in Henei and destroyed over 1,000 houses, the emperor … sent Ji An to observe the situation. On his return he reported, “The roofs of the houses were so close together that the fire spread from one to another; that is why so many homes were burned. It is nothing to worry about. As I passed through Henan on my way, however, I noted that the inhabitants were very poor, and over 10,000 families had suffered so greatly from floods and droughts that fathers and sons were reduced to eating each other. I therefore took it upon myself to use the imperial seals to open the granaries of Henan and relieve the distress of the people. I herewith return the seals and await punishment for overstepping my authority in this fashion.”

The emperor, impressed with the wisdom he had shown, overlooked the irregularity of his action and transferred him to the post of governor…. Ji An studied the doctrines of the Yellow Emperor and Lao Zi…. He was sick a great deal of the time, confined to his bed and unable to go out, and yet after only a year or so as governor of Donghai he had succeeded in setting the affairs of the province in perfect order and winning the acclaim of the people.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. How do the two officials respond to the disasters, and how do the authors of these works judge their responses?
2. What cultural ideals do the authors convey in their descriptions of these officials?

Sources: *The Letters of Pliny the Younger*, translated with an introduction by Betty Radice (London: Penguin Classics, 1963, reprinted 1969); *Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty II,* by SIMA QIAN. Reproduced with permission of COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS in the format Book via Copyright Clearance Center.

THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN

Army and Empire

Military might made it possible for the Romans to conquer and hold a huge empire. As the empire grew, the Romans needed to recruit troops from conquered areas and make these soldiers effective, loyal, and dependable. How did the Romans turn countless individuals from diverse cultures into the most powerful fighting force the Mediterranean world had ever seen?

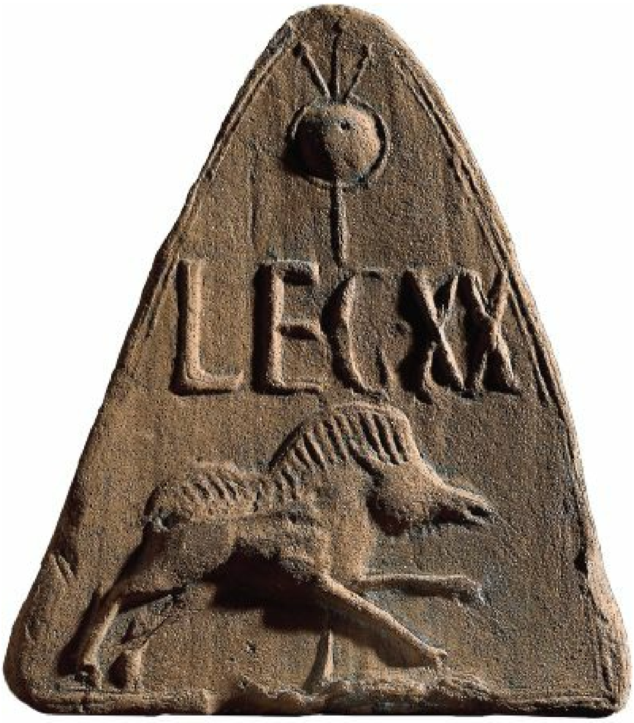
1 **Julius Caesar, *The Gallic War*, 50 B.C.E.** In his account of his successful campaigns in Gaul, designed to present himself as the consummate Roman military leader, Caesar (writing of himself in the third person) describes his efforts to rally his wavering troops.

■ Such a terrible panic suddenly seized our whole army as severely affected everyone's courage and morale. Our men started asking questions, and the Gauls and traders replied by describing how tall and strong the Germans were, how unbelievably brave and skillful with weapons…. The panic began among the military tribunes and prefects, and the other men who, having no great military experience, had followed Caesar from Rome to court his friendship…. They hid themselves away in their tents and bemoaned their fate…. As soon as Caesar was aware of the situation he called a council, ordered centurions of all ranks to attend, and severely reprimanded them…. Why did they despair of their own courage, or of his anxious concern for their well-being? The danger posed by this enemy had already been experienced in the time of our fathers, when the Cimbri and Teutoni were expelled by Gaius Marius. On that occasion it was clear that the army had deserved as much credit as its commander…. From all this, said Caesar, they could see how crucial was firmness of purpose…. The Germans were the same people who had often clashed with the Helvetii — and the Helvetii had frequently beaten them, not only within their own borders but also in Germany itself — and yet the Helvetii had proved no match for our army…. And so, Caesar concluded, he would do at once what he had intended to put off till a later date. The very next night, during the fourth watch, they would strike camp. Then he would know as soon as possible whether their sense of shame and duty was stronger than their fear…. At the end of this speech the change of attitude was quite remarkable, and there arose an immense enthusiasm and eagerness to start the campaign.

2 **Titus Flavius Josephus, *The Jewish War*, ca. 75 C.E.** Josephus was a commander in the Jewish revolt against the Romans in 66 C.E. who after he was taken prisoner went over to the Roman side. Here he describes how he used the Romans as a model for the Jewish army. Like Caesar in Source 1, he writes of himself in the third person.

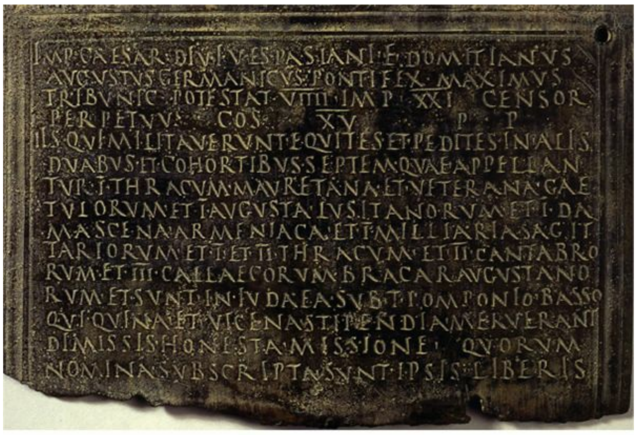
■ Josephus knew that the invincible might of Rome was chiefly due to unhesitating obedience and to practice in arms. He despaired of providing similar instruction, demanding as it did a long period of training; but he saw that the habit of obedience resulted from the number of their officers, and he now reorganized his army on the Roman model, appointing more junior commanders than before. He divided the soldiers into different classes, and put them under decurions and centurions, those being subordinate to tribunes, and the tribunes to commanders of larger units. He taught them how to pass on signals, how to sound the advance and the retreat, how to make flank attacks and encircling movements, and how a victorious unit could relieve one in difficulties and assist any who were hard pressed. He explained all that contributed to toughness of body or fortitude of spirit. Above all he trained them for war by stressing Roman discipline at every turn: they would be facing men who by physical prowess and unshakable determination had conquered almost the entire world.

3 **Roman military diploma, 71 C.E.** Military diplomas were bronze sheets, wired together, on which a former soldier's tours of duty, record of service, and status as a citizen were recorded. One copy stayed in Rome, and one was sent to the soldier himself, much as members of the military today receive discharge papers.



British Museum, London, UK/Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY

4 **Roman legion roof plaque.** The legionaries of the Twentieth Legion (Leg. XX) stationed in Britain, whose symbol was a charging boar, made this clay plaque for the roof of one of their buildings.



IMP·CAESAR·DIVI·VESPASIANI·F·DOMITIANVS
AVGVSTVS·GERMANICVS·PONTIFEX·MAXIMVS
TRIBVNIC·POTESTAT·VIIII·IMP·XXI·CENSOR
PERPETVVS·COS·XV·P·P
IIS·QVI·MILITAVERVNT·EQVITES·ET·PEDITES·IN·ALIS
DVABVS·ET·COHORTIBVS·SEPTEM·QVAE·APPELLAN
TVR·I·THRACVM·MAVRETANA·ET·VETERANA·GAE
TVLORVM·ET·I·AVGVSTA·LVSITANORVM·ET·I·DA
MASCENA·ARMENIACA·ET·I·MILLIARIA·SAGIT
TARIORVM·ET·I·ET·II·THRACVM·ET·II·CANTABRO
RVM·ET·III·CALLAECORVM·BRACARAVGVSTANO
RVM·ET·SVNT·IN·IVDAEA·SVB·T·POMPONIO·BASSO
QVI·QVINA·ET·VICENA·STIPENDIA·MERVERANT
DIMISSIS·HONESTA·MISSIONE·QVORVM
NOMINA·SVBSCRIPTA·SVNT·IPSIS·LIBERIS

The Israel Museum, Jerusalem/Acquired in memory of Chaim Herzog, Sixth President of the State of Israel, by his family and Yad Chaim Herzog; the Carmen and Louis Warschaw Fund of Archaeological Acquisitions; David and Genevieve Hendin, New York/Bridgeman Images

5 Vegetius, *Epitome of Military Science*, ca. 380–390 C.E.

Vegetius seems to have been a Roman imperial bureaucrat who set out what he saw as ideal military recruitment and training at a point when the Roman Empire was in decline and the army faced many challenges.

■ In every battle it is not numbers and untaught bravery so much as skill and training that generally produce the victory. For we see no other explanation of the conquest of the world by the Roman People than their drill-at-arms, camp-discipline and military expertise…. But what succeeded against all [enemies] was careful selection of recruits, instruction in the rules, so to speak, of war, toughening in daily exercises, prior acquaintance in field practice with all possible eventualities in war and battle, and strict punishment of cowardice. Scientific knowledge of warfare nurtures courage in battle. No one is afraid to do what he is confident of having learned well. A small force which is highly trained in the conflicts of war is more apt to victory: a raw and untrained horde is always exposed to slaughter…. The rural populace is better suited for arms. They are nurtured under the open sky in a life of work, enduring the sun, careless of shade, unacquainted with bathhouses, ignorant of luxury, simple souled, content with a little, with limbs toughened to endure every kind of toil…. If ancient custom is to be retained, everyone knows that those entering puberty should be brought to the levy. For those things are taught not only more quickly but even more completely which are learned from boyhood. Secondly military alacrity, jumping and running should be attempted before the body stiffens with age…. You need not greatly regret the absence of tall stature. It is more useful that soldiers be strong than big…. The youth in whose hands is to be placed the defence of provinces, the fortune of battles, ought to be of outstanding breeding if numbers suffice, and morals. Decent birth makes a suitable soldier, while a sense of shame prevents flight and makes him a victor.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. How does Julius Caesar use history and tradition in Source 1 to convince his troops to fight, and what do you think his purpose was in relating this incident as he did?

2. What aspects of the Roman military does Josephus use as a model for his own forces in Source 2? How do these compare with the qualities Vegetius identifies in Source 5 as ideal in the perfect recruit?
3. Why would the promise of eventual citizenship recorded in military diplomas, like the one in Source 3, have been an effective recruiting tool?
4. What does the roof plaque in Source 4 suggest about the self-identity of the soldiers who made it?

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

Using the sources above, along with what you have learned in class and in this chapter, write a short essay that analyzes the military's role in the empire's expansion. How did the Romans turn countless individuals from diverse cultures into the most powerful fighting force the Mediterranean world had ever seen? How would you assess the relative importance of various factors in this transformation, and why might your assessment be different from that of the authors cited here?

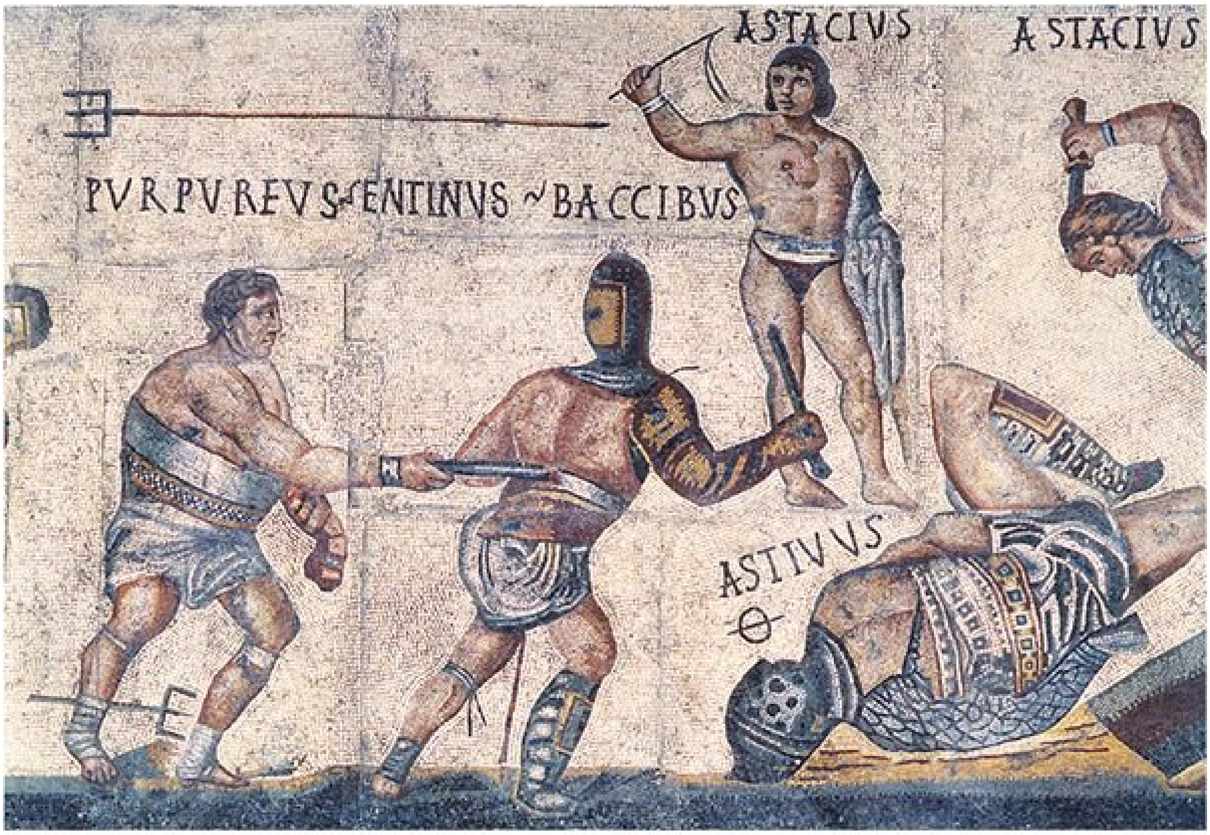
Sources: (1) Julius Caesar, *Seven Commentaries on the Gallic War,* trans. Carolyn Hammond (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 24–27. By permission of Oxford University Press; (2) Josephus, *The Jewish War*, trans. G. A. Williamson (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1972), p. 172; (5) N. P. Milner, trans., *Vegetius: Epitome of Military Science* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1996), pp. 2–8. Copyright © 1993, 1996, 2001 by N. P. Milner. Reproduced by permission of Liverpool University Press via PLSClear.

Life in Imperial Rome

The expansion and stabilization of the empire created great wealth, much of which flowed into Rome. The city, with a population of over a million, may have been the largest city in the world at that time. Although Rome could boast of stately palaces, noble buildings, and beautiful residential areas, most people lived in shoddily constructed houses and took whatever work was available. Many residents of the city of Rome were slaves, who ranged from highly educated household tutors or government officials or widely sought sculptors to workers who engaged in hard physical tasks.

Fire and crime were perennial problems even in Augustus’s day, and sanitation was poor. In the second century urban planning and new construction greatly improved the situation. For example, engineers built an elaborate system that collected sewage from public baths, the ground floors of buildings, and public latrines. They also built hundreds of miles of aqueducts, most of them underground, to bring fresh water into the city from the surrounding hills.

Rome grew so large that it became ever more difficult to feed its residents. Emperors solved the problem by providing citizens with free oil, wine, and grain for bread. By doing so, they also stayed in favor with the people. They and other sponsors also entertained the people with gladiatorial contests in which participants fought using swords and other weapons. Some gladiators were criminals or prisoners of war, but by the imperial period increasing numbers were volunteers, often poor immigrants who saw gladiatorial combat as a way to support themselves. All gladiators were trained in gladiatorial schools and were legally slaves, although they could keep their winnings and a few became quite wealthy. The Romans were even more addicted to chariot racing than to gladiatorial shows. Winning charioteers were idolized just as sports stars are today.



Galleria Borghese, Rome, Italy/Scala/Art Resource, NY

Gladiator Mosaic Made in the first half of the fourth century C.E., this mosaic from an estate outside Rome includes the name of each gladiator next to the figure. At the top a gladiator stands in a victory pose, while the fallen gladiator at the bottom is marked with the symbol Ø, indicating that he has died in combat. Many of the gladiators in this mosaic, such as those at the left, appear less fit and fearsome than the gladiators depicted in movies, more closely reflecting the reality that gladiatorial combat was a job undertaken by a variety of people.

Prosperity in the Roman Provinces

As the empire grew and stabilized, many Roman provinces grew prosperous through the growth of agriculture, trade, and industry, among other factors. Peace and security opened Britain, Gaul, and the lands of the Danube to settlers from other parts of the Roman Empire. Veterans were given small parcels of land in the provinces, becoming tenant farmers. The garrison towns that grew up around provincial military camps became the centers of organized political life, and some grew into major cities,

The rural population throughout the empire left few records, but the inscriptions that remain point to a melding of cultures. Latin blended with the original language of an area and with languages spoken by those who came into the area later. Slowly what would become the Romance languages of Spanish, Italian, French, Portuguese, and Romanian evolved. Religion was another site of cultural exchange and mixture. Romans moving into an area learned about and began to venerate local gods, and local people learned about Roman ones. Gradually hybrid deities and rituals developed.

De Agostini Picture Library/O. Geddo/Bridgeman Images

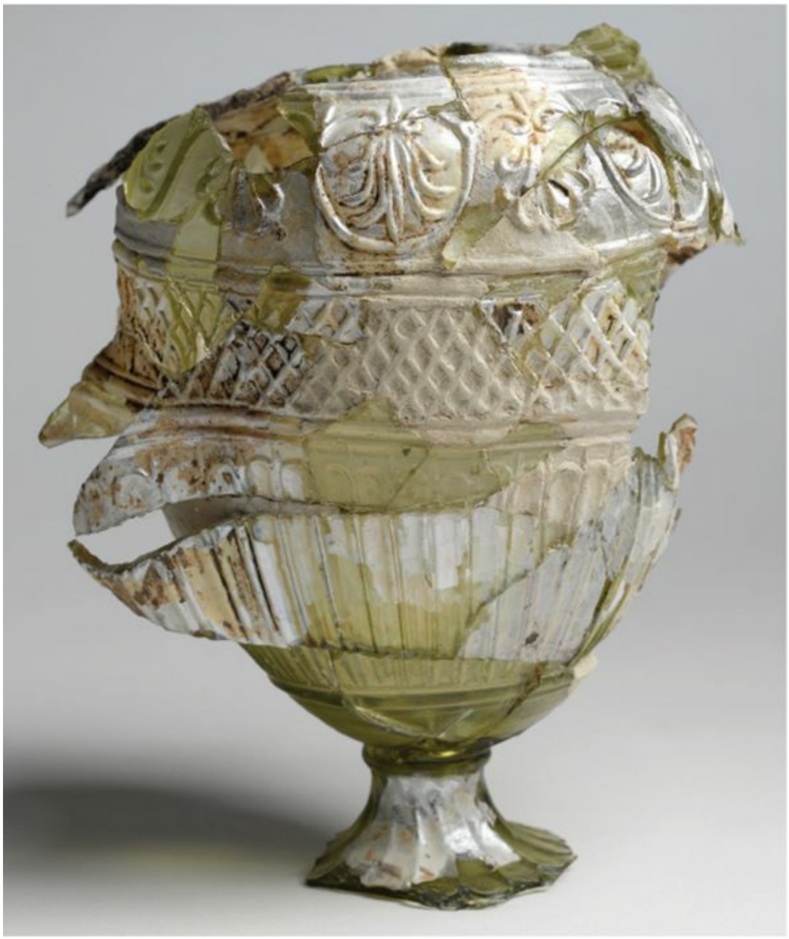
Dagli Orti/REX/Shutterstock

Bridgeman Images

Roman Architecture These three structures demonstrate the beauty and utility of Roman architecture. The Coliseum in Rome, a sports arena that could seat fifty thousand spectators, built between 70 C.E. and 80 C.E., was the site of gladiatorial games, animal spectacles, and executions. The Pantheon in Rome, a temple dedicated to all the gods, was built in its present form about 130 C.E., after earlier temples on the site had burned down. Its dome, 140 feet in diameter, remains the largest unreinforced concrete dome in the world. Romans also used concrete for more everyday purposes. The Pont du Gard at Nîmes in France is a bridge over a river that carried an aqueduct supplying millions of gallons of water per day to the Roman city of Nîmes in Gaul; the water flowed in a channel at the very top. Although this bridge was built largely without mortar or concrete, many Roman aqueducts and bridges relied on concrete and sometimes iron rods for their strength.

The Romans were the first to build cities in northern Europe, but in the eastern Mediterranean they ruled cities that had existed before Rome itself was even a village. Here there was much continuity in urban life from the Hellenistic period. There was less construction than in the Roman cities of northern and western Europe because existing buildings could simply be put to new uses.

The expansion of trade during the pax Romana made the Roman Empire an economic as well as a political force. Britain and Belgium became prime grain producers, and Britain’s wool industry probably got its start under the Romans. Italy and southern Gaul produced huge quantities of wine. Roman colonists introduced the olive to southern Spain and northern Africa, which soon produced most of the oil consumed in the western part of the empire. In the East the olive oil production of Syrian farmers reached an all-time high, and Egypt produced tons of wheat that fed the Roman populace.



Israel Museum, Jerusalem/Bridgeman Images

Glass Beaker by Ennion This exquisite mold-blown glass beaker from the first century C.E. with relief decorations of leaves and basketry has an inscription in Greek: “Ennion made it.” Ennion came from the coastal city of Sidon in modern Lebanon and is one of a very few artisans from the ancient world whose name we know. The fine detail and precision of his work led him to have a powerful influence on the Roman glass industry.

The growth of industry in the provinces was another striking development of this period, as cities in Gaul and Germany eclipsed the old Mediterranean manufacturing centers. Lyons in Gaul and later Cologne in Germany became the new centers of the glassmaking industry, and the cities of Gaul were nearly unrivaled in the manufacture of bronze and brass. Soldiers in the Roman army brought new methods of potterymaking northwards, setting up facilities to make roof tiles, amphoras, and dishes for their units. Some of these grew into industrial-scale kilns that were large enough to fire tens of thousands of pots at once. Fancier pottery often portrayed Greco-Roman gods and heroes, thus spreading Mediterranean myths and stories throughout the empire and beyond. Aided by all this growth in trade and industry, Europe and western Asia were linked in ways they had not been before.

Eastward Expansion and Contacts Between Rome and China

As the Romans drove farther eastward, they encountered the Parthians, who had established a kingdom in what is now Afghanistan and Iran in the Hellenistic period (see “Building a Hellenized Society” in Chapter 5). In the second century the Romans tried unsuccessfully to drive out the Parthians, who came to act as a link between Roman and Chinese merchants. Chinese merchants sold their wares to the Parthians, who then carried the goods overland to Mesopotamia or Egypt, from which they were shipped throughout the Roman Empire. In 226 C.E. the Parthians were defeated by the Sassanids, a new dynasty in the area (see “The Sassanid Empire and Conflicts with Byzantium” in Chapter 8). When the Romans continued their attacks against this new enemy, the Sassanid king Shapur conquered the Roman legions of the emperor Valerian, whom he took prisoner. Shapur employed the captured Roman soldiers and engineers to build roads, bridges, dams, and canals, and their designs and methods were later used throughout the Sassanid empire.

Although warfare disrupted parts of western Asia, it did not stop trade that had prospered from Hellenistic times (see “The Growth of Trade and Commerce” in Chapter 5). Silk was still a major commodity from east to west, along with other luxury goods. In return the Romans traded glassware, precious gems, and slaves. The Parthians added exotic fruits, rare birds, rugs, and other products.

The pax Romana was also an era of maritime trade, and Roman ships sailed from Egyptian ports to the mouth of the Indus River, where Romans purchased local merchandise and wares imported by the Parthians. Some hardy mariners pushed down the African coast and into the Indian Ocean. Roman coins have been found in Sri Lanka and Vietnam, clear evidence of trade connections, although most likely no merchant traveled the entire distance.

The period of this contact coincided with the era of Han greatness in China (see “China and Rome” in Chapter 7). During the reign of the Roman emperor Nerva (r. 96–98 C.E.), a Han emperor sent an ambassador, Gan Ying, to make contact with the Roman Empire. Gan Ying made it as far as the Persian Gulf ports, where he heard about the Romans from Parthian sailors and reported back to his emperor that the Romans were wealthy, tall, and strikingly similar to the Chinese. His report became part of a group of accounts about the Romans and other “western” peoples that circulated widely among scholars and officials in Han China. Educated Romans did not have a corresponding interest in China. For them, China remained more of a mythical than a real place, and they never bothered to learn more about it.

The Coming of Christianity

What was Christianity, and how did it affect life in the Roman Empire?

During the reign of the emperor Tiberius (r. 14–37 C.E.), in the Roman province of Judaea a Jewish man named Jesus of Nazareth preached, attracted a following, and was executed on the order of the Roman prefect Pontius Pilate. Christianity, the religion created by Jesus's followers, came to have an enormous impact first in the Roman Empire and later throughout the world.

Factors Behind the Rise of Christianity

The civil wars that destroyed the Roman Republic left their mark on Judaea, where Jewish leaders had taken sides in the conflict. The turmoil created a climate of violence throughout the area, and among the Jews movements in opposition to the Romans spread. Many Jews came to believe that a final struggle was near and that it would lead to the coming of a savior, or **Messiah**, who would destroy the Roman legions and inaugurate a period of happiness and plenty for Jews. This apocalyptic belief was an old one among Jews, but by the first century C.E. it had become more widespread than ever.

Messiah In Jewish belief, a savior who would bring a period of peace and happiness for Jews; many Christians came to believe that Jesus was that Messiah.

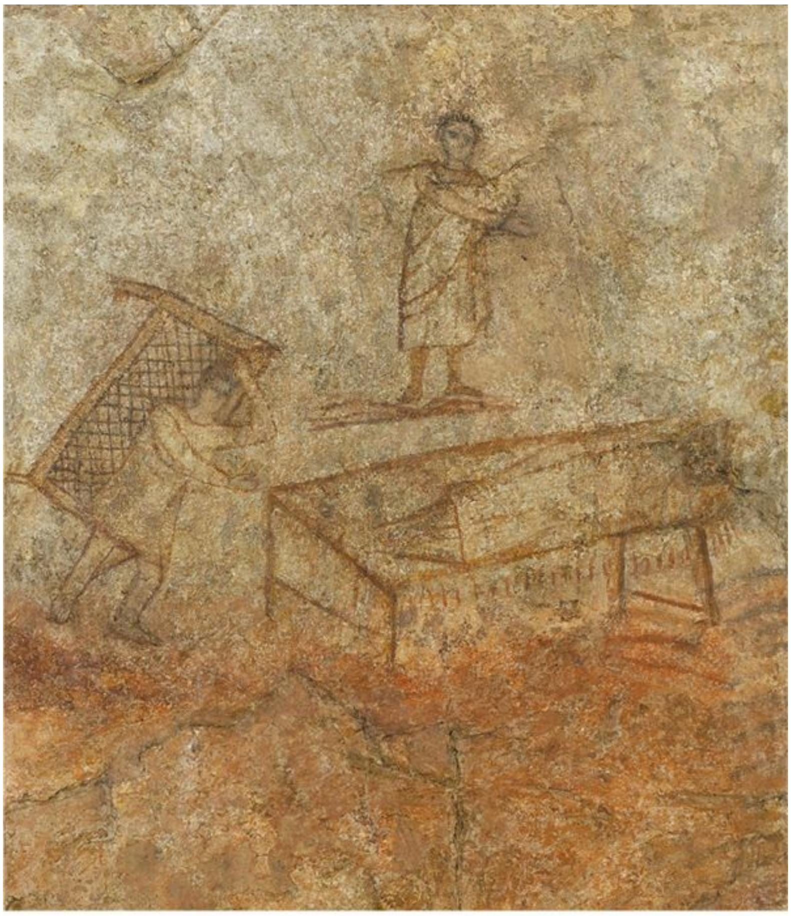
The pagan world also played its part in the story of early Christianity. The term **pagan**, which originally referred to those who lived in the countryside, came to refer to those who practiced religions other than Judaism or Christianity. This included the traditional Roman civic religion devoted to the gods of the hearth, home, and countryside, which had often blended with the worship of other local deities as the Roman Empire expanded. The cult of the emperor, spread through the erection of statues, temples, and monuments, had been added to this, and for some people mystery religions offered the promise of life after death (see Chapter 5). Many people in the Roman Empire practiced all of these religions, combining them in whatever way seemed most beneficial or satisfying to them.

pagan Originally referring to those who lived in the countryside, the term came to mean those who practiced religions other than Judaism or Christianity.

The Life and Teachings of Jesus

Into this climate of Messianic hope and Roman religious blending came Jesus of Nazareth (ca. 3 B.C.E.–29 C.E.). According to Christian Scripture, he was born to deeply religious Jewish parents and raised in Galilee. His ministry began when he was about thirty, and he taught by preaching and telling stories.

Like Socrates and the Buddha, Jesus left no writings. Accounts of his sayings and teachings first circulated orally among his followers and were later written down. The principal evidence for his life and deeds are the four Gospels of the Bible (Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John). These Gospels are records of Jesus's teachings, written sometime in the late first century to build a community of faith. Their authors had probably heard many different people talk about what Jesus said and did, and there are discrepancies among the four accounts. These differences indicate that early followers had a diversity of beliefs about Jesus's nature and purpose.



Yale University Art Gallery, Dura-Europos Collection

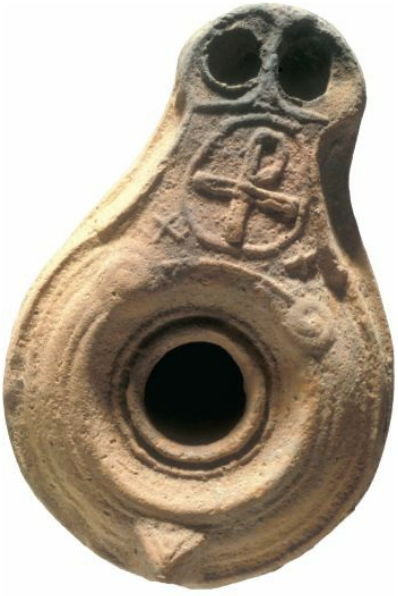
Depiction of Jesus This mural, from a Roman camp at Dura-Europos on the Euphrates River, may be the earliest known depiction of Jesus. Dating to 235 C.E., it depicts Jesus healing a paralytic man, an incident described in the New Testament. Early Christians used art to spread their message.

However, almost all the early sources agree on certain aspects of Jesus's teachings: he preached of a heavenly kingdom of eternal happiness in a life after death and of the importance of devotion to God and love of others. His teachings were based on Hebrew Scripture and reflected a conception of God and morality that came from Jewish tradition. The Greek translation of the Hebrew word *Messiah* is *Christus*, the origin of the English word *Christ*. Was Jesus the Messiah, the Christ? A small band of followers thought so, and Jesus claimed that he was. Yet Jesus had his own conception of the Messiah. He would establish a spiritual kingdom, not an earthly one.

The Roman official Pontius Pilate knew little about Jesus's teachings. He was concerned with maintaining peace and order. According to the New Testament, crowds followed Jesus into Jerusalem at the time of Passover, a highly emotional point in the Jewish year that marked the Jewish people's departure from Egypt under the leadership of Moses (see "The Hebrew State" in Chapter 2). The prospect that these crowds would spark violence alarmed Pilate. Some Jews believed that Jesus was the long-awaited Messiah. Others hated and feared him because they thought him religiously dangerous. To avert riot and bloodshed, Pilate condemned Jesus to death, and his soldiers carried out the sentence. On the third day after Jesus's crucifixion, some of his followers claimed that he had risen from the dead. For his earliest followers and for generations to come, the resurrection of Jesus became a central element of faith.

The Spread of Christianity

Believers in Jesus's divinity met in small assemblies or congregations, often in one another's homes, to discuss the meaning of Jesus's message and to celebrate a ritual (later called the Eucharist or Lord's Supper) commemorating his last meal with his disciples before his arrest. Because they expected Jesus to return to the world very soon, they regarded earthly life and institutions as unimportant. Only later did these congregations evolve into what came to be called the religion of Christianity, with a formal organization and set of beliefs.



Z. Radovan/Bible Land Pictures, Jerusalem/
akg-images

Christian Oil Lamp When Christianity spread in the Roman Empire, many believers purchased household goods with Christian symbols. This pottery lamp for an ordinary home, dating from the fourth century C.E., is marked with a common symbol for Jesus, the letters *XP* (chi rho), the first two letters in Greek for *Christos*, "Christ."

The catalyst in the spread of Jesus's teachings and the formation of the Christian Church was Paul of Tarsus, a well-educated Hellenized Jew. Paul traveled all over the Roman Empire and wrote letters of advice to many groups. These letters were copied and widely circulated, transforming Jesus's ideas into more specific moral teachings. As a result of his efforts, Paul became the most important figure in changing Christianity from a Jewish sect into a separate religion, and many of his letters became part of Christian Scripture.

The breadth of the Roman Empire was another factor behind the spread of Christianity. If all roads led to Rome, they also led outward to the provinces. This enabled early Christians to spread their faith easily throughout the world known to them, as Jesus had told his followers to do. The Romans also considered their empire universal, and the early Christians combined the two concepts of universalism.

Though most of the earliest converts seem to have been Jews, Paul urged that Gentiles, or non-Jews, be accepted on an equal basis. The earliest Christian converts included people from all social classes. These people were reached by missionaries and others who spread the Christian message through family contacts, friendships, and business networks. Many women were active in spreading Christianity. Paul greeted male and female converts by name in his letters and noted that women often provided financial support for his activities. The growing Christian communities differed over the extent to which women should participate in the workings of the religion; some favored giving women a larger role in church affairs, while others were more restrictive.

People were attracted to Christian teachings for a variety of reasons. Christianity was in many ways a mystery religion, offering its adherents special teachings that would give them immortality. But in contrast to traditional mystery religions, Christianity promised this immortality widely, not only to a select few. Christianity also offered the possibility of forgiveness, for believers accepted that human nature is weak and that even the best Christians could fall into sin. But Jesus loved sinners and forgave those who repented. Christianity was also attractive to many because it gave the Roman world a cause. By spreading the word of Christ, Christians played their part in God’s plan for the triumph of Christianity on earth. Christianity likewise gave its devotees a sense of identity and community. To stress the spiritual kinship of this new type of community, Christians often called one another brother and sister. Also, many Christians took Jesus’s commandment to love one another as a guide and provided support for widows, orphans, and the poor, just as they would for family members.

The Growing Acceptance and Evolution of Christianity

At first, most Roman officials largely ignored the followers of Jesus, viewing them simply as one of the many splinter groups within Judaism, but slowly some came to oppose Christian practices and beliefs. They considered Christians to be subversive dissidents because they stopped practicing traditional rituals and they objected to the cult of the emperor. Some Romans thought that Christianity was one of the worst of the mystery cults, with immoral and indecent rituals. Pagans also feared that the Greco-Roman gods would withdraw their favor from the Roman Empire because of the Christian insistence that the pagan gods either did not exist or were evil spirits. And many worried that Christians were trying to destroy the Roman family with their insistence on a new type of kinship.

Persecutions of Christians, including torture and executions, were organized by governors of Roman provinces and sometimes by the emperor, beginning with Nero. Most persecutions were, however, local and sporadic in nature. Responses to Christianity on the part of Roman emperors varied. Some left Christians in peace, while others ordered them to sacrifice to the emperor and the Roman gods or risk death.

By the second century Christianity was changing. The belief that Jesus was soon coming again gradually waned, and as the number of converts increased, permanent institutions were established. These included buildings and a hierarchy of officials often modeled on those of the Roman Empire. **Bishops**, officials with jurisdiction over a certain area, became especially important. They began to assert that they had the right to determine the correct interpretation of Christian teachings and to choose their successors.

bishop A Christian Church official with jurisdiction over a certain area and the power to determine the correct interpretation of Christian teachings.

Christianity also began to attract more highly educated individuals who developed complex theological interpretations of issues that were not clear in scripture. Often drawing on Greek philosophy and Roman legal traditions, they worked out understandings of such issues as how Jesus could be both divine and human and how God could be both a father and a son (and later a spirit as well, a Christian doctrine known as the Trinity). Bishops and theologians often modified teachings that seemed upsetting to Romans, such as Jesus’s harsh words about wealth and family ties. Given all these changes, Christianity became more formal in the second century, with power more centralized.

Turmoil and Reform

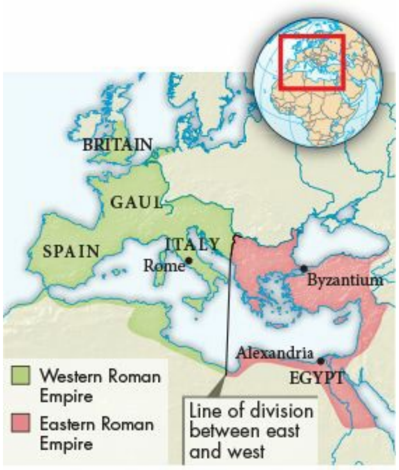
How did the emperors respond to political, economic, and religious issues in the third and fourth centuries?

The prosperity and stability of the second century gave way to a period of domestic upheaval and foreign invasion in the Roman Empire that historians have termed the “crisis of the third century.” Trying to repair the damage was the major work of the emperors Diocletian (r. 284–305) and Constantine (r. 306–337). They enacted political and religious reforms that dramatically changed the empire.

Political Measures

During the crisis of the third century the Roman Empire was stunned by civil war, as different individuals, generally military commanders from the border provinces, claimed rights to leadership of the empire. Beginning in 235, emperors often ruled for only a few years or even months. Army leaders in the provinces declared their loyalty to one faction or another, or they broke from the empire entirely, thus ceasing to supply troops or taxes. Non-Roman groups on the frontiers took advantage of the chaos to invade Roman-held territory along the Rhine and Danube, occasionally even crossing the Alps to maraud in Italy. In the East, Sassanid armies advanced all the way to the Mediterranean. By the time peace was restored, the empire’s economy was shattered, cities had shrunk in size, and many farmers had left their lands.

Diocletian, who had risen through the ranks of the military to become emperor in 284, ended the period of chaos. Under Diocletian the princeps became *dominus*, “lord,” reflecting the emperor’s claim that he was “the elect of god.” To underscore the emperor’s exalted position, Diocletian and his successor, Constantine, adopted the court ceremonies and trappings of the Persian Empire.



Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/ St. Martin's

The Division of the Roman World, 293 C.E.

Diocletian recognized that the empire had become too large for one man to handle and so in 293 divided it into a western and an eastern half. He assumed direct control of the eastern part, giving a colleague the rule of the western part along with the title *augustus*. Diocletian and his fellow augustus further delegated power by appointing two men to assist them. Each man was given the title *caesar* to indicate his exalted rank.

After a brief civil war following Diocletian's death, Constantine eventually gained authority over the entire empire but ruled from the East. Here he established a new capital for the empire at Byzantium, an old Greek city on the Bosporus, a strait on the boundary between Europe and Asia. He named it "New Rome," though it was soon called Constantinople. In his new capital Constantine built palaces, warehouses, public buildings, and even a hippodrome for horse racing, modeling them on Roman buildings. In addition, he built defensive works along the borders of the empire, trying hard to keep it together, as did his successors. Despite their efforts, however, the eastern and the western halves drifted apart.

The emperors ruling from Constantinople could not provide enough military assistance to repel invaders in the western half of the Roman Empire, and Roman authority there slowly disintegrated. In 476 a Germanic chieftain, Odoacer, deposed the Roman emperor in the West. This date thus marks the official end of the Roman Empire in the West, although the Roman Empire in the East, later called the Byzantine Empire, would last for nearly another thousand years.

Economic Issues

Along with political challenges, major economic problems also confronted Diocletian and Constantine, including inflation and declining tax revenues. In an attempt to curb inflation, Diocletian issued an edict that fixed maximum prices and wages throughout the empire. He and his successors dealt with the tax system just as strictly and inflexibly. Taxes became payable in kind, that is, in goods and services instead of money. All those involved in the growing, preparation, and transportation of food and other essentials were locked into their professions, as the emperors tried to assure a steady supply of these goods. In this period of severe depression, many localities could not pay their taxes. In such cases local tax collectors, who were themselves locked into service, had to make up the difference from their own funds. This system soon wiped out a whole class of moderately wealthy people and set the stage for the lack of social mobility that was a key characteristic of European society for many centuries to follow.

The emperors' measures did not really address Rome's central economic problems. During the turmoil of the third and fourth centuries, many free farmers and their families were killed by invaders or renegade soldiers, or abandoned farms ravaged in the fighting. Consequently, large tracts of land lay untended. Landlords with ample resources began at once to claim as much of this land as they could. The huge estates that resulted, called villas, were self-sufficient and became islands of stability in an unsettled world. In return for the protection and security landlords could offer, many small landholders gave over their lands and their freedom. To guarantee a supply of labor, landlords denied them the freedom to move elsewhere. Free men and women were becoming tenant farmers bound to the land, who would later be called serfs.

The Acceptance of Christianity

The crisis of the third century seemed to some emperors, including Diocletian, to be the punishment of the gods. Diocletian increased persecution of Christians, hoping that the gods would restore their blessing on Rome. Yet his persecutions were never very widespread or long-lived, and by the early fourth century most Romans tolerated Christianity, even if they did not practice it. In several edicts, emperors reversed Diocletian's policy and instead ordered toleration of all religions. (See "Analyzing the Evidence: The Edict of Toleration and the Edict of Milan," at right.) Constantine went beyond toleration to favoring Christianity, expecting in return the support of church officials in maintaining order, and late in his life he was baptized as a Christian. Constantine also freed the clergy from imperial taxation and endowed the building of Christian churches.

Helped in part by its favored position in the empire, Christianity slowly became the leading religion, and emperors after Constantine continued to promote it. In 380 the emperor Theodosius (r. 379–395) made Christianity the official religion of the empire. He allowed the church to establish its own courts and to use its own body of law, called “canon law.” With this he laid the foundation for later growth in church power (see “The Growth of the Christian Church” in Chapter 8).

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

The Edict of Toleration and the Edict of Milan

The emperor Diocletian’s persecution of Christians, the last, longest, and harshest official persecution, ended shortly after his death, and the emperors who succeeded him decided instead to tolerate Christianity. In 311 Galerius, senior emperor in the multiheaded late empire, who had been a leading figure in the Diocletian persecutions, issued an edict of toleration legalizing Christianity. In 313 Constantine and Licinius, co-emperors and rivals for power, agreed in a letter to governors of Roman provinces that all religions should be tolerated and property taken from Christians should be returned to them. This letter later became known as the Edict of Milan, but there probably was never a formal edict.

Edict of Toleration (311 C.E.)

Among other arrangements which we are always accustomed to make for the prosperity and welfare of the republic, we had desired formerly to bring all things into harmony with the ancient laws and public order of the Romans, and to provide that even the Christians who had left the religion of their fathers should come back to reason; since, indeed, the Christians themselves, for some reason, had followed such a caprice and had fallen into such a folly that they would not obey the institutes of antiquity, which perchance their own ancestors had first established; but at their own will and pleasure, they would thus make laws unto themselves which they should observe and would collect various peoples in diverse places in congregations. Finally when our law had been promulgated to the effect that they should conform to the institutes of antiquity, many were subdued by the fear of danger, many even suffered death. And yet since most of them persevered in their determination, and we saw that they neither paid the reverence and awe due to the gods nor worshipped the God of the Christians, in view of our most mild clemency and the constant habit by which we are accustomed to grant indulgence to all, we thought that we ought to grant our most prompt indulgence also to these, so that they may again be Christians and may hold their conventicles [religious services], provided they do nothing contrary to good order.

Edict of Milan (313 C.E.)

When I, Constantine Augustus, as well as I, Licinius Augustus, fortunately met near Mediolanurn [Milan], and were considering everything that pertained to the public welfare and security, we thought, among other things which we saw would be for the good of many, those regulations pertaining to the reverence of the Divinity ought certainly to be made first, so that we might grant to the Christians and others full authority to observe that religion which each preferred; whence any Divinity whatsoever in the seat of the heavens may be propitious and kindly disposed to us and all who are placed under our rule. And thus by this wholesome counsel and most upright provision we thought to arrange that no one whatsoever should be denied the opportunity to give his heart to the observance of the Christian religion, or that religion which he should think best for himself, so that the Supreme Deity, to whose worship we freely yield our hearts may show in all things His usual favor and benevolence. Therefore, your Worship [the governor to whom this letter is directed] should know that it has pleased us to remove all conditions whatsoever, which were in the rescripts formerly given to you officially, concerning the Christians and now any one of these who wishes to observe Christian religion may do so freely and openly, without molestation….

Moreover, in the case of the Christians especially we esteemed it best to order that if it happens anyone heretofore has bought from our treasury from anyone whatsoever, those places where they were previously accustomed to assemble, concerning which a certain decree had been made and a letter sent to you officially, the same shall be restored to the Christians without payment or any claim of recompense and without any kind of fraud or deception…. And since these Christians are known to have possessed not only those places in which they were accustomed to assemble, but also other property, namely the churches, belonging to them as a corporation and not as individuals, all these things which we have included under the above law, you will order to be restored, without any hesitation or controversy at all, to these Christians…. Let this be done so that, as we have said above, Divine favor towards us, which, under the most important circumstances we have already experienced, may, for all time, preserve and prosper our successes together with the good of the state.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. How does Galerius explain his persecution of Christians? His decision to now tolerate them?
2. Why have Constantine and Licinius decided to allow everyone to practice his or her own religion?
3. How do the statements of the emperors fit with Roman ideas about harnessing divine power for the public good, and about the proper role of religion in the state?

Source: Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum,* Chs. 34, 35, 48, in *Opera*, ed. 0. F. Fritzsche, II, p. 288 sq. (Bibl. Patr. Ecc. Lat. XI). Translated in University of Pennsylvania, Dept. of History, *Translations* *and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1897?–1907?), vol. 4:1, pp. 28–30. Accessed from Internet History Sourcebook Project, Fordham University.

Chapter Summary

The Italian peninsula was settled by many different groups, including Greeks in the south and Etruscans in the north. The Etruscans expanded southward into central Italy, where they influenced the culture of the small town that was growing into the city of Rome. Rome prospered and expanded its own territories, establishing a republican government led by the Senate. In a series of wars the Romans conquered the Mediterranean, creating an overseas empire that brought them unheard-of power and wealth, but also social unrest and civil war. The meteoric rise to power of Julius Caesar in the first century B.C.E. led to his assassination, but his grandnephew Augustus finally restored peace and order to Rome. Under Augustus, the republic became an empire.

Augustus and his successors further expanded Roman territories. The city of Rome became the magnificent capital of the empire. The Roman provinces and frontiers also saw extensive prosperity through the growth of agriculture, industry, and trade connections. Christianity, a religion created by the followers of Jesus of Nazareth, spread across the empire, beginning in the first century C.E. Initially some Roman officials and emperors persecuted Christians, but gradually hostility decreased. Emperors in the fourth century first allowed Christianity and then made it the official religion of the empire, one of many measures through which they attempted to solve the problems created by invasions and political turmoil. Their measures were successful in the East, where the Roman Empire lasted for another thousand years, but not in the West, where the Roman Empire ended in the fifth century.

CONNECTIONS

The Roman Empire, with its powerful — and sometimes bizarre — leaders, magnificent buildings, luxurious clothing, and bloody amusements, has long fascinated people. Politicians and historians have closely studied the reasons for its successes and have even more closely analyzed the weaknesses that led to its eventual collapse. Despite the efforts of emperors and other leaders, the Western Roman Empire slowly broke apart and by the fifth century C.E. no longer existed. By the fourteenth century European scholars were beginning to see the fall of the Roman Empire as one of the great turning points in Western history, the end of the classical era. That began the practice of dividing Western history into different periods — eventually, the ancient, medieval, and modern eras. Those categories still shape the way that Western history is taught and learned.

This three-part conceptualization also shapes the periodization of world history. As you saw in Chapter 4 and will see in Chapter 7, China is also understood to have had a classical age. As you will read in Chapter 11, the Maya of Mesoamerica did as well, stretching from 300 C.E. to 900 C.E. South Asia is often described as having a classical period, which developed during the Mauryan Empire that lasted from 322 B.C.E. to 185 B.C.E. as discussed in Chapter 3 and extended to the Gupta Empire that ruled northern India from ca. 320 C.E. to 480 C.E., which will be discussed in Chapter 12. The dates of these ages are different from those of the classical period in the Mediterranean, but there are striking similarities among all these civilizations: successful large-scale administrative bureaucracies were established, trade flourished, cities grew, roads were built, and new cultural forms developed. In all these civilizations this classical period was followed by an era of decreased prosperity and increased warfare and destruction.

CHAPTER 6 Review and Explore

Identify Key Terms

Identify and explain the significance of each item below.

Senate (p. 143)
consuls (p. 143)
patricians (p. 145)
plebeians (p. 145)
Punic Wars (p. 147)
paterfamilias (p. 147)
pax Romana (p. 153)
Messiah (p. 160)
pagan (p. 161)
bishop (p. 163)

Review the Main Ideas

Answer the focus questions from each section of the chapter.

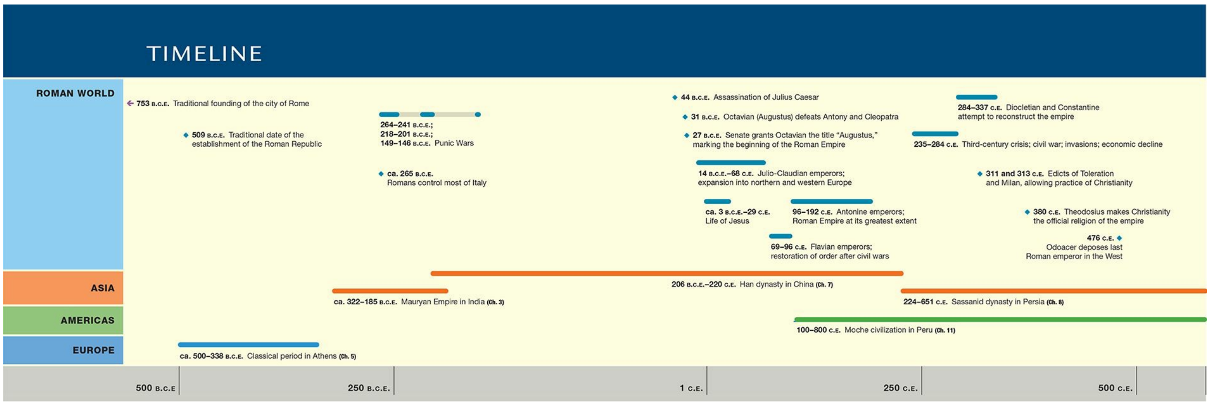
1. How did the Romans come to dominate Italy, and what political institutions did they create? (p. 142)
2. How did Rome expand its power beyond Italy, and what were the effects of this expansion? (p. 146)
3. What was life like in Rome, and what was it like in the provinces? (p. 153)
4. What was Christianity, and how did it affect life in the Roman Empire? (p. 160)
5. How did the emperors respond to political, economic, and religious issues in the third and fourth centuries? (p. 163)

Make Comparisons and Connections

Analyze the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters.

1. What allowed large empires in the ancient world, including the Persian (Chapter 2), the Mauryan (Chapter 3), and the Roman, to govern vast territories and many different peoples successfully?
2. Looking over the long history of Rome, do interactions with non-Romans or conflicts among Romans themselves appear to be the most significant drivers of change? Why? How is this different from other classical civilizations?
3. No classical Chinese thinkers knew about Roman political developments, but the issues they considered, such as how to achieve order and what made

government strong, could also be applied to Rome. How do you think Confucians, Daoists, and Legalists (Chapter 4) would have assessed the Roman Republic? The Roman Empire?



Suggested Resources

Books

Aldrete, Gregory S. *Daily Life in the Roman City*. 2004. Reveals the significance of ordinary Roman life in the city of Rome, its port Ostia, and Pompeii.

Canfora, Luciano. *Julius Caesar: The Life and Times of the People's Dictator*. 2007. Provides a new interpretation of Caesar that puts him fully in the context of his times.

Clark, Gillian. *Christianity and Roman Society*. 2004. Surveys the evolution of Christian life among Christians and with their pagan neighbors.

Evans, J. K. *War, Women, and Children in Ancient Rome*. 2000. Provides a concise survey of how war affected the home front in wartime.

Everitt, Anthony. *The Rise of Rome: The Making of the World's Greatest Empire*. 2012. An engaging and thorough narrative written for general readers.

Freeman, Charles. *A New History of Early Christianity*. 2010. A survey of the first four centuries of Christianity, written for a general audience.

Haynes, Sybille. *Etruscan Civilization: A Cultural History*. 2005. Deals with cultural history, with special emphasis on Etruscan women.

Holland, Tom. *Rubicon: The Triumph and Tragedy of the Roman Republic*. 2003. A lively account of the disintegration of the republic from the Gracchi to Caesar's death.

Joshel, Sandra R. *Slavery in the Roman World*. 2010. An overview of Roman slavery, designed for students.

Knapp, Robert. *Invisible Romans*. 2011. A view of Roman life that focuses on ordinary men and women: soldiers, slaves, laborers, housewives, gladiators, and outlaws.

Kyle, Donald G. *Sport and Spectacle in the Ancient World*. 2007. Deals in grim detail with the ritualized violence of the gladiatorial games.

Warrior, Valerie. *Roman Religion*. 2006. A relatively brief study that examines the actual practices of Roman religion in their social contexts.

Documentaries

From Jesus to Christ: The First Christians (PBS, 1998). A four-part documentary exploring the life and death of Jesus and the transformation of Christianity from a small group to an established church. With commentary by theologians, archaeologists, and historians on many key issues.

Great Generals of the Ancient World: Alexander the Great, Hannibal, Julius Caesar (History Channel, 2006). Three-part examination of the military careers, battles, and personalities of the most successful generals in the ancient world.

Rome: The Rise and Fall of an Empire (History Channel, 2008). A thirteen-part documentary, with re-enactments — especially of battle scenes, power struggles, and lavish banquets — that traces Rome from the second century B.C.E. to the fifth century C.E.

FEATURE FILMS AND TELEVISION

Gladiator (Ridley Scott, 2000). The Academy Award–winning historical epic about a Roman general who becomes a gladiator and avenges the murder of his family by a power-crazy emperor.

Rome (HBO and BBC, 2005, 2007). British-American historical-drama television series set in the transition from republic to empire, with real historical figures and invented characters, that succeeds in presenting a grittier and more realistic Rome than do most Hollywood epics.

Spartacus (Stanley Kubrick, 1960). An Oscar-winning epic that tells the story of the slave revolt led by Spartacus; starring and produced by Kirk Douglas, who considered the movie in part a response to McCarthy-era blacklisting.

Websites

LacusCurtius: Into the Roman World. Primary and secondary resources on ancient Rome, including photographs, inscriptions, maps, and links to other Roman websites. **penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/home.htm**

Rome Reborn: A Digital Model of Ancient Rome. Three-dimensional digital models by an international team of scholars illustrating the urban development of ancient Rome; includes a fascinating video tour of the streets of Rome in 320 C.E. **www.romereborn.virginia.edu/**

Vindolanda Tablets Online. A highly unusual find of wooden writing tablets from the second century C.E., discovered at the Roman fortress of Vindolanda behind Hadrian's Wall in Britain, reveals many aspects of non-elite Roman society and military life. The site includes text images, transliterated texts, English translations, and historical background. **vindolanda.csad.ox.ac.uk/**

7

East Asia and the Spread of Buddhism

221 B.C.E.–845 C.E.

© Panorama/The Image Works

Palace Maid

Ceramic models of attractive young women were often placed in Chinese tombs, reflecting hopes for the afterlife.

East Asia was transformed over the millennium from 221 B.C.E. to 800 C.E. At the beginning of this era, China had just been unified into a single state upon the Qin defeat of all the rival states of the Warring States Period, but it still faced major military challenges with the confederation of the nomadic Xiongnu to its north. At the time China was the only place in East Asia with writing, large cities, and complex state organizations. Over the next several centuries, East Asia changed dramatically as new states emerged. To protect an emerging trade in silk and other valuables, Han China sent armies far into Central Asia. War, trade, diplomacy, missionary activity, and the pursuit of learning led the Chinese to travel to distant lands and people from distant lands to go to China. Among the results were the spread of Buddhism from India and Central Asia to China and the adaptation of many elements of Chinese culture by near neighbors, especially Korea and Japan. Buddhism came to provide a common set of ideas and visual images to all the cultures of East Asia, much the way Christianity linked societies in Europe.

Increased communication stimulated state formation among China’s neighbors: Tibet, Korea, Manchuria, Vietnam, and Japan. Written Chinese was increasingly used as an international language by the ruling elites of these countries, and the new states frequently adopted political models from China as well. By 800 C.E. each of these regions was well on its way to developing a distinct political and cultural identity.

CHAPTER PREVIEW

THE AGE OF EMPIRE IN CHINA: THE QIN AND HAN DYNASTIES

What were the social, cultural, and political consequences of the unification of China under the strong centralized governments of the Qin and Han empires?

THE SPREAD OF BUDDHISM OUT OF INDIA

How did Buddhism find its way into East Asia, and what was its appeal and impact?

THE CHINESE EMPIRE RE-CREATED: SUI (581–618) AND TANG (618–907)

What were the lasting accomplishments of the Sui and Tang Dynasties?

THE EAST ASIAN CULTURAL SPHERE

What elements of Chinese culture were adopted by Koreans, Vietnamese, and Japanese, and how did they adapt them to their own circumstances?

The Age of Empire in China: The Qin and Han Dynasties

What were the social, cultural, and political consequences of the unification of China under the strong centralized governments of the Qin and Han empires?

In much the same period in which Rome created a huge empire, the Qin and Han rulers in China created an empire on a similar scale. Like the Roman Empire, the Chinese empire was put together through force of arms and held in place by sophisticated centralized administrative machinery. The governments created by the Qin and Han Dynasties affected many facets of Chinese social, cultural, and intellectual life.

The Qin Unification, 221–206 B.C.E.

In 221 B.C.E., after decades of constant warfare, Qin (CHIN), the state that had adopted Legalist policies during the Warring States Period (see “Legalism” in Chapter 4), succeeded in defeating the last of its rivals, and China was unified for the first time in many centuries. Deciding that the title “king” was not grand enough, the king of Qin invented the title “emperor” (*huangdi*) (hwang-dee). He called himself the First Emperor in anticipation of a long line of successors. His state, however, did not long outlast him.

Once he ruled all of China, the First Emperor and his shrewd Legalist minister Li Si embarked on a sweeping program of centralization that touched the lives of nearly everyone in China. To cripple the nobility of the defunct states, who could have posed serious threats, the First Emperor ordered the nobles to leave their lands and move to the capital. The private possession of arms was outlawed to make it more difficult for subjects to rebel. The First Emperor dispatched officials to administer the territory that had been conquered and controlled the officials through a long list of regulations, reporting requirements, and penalties for inadequate performance.

Rolf_42/Getty Images

Army of the First Emperor The thousands of life-size ceramic soldiers buried in pits about a half mile from the First Emperor's tomb help us imagine the Qin military machine. It was the Qin emperor's concern with the afterlife that led him to construct such a lifelike guard. The soldiers were originally painted in bright colors, and they held real bronze weapons.

To harness the enormous human resources of his people, the First Emperor ordered a census of the population. Census information helped the imperial bureaucracy to plan its activities: to estimate the labor force available for military service and building projects and the tax revenues needed to pay for them. To make it easier to administer all regions uniformly, the Chinese script was standardized, outlawing regional variations in the ways words were written. The First Emperor also standardized weights, measures, coinage, and even the axle lengths of carts. To make it easier for Qin armies to move rapidly, thousands of miles of roads were built, which indirectly facilitated trade. Most of the labor on the projects came from drafted farmers or convicts working out their sentences.

Some modern Chinese historians have glorified the First Emperor as a bold conqueror who let no obstacle stop him, but traditionally he was castigated as a cruel, arbitrary, impetuous, suspicious, and superstitious megalomaniac. Hundreds of thousands of subjects were drafted to build the **Great Wall** (ca. 230–208 B.C.E.), a rammed-earth fortification along the northern border between the Qin realm and the land controlled by the nomadic Xiongnu. After Li Si complained that scholars (especially Confucians) used records of the past to denigrate the emperor’s achievements and undermine popular support, the emperor had all writings other than useful manuals on topics such as agriculture, medicine, and divination collected and burned. As a result of this massive book burning, many ancient texts were lost.

Great Wall A rammed-earth fortification built along the northern border of China during the reign of the First Emperor.

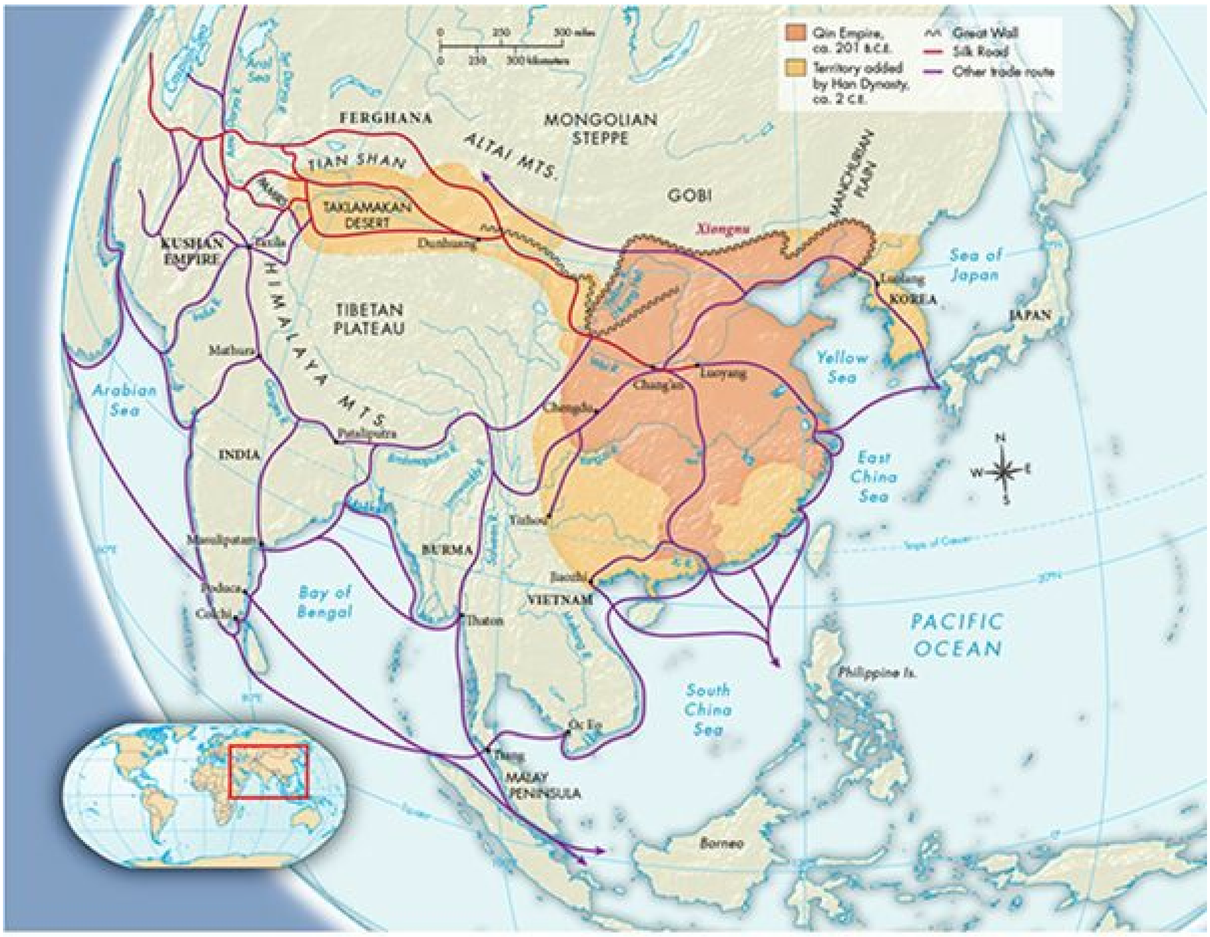
Like Ashoka in India a few decades earlier (see “The Reign of Ashoka” in Chapter 3), the First Emperor erected many stone inscriptions to inform his subjects of his goals and accomplishments. He had none of Ashoka’s modesty, however. On one stone he described his conquest of the other states this way (referring to himself in the third person, as was customary): “He wiped out tyrants, rescued the common people, brought peace to the four corners of the earth. His enlightened laws spread far and wide as examples to All Under Heaven until the end of time. Great is he indeed!”[1]

Assassins tried to kill the First Emperor three times, and perhaps as a consequence he became obsessed with discovering the secrets of immortality. He spent lavishly on a tomb designed to protect him in the afterlife. After he died in 210 B.C.E., the Qin state unraveled. The Legalist institutions designed to concentrate power in the hands of the ruler made the stability of the government dependent on his strength and character, and his heir proved ineffective. The heir was murdered by his younger brother, and uprisings soon followed.

The Han Dynasty, 206 B.C.E.–220 C.E.

The eventual victor in the struggle for power that ensued in the wake of the collapse of the Qin Dynasty was Liu Bang, known in history as Emperor Gaozu (gow-dzoo) (r. 202–195 B.C.E.). The First Emperor of Qin was from the Zhou aristocracy. Gaozu was, by contrast, from a modest family of commoners, so his elevation to emperor is evidence of how thoroughly the Qin Dynasty had destroyed the old order.

Gaozu did not disband the centralized government created by the Qin, but he did remove its most unpopular features. Harsh laws were canceled, taxes were sharply reduced, and a policy of noninterference was adopted in an effort to promote economic recovery. With policies of this sort, relative peace, and the extension of China's frontiers, the Chinese population grew rapidly, reaching 58 million in the census of 2 C.E. (Map 7.1). Few other societies kept such good records, making comparisons difficult, but high-end estimates for the Roman Empire are in a similar range (50–70 million).



0 250 500 miles
0 250 500 kilometers
Qin Empire, ca. 201 B.C.E.
Territory added by Han Dynasty, ca. 2 C.E.
Great Wall
Silk Road
Other trade route
FERGHANA
MONGOLIAN STEPPE
TIAN SHAN
ALTAI MTS.
GOBI
MANCHURIAN PLAIN
Xiongnu
PAMIRS
TAKLAMAKAN DESERT
Dunhuang
KUSHAN EMPIRE
Taxila
HIMALAYA MTS.
TIBETAN PLATEAU
Sea of Japan
Lelang
KOREA
JAPAN
Yellow Sea
Mathura
Arabian Sea
Luoyang
Chang'an
Chengdu
Pataliputra
INDIA
East China Sea
N
W
E
S
Yizhou
BURMA
Masulipatam
Jiaozhi
Podaca
VIETNAM
Bay of Bengal
Colchi
Thaton
PACIFIC OCEAN
Philippine Is.
South China Sea
Oc Eo
Takuapa
MALAY PENINSULA
Borneo

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 7.1 **The Han Empire, 206 B.C.E.–220 C.E.** The Han Dynasty asserted sovereignty over vast regions from Korea in the east to Central Asia in the west and Vietnam in the south. Once garrisons were established, traders were quick to follow, leading to considerable spread of Chinese material culture in East Asia. Chinese goods, especially silk, were in demand far beyond East Asia, promoting long-distance trade across Eurasia.

The Han government was largely supported by the taxes and forced labor demanded of farmers, but this revenue regularly fell short of the government's needs. To pay for his military campaigns, Emperor Wu, the "Martial Emperor" (r. 141–87 B.C.E.), took over the minting of coins, confiscated the land of nobles, sold offices and titles, and increased taxes on private businesses. In 119 B.C.E. government monopolies were established in the production of iron, salt, and liquor. These enterprises had previously been sources of great profit for private entrepreneurs. Large-scale grain dealing also had been a profitable business, and the government now took that over as well.

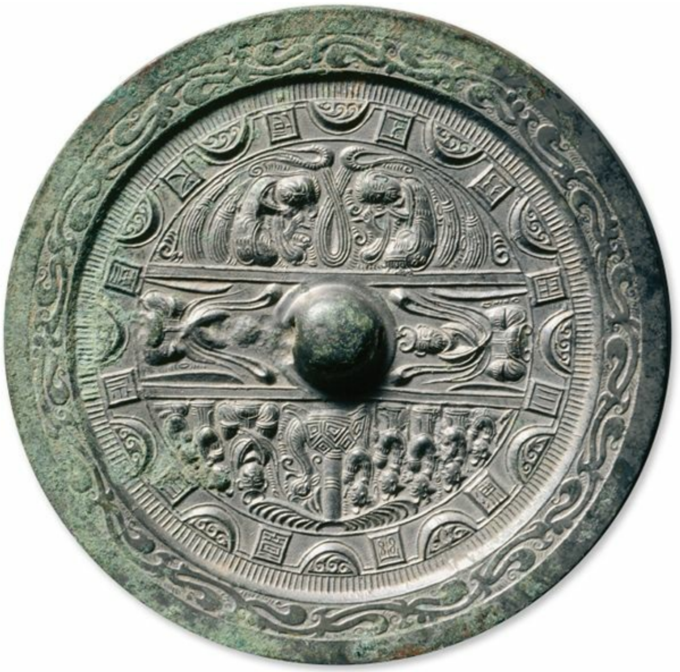
Han Intellectual and Cultural Life

In contrast to the Qin Dynasty, which favored Legalism, the Han came to promote Confucianism. The Han government's efforts to recruit men trained in the Confucian classics marked the beginning of the Confucian scholar-official system, one of the most distinctive features of imperial China.

However, the Confucianism that made a comeback during the Han Dynasty was a changed Confucianism. Although Confucian texts had fed the First Emperor's bonfires, some dedicated scholars had hidden their books, and others had memorized whole works. The ancient books recovered in this way — called the **Confucian classics** — were revered as repositories of the wisdom of the past. Confucian scholars treated these classics with piety and attempted to make them more useful as sources of moral guidance by writing commentaries on them. Other Han Confucians developed comprehensive cosmological theories that explained the world in terms of cyclical flows of yin and yang (see "Yin and Yang" in Chapter 4) and the five phases (fire, water, earth, metal, and wood). Natural disasters such as floods or earthquakes were viewed as signs that the emperor had failed in his role of maintaining the proper balance among the forces of Heaven and earth.

Confucian classics The ancient texts recovered during the Han Dynasty that Confucian scholars treated as sacred scriptures.

Han art and literature reveal a fascination with omens, portents, spirits, immortals, and occult forces. Emperor Wu tried to make contact with the world of gods and immortals through elaborate sacrificial offerings of food and wine, and he welcomed astrologers, alchemists, seers, and shamans to his court.



Mirror [bronze]. Eastern Han Dynasty [25–220]/Cleveland Museum of Art, Ohio, USA/ Gift of Drs. Thomas and Martha Carter in Honor of Sherman E. Lee/Bridgeman Images

Bronze Mirror The backs of bronze mirrors were frequently decorated with images of deities and animals and with auspicious words. As viewers turned the mirrors, they saw different scenes. This Han mirror features an outer border with semicircles decorated with cloud patterns and squares with words written on them. In the center are deities.

A major intellectual accomplishment of the Han Dynasty was history writing. Sima Qian (SIH-mah chyen) (145–ca. 85 B.C.E.) wrote a comprehensive history of China from the time of the mythical sage-kings of high antiquity to his own day, dividing his account into a chronology recounting political events, biographies of key individuals, and treatises on subjects such as geography, taxation, and court rituals. As an official of the emperor, he had access to important people and to the imperial library. Sima Qian believed fervently in visiting the sites where history was made, examining artifacts, and questioning people about events. The result of his research, ten years or more in the making, was ***Records of the Grand Historian***, a massive work of literary and historical genius. In the chapter devoted to moneymakers, he wrote of families that grew rich from trade or manufacturing, concluding that wealth has no permanent master: “It finds its way to the man of ability like the spokes of a wheel converging upon the hub, and from the hands of the worthless it falls like shattered tiles.”[2] For centuries to come, Sima Qian’s work set the standard for Chinese historical writing, although most of the histories modeled after it covered only a single dynasty. The first of these was the work of three members of the Ban family in the first century C.E. (See “Individuals in Society: The Ban Family,” page 181.)

Records of the Grand Historian A comprehensive history of China written by Sima Qian.

The circulation of books like Sima Qian’s was made easier by the invention of paper, which the Chinese traditionally date to 105 C.E. Scribes had previously written on strips of bamboo and wood or rolls of silk. Cai Lun, to whom the Chinese attribute the invention of paper, worked the fibers of rags, hemp, bark, and other scraps into sheets of paper. Though less durable than wood, paper was far lighter and became a convenient means of conveying the written word.

Inner Asia and the Silk Road

The difficulty of defending against the nomadic pastoral peoples to the north in the region known as Inner Asia is a major reason China came to favor a centralized bureaucratic form of government. Resources from the entire subcontinent were needed to maintain control of the northern border.

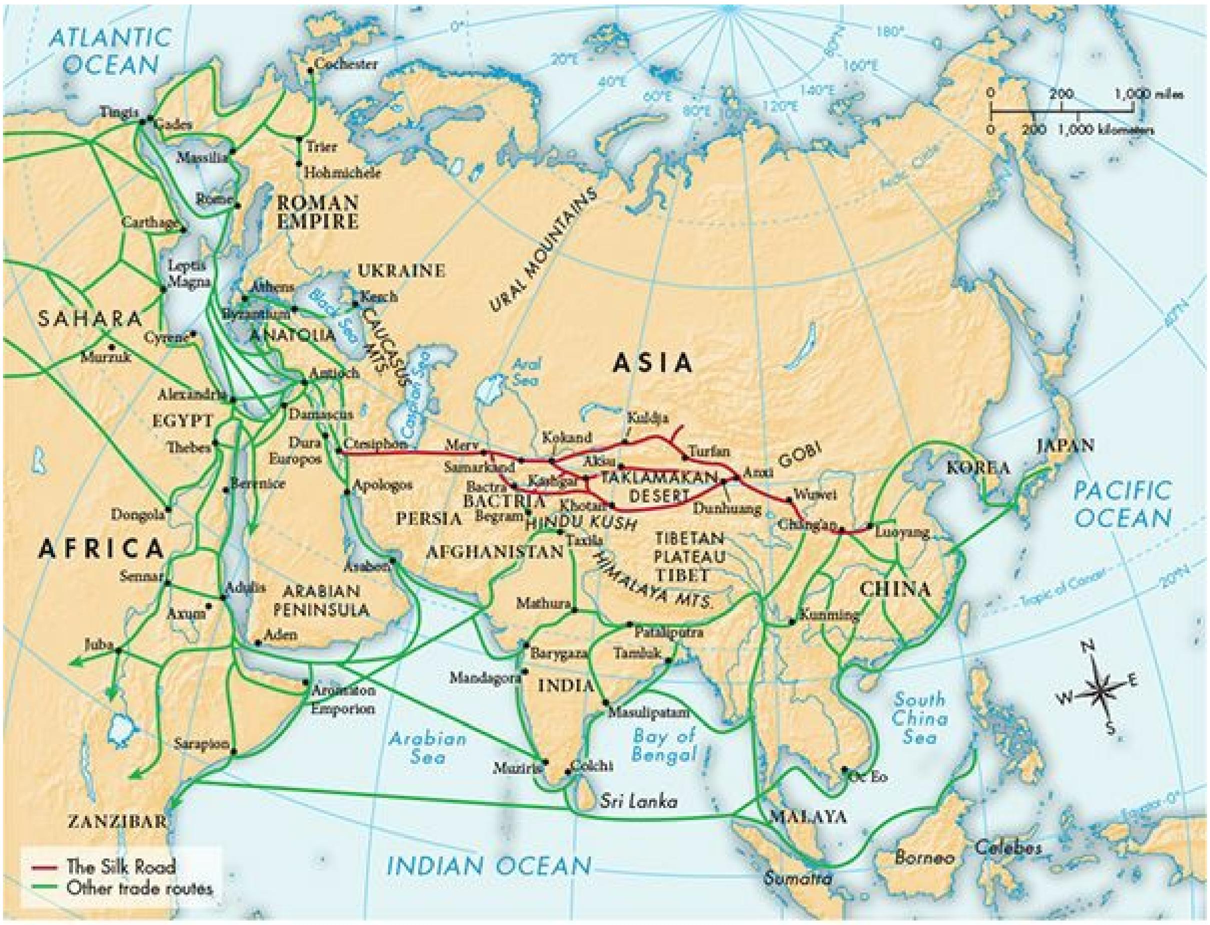
Chinese civilization did not spread easily to the grasslands north of China proper, because those lands were too dry and cold to make good farmland. Herding sheep, horses, camels, and other animals made better economic use of those lands. By the third century B.C.E. several different peoples practicing nomadic pastoralism lived in those regions, moving with their herds north in summer and south in winter. Families lived in tents that could be taken down and moved to the next camp. Herds were tended on horseback, and everyone learned to ride from a young age. The differences in their ways of life led Chinese farmers and Inner Asian herders to look down on each other. For most of the imperial period, Chinese farmers looked on the northern non-Chinese horsemen as gangs of bullies who thought robbing was easier than working for a living. The nomads identified glory with military might and viewed farmers as contemptible weaklings.

In the late third century B.C.E. the Xiongnu (shyuhng-new) (possibly the same group that was known in the West as the Huns) formed the first great confederation of nomadic tribes (see Map 7.1). The Qin’s Great Wall was built to defend against the Xiongnu, and the Qin sent out huge armies in pursuit of them. The early Han emperors tried to make peace with them, offering generous gifts of silk, rice, cash, and even imperial princesses as brides, but to little avail. Xiongnu power did not wane, and in 166 B.C.E. 140,000 Xiongnu raided to within a hundred miles of the Chinese capital.

Emperor Wu then decided that China had to push the Xiongnu back. He sent several armies of 100,000 to 300,000 troops deep into Xiongnu territory. These costly campaigns were of limited value because the Xiongnu were a moving target. If the Xiongnu did not want to fight the Chinese troops, they simply moved their camps. To try to find allies and horses, Emperor Wu turned his attention west, toward Central Asia. From an envoy he sent into Bactria, Parthia, and Ferghana in 139 B.C.E., the Chinese learned for the first time of other civilized states comparable to China. These regions, he reported, were familiar with Chinese products, especially silk, and did a brisk trade in them.

In 114 B.C.E. Emperor Wu sent an army into Ferghana and gained recognition of Chinese overlordship in the area, thus obtaining control over the trade routes across Central Asia commonly called the **Silk Road** (Map 7.2).

Silk Road The trade routes across Central Asia linking China to western Eurasia.


ATLANTIC OCEAN
Colchester
Tingis
Gades
Massilia
Trier
Hohmichele
Rome
ROMAN EMPIRE
Carthage
Leptis Magna
Athens
Byzantium
ANATOLIA
UKRAINE
Kerch
Black Sea
CAUCASUS MTS.
Caspian Sea
SAHARA
Cyrene
Murzuk
Antioch
Alexandria
Damascus
EGYPT
Thebes
Dura Europos
Ctesiphon
Berenice
Apologos
URAL MOUNTAINS
Aral Sea
ASIA
Kuldja
Kokand
Merv
Samarkand
Aksu
Turfan
Kashgar
TAKLAMAKAN DESERT
Anxi
GOBI
Bactra
BACTRIA
Khotan
Dunhuang
Wuwei
PERSIA
Begram
HINDU KUSH
Chang'an
Luoyang
KOREA
JAPAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
Dongola
AFRICA
AFGHANISTAN
Taxila
TIBETAN PLATEAU
TIBET
HIMALAYA MTS.
Sennar
Adulis
ARABIAN PENINSULA
Axum
Aden
Charax
Mathura
Kunming
CHINA
Pataliputra
Juba
Barygaza
Tamluk
Mandagora
INDIA
Aromaton Emporion
Sarapion
Arabian Sea
Masulipatam
Bay of Bengal
South China Sea
Muziris
Colchi
Oc Eo
Sri Lanka
ZANZIBAR
MALAYA
INDIAN OCEAN
Borneo
Celebes
Sumatra
The Silk Road
Other trade routes
0 200 1,000 miles
0 200 1,000 kilometers
N
W
E
S
Tropic of Cancer
Arctic Circle
Equator 0°
0°
20°E
40°E
60°E
80°E
120°E
140°E
160°E
180°
80°N
40°N
20°N

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

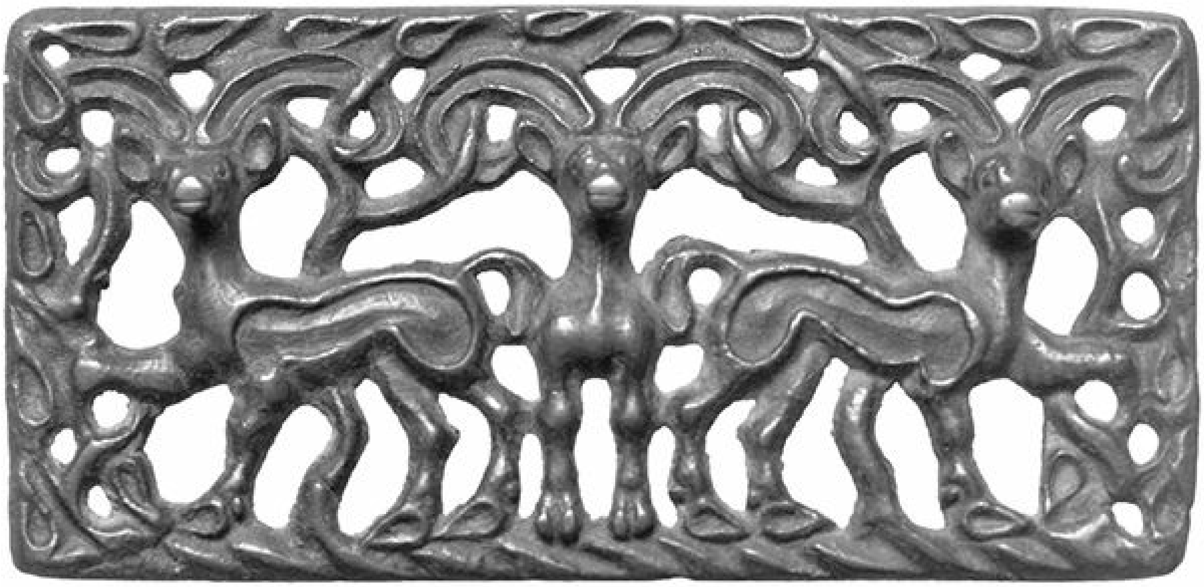
MAP 7.2 The Silk Trade in the Seventh Century C.E. Silk — made from the cocoons of silkworms — was highly valued for the light, colorful, and supple cloth that could be made from it. For centuries all the silk that reached the non-Chinese world came from China, but in time other countries learned how to make it.

At the same time, Emperor Wu sent troops into northern Korea to establish military districts that would flank the Xiongnu on their eastern border. By 111 B.C.E. the Han government also had extended its rule south into Nam Viet, which extended from south China into what is now northern Vietnam.

During the Han Dynasty, China developed a **tributary system** to regulate contact with foreign powers. States and tribes beyond its borders sent envoys bearing gifts and received gifts in return. Over the course of the dynasty, the Han government's outlay on these gifts was huge, perhaps as much as 10 percent of state revenue. Although the tributary system was a financial burden to the Chinese, it reduced the cost of defense and offered China confirmation that it was the center of the civilized world.

tributary system A system first established during the Han Dynasty to regulate contact with foreign powers. States and tribes beyond its borders sent envoys bearing gifts and received gifts in return.

The silk given to the Xiongnu and other northern tributaries often entered the trading networks of Persian, Parthian, and Indian merchants, who carried it by caravans across Asia. There was a market both for skeins of silk thread and for silk cloth woven in Chinese or Syrian workshops. Caravans returning to China carried gold, horses, and occasionally handicrafts of West Asian origin, such as glass beads and cups. Through the trade along the Silk Road, the Chinese learned of new foodstuffs, including walnuts, pomegranates, sesame, and coriander, all of which came to be grown in China. (See “Thinking Like a Historian: Who Made the Chinese Silks Found Along the Silk Road?” page 178.)



Belt plaque with three ibexes, North China, 2nd–1st century B.C./The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York, USA/Gift of George D. Pratt, 1928 [28.68.4]/ Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Image source: Art Resource, NY

Xiongnu Metalwork The metal ornaments of the Xiongnu provide convincing evidence that they were in contact with nomadic pastoralists farther west in Asia, such as the Scythians, who also fashioned metal plaques and buckles in animal designs.

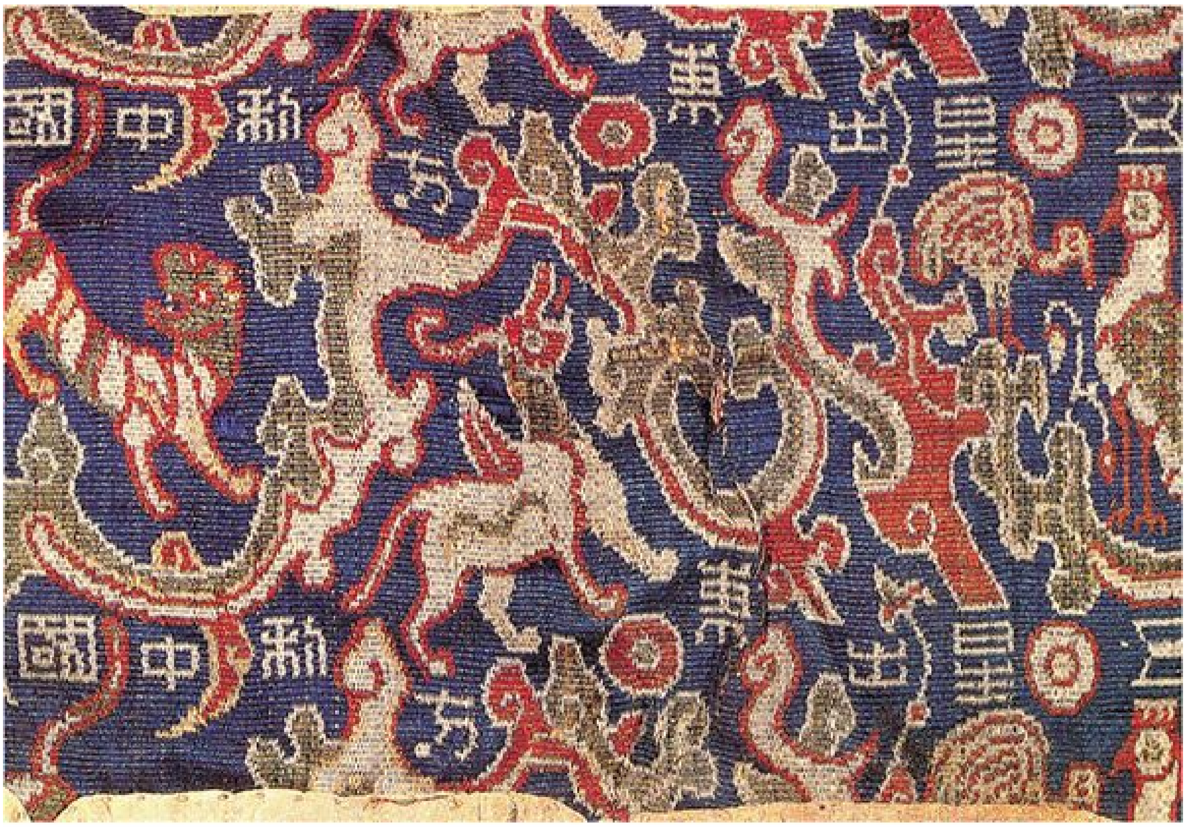
Maintaining a military presence so far from the center of China was expensive. To cut costs, the government set up self-supporting military colonies, recruited Xiongnu tribes to serve as auxiliary forces, and established vast government horse farms. Still, military expenses threatened to bankrupt the Han government.

THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN

Who Made the Chinese Silks Found Along the Silk Road?

Many fine pieces of Chinese silk have been found in the Silk Road cities. These silks were transported far from where they were made. Some are of very high quality and must have been woven by highly skilled craftsmen. Were they made in palace workshops? By men or by women? By servants or by slaves? In private workshops? By women weaving at home? The fragmentary sources can be read more than one way.

1 **Multicolor brocade found in Niya, along the southern branch of the Silk Road.** Woven into this late Han (second century C.E.) textile are the Chinese characters saying, "Five stars rising in the East is auspicious for the Middle Kingdom."



Pictures from History/Bridgeman Images

2 **Liu Xiang, *Biographies of Exemplary Women*, ca. 18 B.C.E.** Traditionally, producing cloth was thought of as women's work, whether it involved coarser materials like hemp or the more time-consuming silk, which involved picking mulberry leaves, feeding the silkworms until they spun their cocoons, reeling and twisting the fibers, and then weaving cloth and sewing it into clothing. This sentiment can be seen in a set of women's biographies, compiled by Liu Xiang near the midpoint of the Han period. In his account of the wife of Bao Song, she objects to a proposal to remarry, using the following words.

■ Once a woman drinks from the marriage cup, she does not waver. When her husband dies, she does not remarry. She manages hempen fibers, processes the silk cocoons, weaves silk fabric, and fashions cords to supply clothing and provide for her husband.

3 **Miscellaneous records of the Western capital, ca. 80 B.C.E.** This collection of anecdotes mentions home production of elaborate textiles at a private family textile workshop in Chang'an.

■ He Guang's wife gave Shunyu Yan twenty-four bolts of silk brocade in the "grape" pattern and twenty-five bolts of thin silk with the "scattered flowers" pattern. The thin silk had been made at the home of Chen Baoguang in Julu. The technique had been passed down in the family of Baoguang's wife. [He Guang's wife] He Xian had invited [Baoguang's wife] to come to her home and set up [a loom] to make it. The apparatus had 120 *nie* and it took sixty days to produce one bolt, worth ten thousand coins.

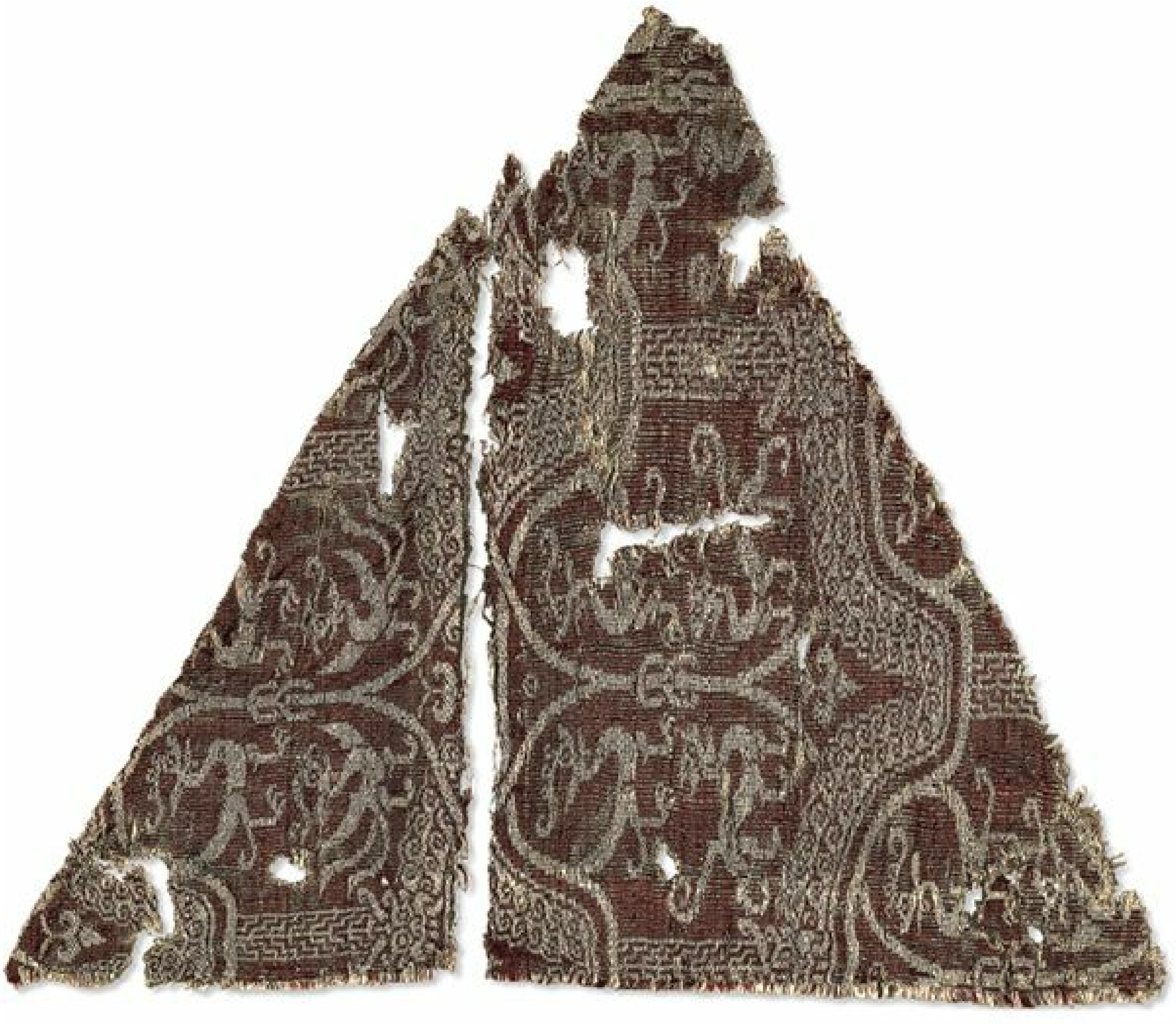
4 **Xuanzang, Account of silkmaking knowledge, 646 C.E.** When the monk Xuanzang traveled from China to India in the seventh century (629–645 C.E.), he heard a story about how the town of Khotan acquired silkmaking knowledge. According to his account, the king sent an envoy to ask for a princess from the Eastern Country. In the following excerpt, he describes what happened next.

■ He then ordered his envoy to tell the bride, "Our kingdom lacks the arts of silk, mulberry seed and silkworm egg. You must bring them with you in order to be able to make your own silk clothes." When the lady heard these words, she secretly placed mulberry seeds and silkworm eggs in her headdress … and in this fashion the secret was brought to Khotan.

5 **An official's account of women and silkmaking skills, ca. 765 C.E.** An official serving in south China in the 760s C.E. saw women as essential links in the transmission of silkmaking skills.

■ In the beginning, the people of Yue were not skilled at working the shuttle and loom. When Xue Jianxun was given command to oversee the area east of the Yangtze, he recruited soldiers who had not yet settled into a home and, generously supplying them with cash, ordered them to marry women from the north who were skilled at weaving. Their numbers surpassed several thousands. From this time the customs of the Yue changed as they competed to become more cultured. *Ling* damasks and open-weave gauzes began to be identified as items from "the left of the Yangtze."

6 **Silk banner from Dunhuang.** Woven into this fourth- or fifth-century-C.E. banner are images of dragons, tigers, phoenixes, and vermilion birds, which are Chinese symbols of the four directions.



© The Trustees of the British Museum/Art Resource, NY

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. Which of these sources provides the strongest evidence that women wove complex silks? What is the basis for your answer?
2. The accounts in Sources 2–5 were written over a period of almost a thousand years. How do the dates of these sources factor into your analysis of them?
3. What, if anything, do the early silks in Sources 1 and 6 add to our understanding of silkmaking?
4. Does it make much of a difference to our understanding of Chinese society if we see women as the primary producers of silk? Explain your answer.

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

Using the sources above, along with what you have learned in class and in this chapter, write a short essay that analyzes early Chinese understandings of women's work.

Sources: (2) Anne Behnke Kinney, trans., *Exemplary Women of Early China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), p. 33; (3) *Xijing zaji* 1.81, in *Han Wei Liuchao Biji Xiaoshuo Daguan* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1999), translation by Patricia Ebrey; (4, 5) Zhao Feng, "Silks in the Sui, Tang, and Five Dynasties," in Dieter Kuhn, ed., *Chinese Silks* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), p. 207.

Life in Han China

How were ordinary people's lives affected by the creation of a huge Han bureaucratic empire? The lucky ones who lived in Chang'an or Luoyang, the great cities of the empire, got to enjoy the material benefits of increased long-distance trade and a boom in the production of luxury goods.

The government did not promote trade per se. The Confucian elite, like ancient Hebrew wise men, considered trade necessary but lowly. Agriculture and crafts were more honorable because they produced something, but merchants merely took advantage of others' shortages to make profits as middlemen. This attitude justified the government's takeover of the grain, iron, and salt businesses.

Markets were the liveliest places in the cities. Besides stalls selling goods of all kinds, markets offered fortune-tellers, jugglers, acrobats, and puppet shows. The markets were also used for the execution of criminals, to serve as a warning to onlookers.

Government patronage helped maintain the quality of craftsmanship in the cities. By the beginning of the first century C.E. China also had about fifty state-run ironworking factories. In contrast to Roman blacksmiths, who hammered heated iron to make wrought iron tools, the Chinese knew how to liquefy iron and pour it into molds, producing tools with a higher carbon content that were harder and more durable. Iron was replacing bronze in tools, but bronzeworkers still turned out a host of goods, including jewelry and mirrors. Bronze was also used for coins and for precision tools such as carpenters' rules and adjustable wrenches.

The bulk of the population in Han times and even into the twentieth century consisted of peasants living in villages of a few hundred households. Because the Han empire, much like the contemporaneous Roman Empire, drew its strength from a large population of free peasants who contributed both taxes and labor services to the state, the government had to try to keep peasants independent and productive. To fight peasant poverty, the government kept land taxes low (one-thirtieth of the harvest), provided relief in times of famine, and promoted up-to-date agricultural methods. Still, many hard-pressed peasants were left to choose between migration to areas where new lands could be opened and quasi-servile status as the dependents of a magnate. Throughout the Han period, Chinese farmers in search of land to till pushed into frontier areas, expanding Chinese domination at the expense of other ethnic groups, especially in central and south China.

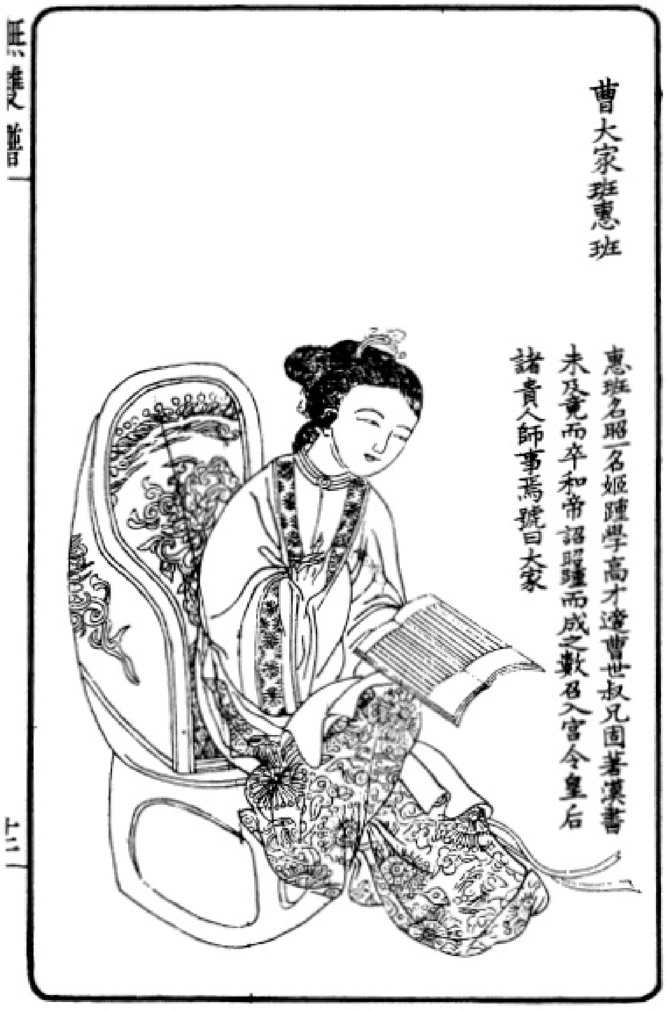
The Chinese family in Han times was much like Roman and Indian families. In all three societies senior males had great authority, parents arranged their children’s marriages, and brides normally joined their husbands’ families. Other practices were more distinctive to China, such as the universality of patrilineal family names, the practice of dividing land equally among the sons in a family, and the great emphasis placed on the virtue of filial piety. The brief *Classic of Filial Piety*, which claimed that filial piety was the root of all virtue, gained wide circulation in Han times. The virtues of loyal wives and devoted mothers were extolled in *Biographies of Exemplary Women*, which told the stories of women from China’s past. One of the most commonly used texts for the education of women was *Admonitions for Women* by Ban Zhao, in which she extols the feminine virtues, such as humility. (See “Individuals in Society: The Ban Family,” at right.)

Funerary model of a pigsty [earthenware], Western Han Dynasty [206 B.C.–A.D. 24]/ Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Minnesota, USA/Gift of Alan and Dena Naylor in memory of Thomas E. Leary/Bridgeman Images

Ceramic Model of a Pigsty Chinese farmers regularly raised pigs, keeping them in walled-off pens and feeding them scraps. This Han Dynasty model of such a pigsty was placed in a tomb to represent the material goods one hoped the deceased would enjoy in the afterlife.

INDIVIDUALS IN SOCIETY

The Ban Family


無雙譜
曹大家班惠班
惠班名昭一名姬邃學高才適曹世叔兄固著漢書未及竟而卒和帝詔昭踵而成之數召入宮令皇后諸貴人師事焉號曰大家

© Fotoe/Uniphoto Press, Japan/Ancient Art & Architecture Collection, Ltd.

Ban Zhao, Han Dynasty writer.

BAN BIAO (3–54 C.E.), A SUCCESSFUL OFFICIAL FROM A family with an envied library, had three highly accomplished children: his twin sons, the general Ban Chao (32–102) and the historian Ban Gu (32–92); and his daughter, Ban Zhao (ca. 45–120). After distinguishing himself as a junior officer in campaigns against the Xiongnu, Ban Chao was sent in 73 C.E. to the western regions to see about the possibility of restoring Chinese overlordship there, which had been lost several decades earlier. Ban Chao spent most of the next three decades in Central Asia. Through patient diplomacy and a show of force, he re-established Chinese control over the oasis cities of Central Asia, and in 92 he was appointed protector general of the area.

His twin brother, Ban Gu, was one of the most accomplished writers of his age, excelling in a distinctive literary form known as the rhapsody (*fu*). His "Rhapsody on the Two Capitals" is in the form of a dialogue between a guest from Chang'an and his host in Luoyang. It describes the palaces, spectacles, scenic spots, local products, and customs of the two great cities. Emperor Zhang (r. 76–88) was fond of literature and often had Ban Gu accompany him on hunts or travels. He also had him edit a record of the court debates he held on issues concerning the Confucian classics.

Ban Biao was working on the *History of the Former Han Dynasty* when he died in 54. Ban Gu took over this project, modeling it on Sima Qian's *Records of the Grand Historian*. He added treatises on law, geography, and bibliography, the last a classified list of books in the imperial library.

Because of his connection to a general out of favor, Ban Gu was sent to prison in 92, where he soon died. At that time the *History of the Former Han Dynasty* was still incomplete. The emperor called on Ban Gu's widowed sister, Ban Zhao, to finish it. She came to the palace, where she not only worked on the history but also became a teacher of the women of the palace. According to the *History of the Later Han*, she taught them the classics, history, astronomy, and mathematics. In 106 an infant succeeded to the throne, and the widow of an earlier emperor became regent. This empress frequently turned to Ban Zhao for advice on government policies.

Ban Zhao credited her own education to her learned father and cultured mother and became an advocate of the education of girls. In her *Admonitions for Women*, Ban Zhao objected that many families taught their sons to read but not their daughters. She did not claim girls should have the same education as boys; after all, "just as yin and yang differ, men and women have different characteristics." Women, she wrote, will do well if they cultivate womanly virtues such as humility. "Humility means yielding and acting respectful, putting others first and oneself last, never mentioning one's own good deeds or denying one's own faults, enduring insults and bearing with mistreatment, all with due trepidation."* In subsequent centuries Ban Zhao's *Admonitions* became one of the most commonly used texts for the education of Chinese girls.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What inferences can you draw from the fact that a leading general had

a brother who was a literary man?

2. What does Ban Zhao’s life tell us about women in her society? How do you reconcile her personal accomplishments with the advice she gave for women’s education?

---

[*] Patricia Buckley Ebrey, ed., *Chinese Civilization: A Sourcebook*, 2d ed., revised and expanded (New York: Free Press, 1993), p. 75.

China and Rome

The empires of China and Rome were large, complex states governed by monarchs, bureaucracies, and standing armies. Both lasted for centuries and reached the people directly through taxation and conscription policies. Both invested in infrastructure such as roads and waterworks. Both saw their civilization as better than any other and were open to others' learning their ways. The two empires faced the similar challenge of having to work hard to keep land from becoming too concentrated in the hands of hard-to-tax wealthy magnates. In both empires people in neighboring areas that came under political domination were attracted to the conquerors' material goods, productive techniques, and other cultural products, resulting in gradual cultural assimilation. China and Rome also had similar frontier problems and tried similar solutions, such as recruiting "barbarian" soldiers and settling soldier-colonists.

Nevertheless, the differences between Rome and Han China are also worth noting. The Roman Empire was linguistically and culturally more diverse than China. In China there was only one written language; people in the Roman Empire still wrote in Greek and several other languages, and people in the eastern Mediterranean could claim more ancient civilizations. China did not have comparable cultural rivals. Politically the dynastic principle was stronger in China than in Rome, and there was no institution comparable to the Roman Senate. In contrast to the graduated forms of citizenship in Rome, citizenship in Han China made no distinctions between original and added territories. The social and economic structures also differed in the two empires. Slavery was much more important in Rome than in China, and merchants were more favored.

The Fall of the Han and the Age of Division

In the second century C.E. the Han government suffered a series of blows. A succession of child emperors required regents to rule in their place until they reached maturity, allowing the families of empresses to dominate the court. Emperors, once grown, turned to **eunuchs** (castrated palace servants) for help in ousting the empresses' families, only to find that the eunuchs were just as difficult to control. In 166 and 169 scholars who had denounced the eunuchs were arrested, killed, or banished from the capital and official life. Then in 184 a millenarian religious sect rose in massive revolt. The armies raised to suppress the rebels soon took to fighting among themselves. After years of fighting, a stalemate was reached, with three warlords each controlling distinct territories in the north, the southeast, and the southwest. In 220 one of them forced the last of the Han emperors to abdicate, formally ending the Han Dynasty.

eunuchs Castrated males who played an important role as palace servants.

The period after the fall of the Han Dynasty is often referred to as the **Age of Division** (220–589). A brief reunification from 280 to 316 came to an end when non-Chinese who had been settling in north China since Han times attempted to take power. For the next two and a half centuries, north China was ruled by one or more non-Chinese dynasties (the Northern Dynasties), and the south was ruled by a sequence of four short-lived Chinese dynasties (the Southern Dynasties) centered in the area of the present-day city of Nanjing.

Age of Division The period after the fall of the Han Dynasty, when China was politically divided.

In the south a hereditary aristocracy entrenched itself in the higher reaches of officialdom. These families saw themselves as maintaining the high culture of the Han and looked on the emperors of the successive dynasties as upstarts — as military men rather than men of culture. In this aristocratic culture the arts of poetry and calligraphy flourished, and people began collecting writings by famous calligraphers.

Establishing the capital at Nanjing, south of the Yangzi River, had a beneficial effect on the economic development of the south. The south, with its temperate climate and ample supply of water, offered nearly unlimited possibilities for such development.

The Northern Dynasties are interesting as the first case of alien rule in China. Ethnic tensions flared from time to time. In the late fifth century the Northern Wei (way) Dynasty (386–534) moved the capital from near the Great Wall to the ancient city of Luoyang, adopted Chinese-style clothing, and made Chinese the official language. But the armies remained in the hands of the non-Chinese Xianbei tribesmen. Soldiers who saw themselves as marginalized by the pro-Chinese reforms rebelled in 524. For the next fifty years north China was torn apart by struggles for power.

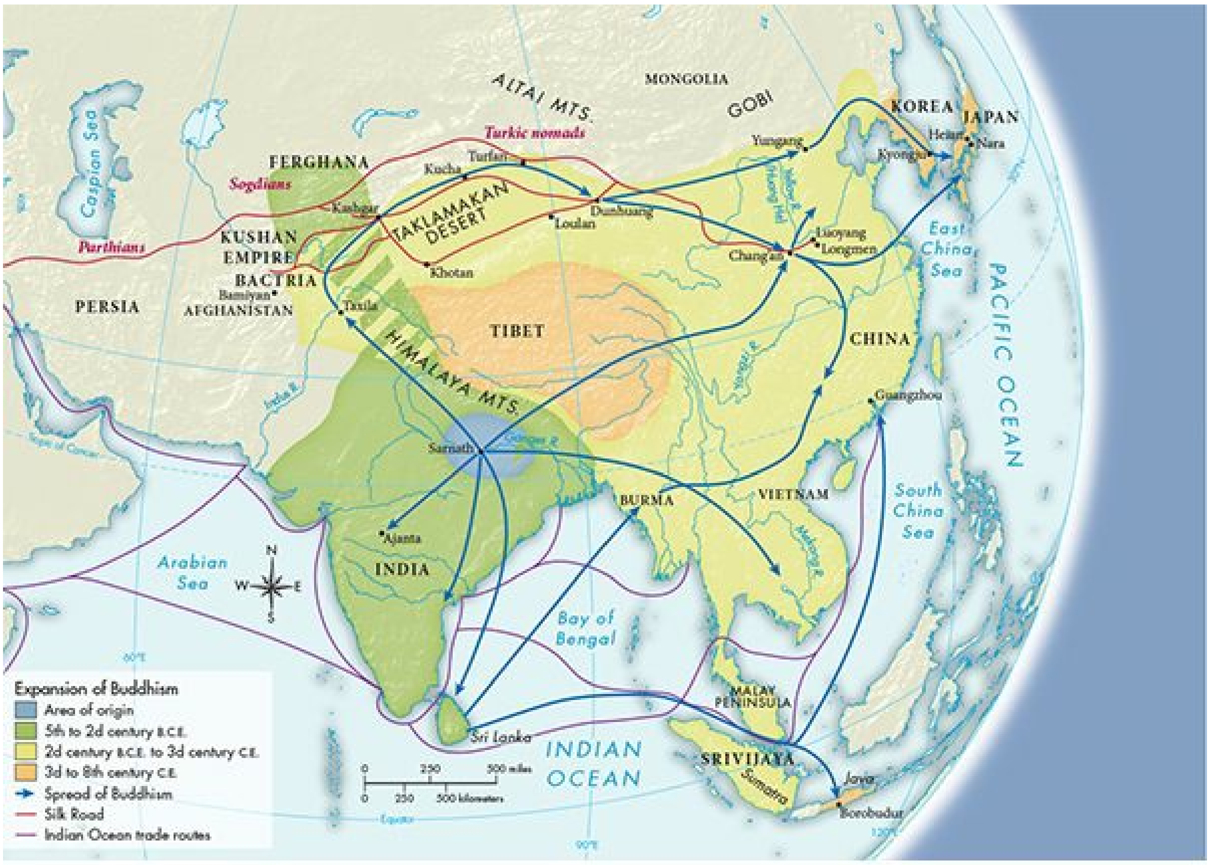
The Spread of Buddhism Out of India

How did Buddhism find its way into East Asia, and what was its appeal and impact?

In much the same period that Christianity was spreading out of its original home in ancient Israel, Buddhism was spreading beyond India. Buddhism came to Central, East, and Southeast Asia with merchants and missionaries along the overland Silk Road, by sea from India and Sri Lanka, and also through Tibet. Like Christianity, Buddhism was shaped by its contact with cultures in the different areas into which it spread, leading to several distinct forms.

Buddhism's Path Through Central Asia

Under Ashoka in India (see "The Reign of Ashoka" in Chapter 3), Buddhism began to spread to Central Asia. This continued under the Kushan empire (ca. 50–250 C.E.). Over the next several centuries most of the city-states of Central Asia became centers of Buddhism, from Bamiyan northwest of Kabul, to Kucha, Khotan, Loulan, Turfan, and Dunhuang (Map 7.3).


MONGOLIA
ALTAI MTS.
GOBI
KOREA
JAPAN
Heian
Nara
Kyongju
Yungang
Turkic nomads
Turfan
Kucha
FERGHANA
Sogdians
Caspian Sea
Kashgar
TAKLAMAKAN DESERT
Dunhuang
Loulan
Parthians
KUSHAN EMPIRE
BACTRIA
Bamiyan
AFGHANISTAN
PERSIA
Khotan
Taxila
Luoyang
Longmen
Chang'an
East China Sea
PACIFIC OCEAN
TIBET
CHINA
HIMALAYA MTS.
Guangzhou
Sarnath
BURMA
VIETNAM
South China Sea
Ajanta
INDIA
Arabian Sea
N
W
E
S
Bay of Bengal
MALAY PENINSULA
Sri Lanka
INDIAN OCEAN
SRIVIJAYA
Sumatra
Java
Borobudur
Expansion of Buddhism
Area of origin
5th to 2d century B.C.E.
2d century B.C.E. to 3d century C.E.
3d to 8th century C.E.
Spread of Buddhism
Silk Road
Indian Ocean trade routes
0
250
500 miles
0
250
500 kilometers
Equator
60°E
90°E
120°E

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

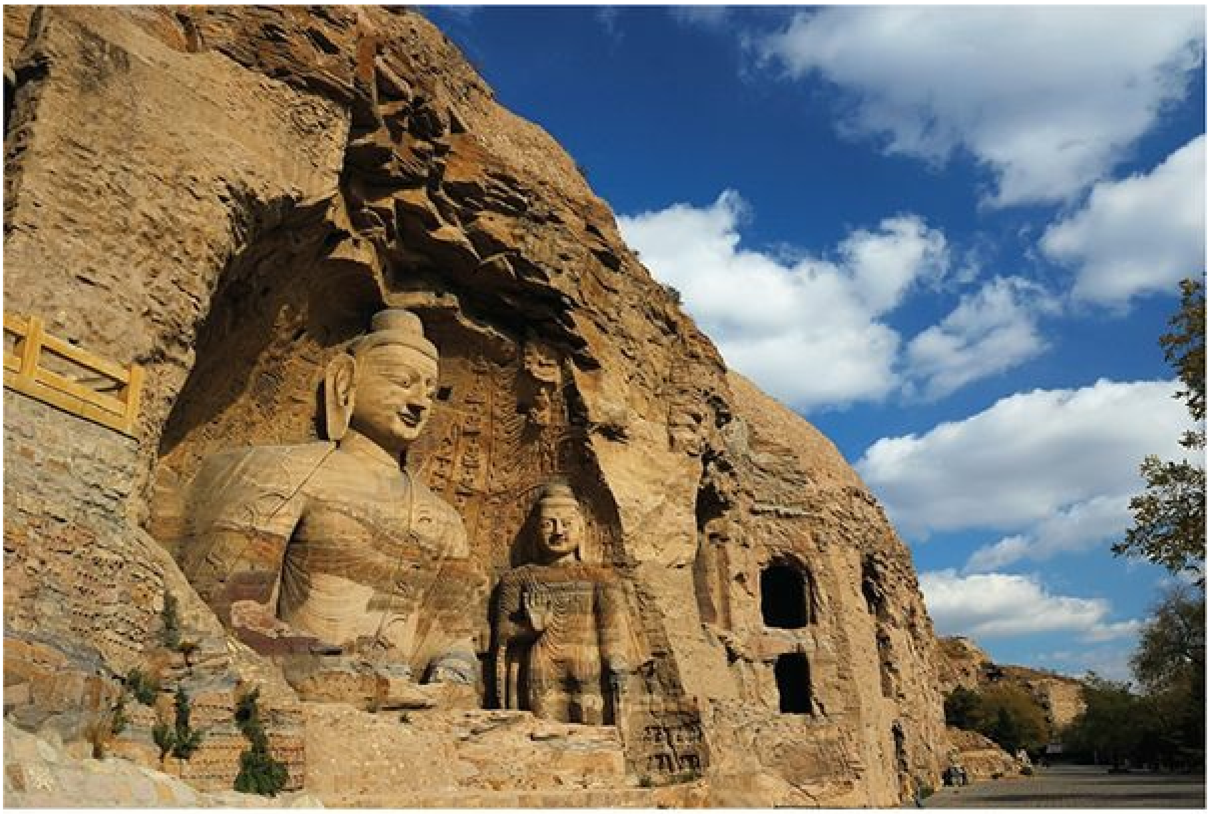
Mapping the Past

MAP 7.3 The Spread of Buddhism, ca. 500 B.C.E.–800 C.E. Buddhism spread throughout India in Ashoka's time and beyond India in later centuries. The different forms of Buddhism found in Asia today reflect this history. The Mahayana Buddhism of Japan came via Central Asia, China, and Korea, with a secondary later route through Tibet. The Theravada Buddhism of Southeast Asia came directly from India and indirectly through Sri Lanka.

ANALYZING THE MAP Trace the routes of the spread of Buddhism by time period. How fast did Buddhism spread?

CONNECTIONS Why do you think Buddhism spread more to the east of India than to the west?

The form of Buddhism that spread from Central Asia to China, Japan, and Korea was called Mahayana, which means "Great Vehicle," reflecting the claims of its adherents to a more inclusive form of the religion. Influenced by the Iranian religions then prevalent in Central Asia, Buddhism became more devotional. The Buddha came to be treated as a god, the head of an expanding pantheon of other Buddhas and bodhisattvas (Buddhas-to-be). With the growth of this pantheon, Buddhism became as much a religion for laypeople as for monks and nuns.

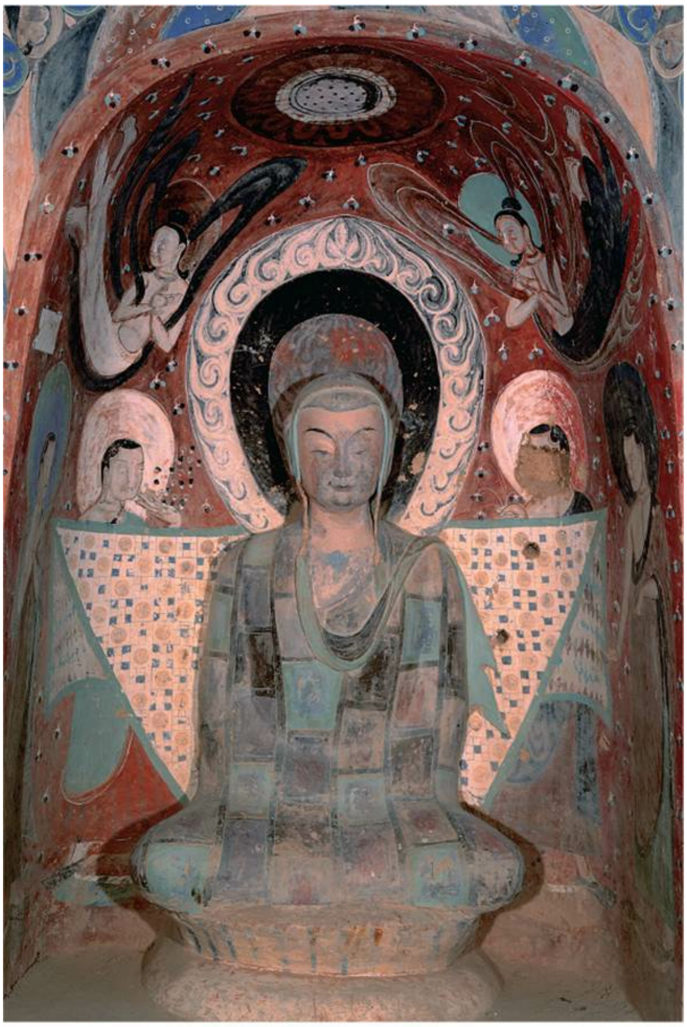


1970s/Getty Images

Monumental Rock-Cut Buddha at Yungang The Xianbei rulers of the Northern Wei funded the carving of Buddhist statues at Yungang in the late fifth century. The tallest of these statues, shown here, is about 45 feet high; it is one of about fifty-one thousand Buddha images at the site. The massive stone Buddha at Bamiyan in Afghanistan provided a model for cave temples like this one in China.

The Appeal and Impact of Buddhism in China

Why did Buddhism find so many adherents in China during the three centuries from 200 to 500 C.E.? There were no forced conversions, but still the religion spread rapidly. In the unstable political environment, many people were open to new ideas. To Chinese scholars the Buddhist concepts of the reincarnation of souls, karma, and nirvana posed a stimulating intellectual challenge. To rulers the Buddhist religion offered a source of magical power and a political tool to unite Chinese and non-Chinese. In a tumultuous age Buddhism’s emphasis on kindness, charity, and eternal bliss was deeply comforting. As in India, Buddhism posed no threat to the social order, and the elite who were drawn to Buddhism encouraged its spread to people of all classes.



Lois Conner. Courtesy, Dunhuang Academy

Meditating Monk This monk, wearing the traditional patchwork robe, sits in the crossed-legged meditation position. His small niche is to the left of the main image of the Buddha in cave 285 at Dunhuang, a cave completed in 539 C.E. under the patronage of a prince of the Northern Wei imperial house who was then the local governor.

The monastic establishment grew rapidly in China. Like their Christian counterparts in medieval Europe, Buddhist monasteries played an active role in social, economic, and political life. Given the importance of family lines in China, becoming a monk was a major decision, since a man had to give up his surname and take a vow of celibacy, thus cutting himself off from the ancestral cult. Those not ready to become monks or nuns could pursue Buddhist goals as pious laypeople by performing devotional acts and making contributions to monasteries.

In China women turned to Buddhism as readily as men. Although birth as a female was considered lower than birth as a male, it was also viewed as temporary, and women were encouraged to pursue salvation on terms nearly equal to those of men. Joining a nunnery became an alternative for a woman who did not want to marry or did not want to stay with her husband's family in widowhood. (See "Analyzing the Evidence: Sixth-Century Biographies of Buddhist Nuns," above.) Later, the only woman ruler of China, Empress Wu, invoked Buddhist principles to justify her role (see "The Tang Dynasty"), further evidence of how Buddhism brought new understandings of gender.

Buddhism had an enormous impact on the visual arts in China, especially sculpture and painting. Before Buddhism, Chinese had not set up statues of gods in temples, but now they decorated temples with a profusion of images. Inspired by the cave temples of India and Central Asia, Buddhists in China, too, carved caves into rock faces to make temples.

Not everyone was won over by Buddhist teachings. Critics of Buddhism labeled it immoral, unsuited to China, and a threat to the state since monastery land was not taxed and monks did not perform labor service. Although twice rulers closed monasteries, no attempt was made to suppress belief in Buddhism, and the religion continued to thrive in the subsequent Sui and Tang periods.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

Sixth-Century Biographies of Buddhist Nuns

Women drawn to Buddhism could leave secular life to become nuns. Most nuns lived with other nuns in convents, but they could also work to spread Buddhist teachings outside the cloister. The first collection of biographies of eminent nuns in China was written in 516. Among the sixty-five nuns whose lives it recounted are these three.

Kang Minggan

Minggan’s secular surname was Zhu, and her family was from Kaoping. For generations the family had venerated the [Buddhist] teachings known as the Great Vehicle.

A bandit who wanted to make her his wife abducted her, but, even though she suffered increasing torment, she vowed not to give in to him. She was forced to serve as a shepherdess far from her native home. Ten years went by and her longing for her home and family grew more and more intense, but there seemed to be no way back. During all this she kept her mind fixed on the Three Treasures, and she herself wished to become a nun.

One day she happened to meet a Buddhist monk, and she asked him to bestow on her the five fundamental precepts [of a Buddhist householder]. He granted her request and also presented her with a copy of the Bodhisattva Guanshiyin Scripture, which she then practiced chanting day and night without pause.

Deciding to return home to build a five-story pagoda, she fled to the east in great anxiety and distress. At first she did not know the road but kept traveling both day and night. When crossing over a mountain she saw a tiger lying only a few steps away from her. After momentary terror she composed her mind, and her hopes were more than met, for the tiger led the way for her, and, after the days had grown into weeks, she finally arrived in her home territory of Qing Province. As she was about to enter the village, the tiger disappeared, but at that moment, having arrived in the province, Minggan was again abducted, this time by Ming Bolian. When word reached her family, her husband and son ransomed her, but the family did not let her carry out her wishes [to enter the life of a Buddhist nun]. Only after three years of cultivating stringent religious practices was she able to follow her intention. As a nun, she especially concentrated on the cultivation of meditation, and she kept all the regulations of a monastic life without any transgressions. If she happened to commit a minor fault, she would confess it several mornings in a row, ceasing only after she received a sign or a good omen. Sometimes as a good omen she saw flowers rain down from the sky or she heard a voice in the sky or she saw a Buddha image or she had auspicious dreams.

As Minggan approached old age, her moral cultivation was even more strict and lofty. All the men and women north of the Yangtze River honored her as their spiritual teacher in whom they could take refuge.

In the spring of 348 of the Jin dynasty, she, together with Huichan and others — ten in all — traveled south, crossed the Yangtze River, and went to see the minister of public works, He Chong, in the capital of the Eastern Jin dynasty. As soon as he met them, he showed them great respect. Because at that time there were no convents in the capital region He Chong converted one of his private residences into a convent for them.

He asked Minggan, “What should the convent be named?”

She replied, “In the great realm of the Jin dynasty all the four Buddhist assemblies of monks, nuns, and male and female householders are now established for the first time. Furthermore, that which you as donor have established will bestow blessings and merit. Therefore, let us call the convent ‘Establishing Blessings Convent.’” He Chong agreed to her suggestion. Not long afterward Minggan took sick and died.

Daoqiong

Daoqiong’s secular surname was Jiang. Her family was from Danyang. When she was a little more than ten years old, she was already well educated in the classics and history, and after her full admission to the monastic assembly she became learned in the Buddhist writings as well and also diligently cultivated a life of asceticism. In the Taiyuan reign period [376–396] of the Eastern Jin dynasty, the empress admired her exalted conduct, and, whenever she wished to gain merit by giving gifts or by listening to religious exhortations, she most often depended on the convent where Daoqiong lived for such opportunities. Ladies of noble family vied with one another to associate with Daoqiong.

In 431 she had many Buddhist images made and placed them everywhere: in Pengcheng Monastery, two gold Buddha images with a curtained dais and all accessories; in Pottery Office Monastery, a processional image of Maitreya, the future Buddha, with a jeweled umbrella and pendants; in Southern Establishing Joy Monastery, two gold images with various articles, banners, and canopies. In Establishing Blessings Convent, she had an image of the reclining Buddha made, as well as a hall to house it. She also had a processional image of the bodhisattva, Puxian [or Samantabhadra], made. Of all these items, there was none that was not extremely beautiful. Again, in 438, Daoqiong commissioned a gold Amitayus [or Infinite Life] Buddha, and in the fourth month and tenth day of that same year a golden light shone forth from the mark between the eyebrows of the image and filled the entire convent. The news of this event spread among religious and worldly alike, and all came to pay honor, and, gazing at the unearthly brilliance, there was none who was not filled with great happiness. Further, using the materials bequeathed to her by the Yuan empress consort, she extended the convent to the south to build another meditation hall.

Daozong

Daozong, whose family origins are unknown, lived in Three-Story Convent in Jiangling. As a child she had no intention of setting herself apart; as an adult she did not consider associating with others a defilement. She merely followed a course along the boundary between the wise and the foolish, and, although outwardly she seemed muddled, yet within she traversed hidden profundities.

On the full-moon night of the fifteenth day of the third month, in 463 …, Daozong, as an offering to the Buddha, purified herself in a fire fed by oil. Even though she was engulfed by flames up to her forehead, and her eyes and ears were nearly consumed, her chanting of the scriptures did not falter. Monastics and householders sighed in wonder; the demonic and upright were alike startled. When the country heard this news, everyone aspired to attain enlightenment. The appointed court scholar …, Liu Qiu, especially revered her and composed a Buddhist-style poetic verse to praise her.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Why were the lives of these three particular nuns considered worth recording? What was admirable or inspiring about their examples?
2. What do the nuns’ spiritual journeys reveal about the virtues associated with Buddhist monastic life?
3. Do you see a gender element in these accounts? Were the traits that made a nun admirable also appropriate for monks?

Source: Kathryn Ann Tsai, trans., *Lives of the Nuns: Biographies of Chinese Buddhist Nuns from the Fourth to Sixth Centuries*. University of Hawaii Press, 1972. Reprinted with permission of the University of Hawaii Press.

The Chinese Empire Re-created: Sui (581–618) and Tang (618–907)

What were the lasting accomplishments of the Sui and Tang Dynasties?

Political division was finally overcome when the Sui Dynasty conquered its rivals to reunify China in 589. Although the dynasty lasted only thirty-seven years, it left a lasting legacy in the form of political reform, the construction of roads and canals, and the institution of written merit-based exams for the appointment of officials. The Tang Dynasty that followed would last for centuries and would build upon the Sui's accomplishments to create an era of impressive cultural creativity and political power.

The Sui Dynasty, 581–618

In the 570s and 580s the long period of division in China was brought to an end under the leadership of the Sui (SWAY) Dynasty. The conquest of the south involved naval as well as land battles, with thousands of ships on both sides contending for control of the Yangzi River. The Sui reasserted Chinese control over northern Vietnam and campaigned into Korea and against the new force on the steppe, the Turks. The Sui strengthened central control of the government by curtailing the power of local officials to appoint their own subordinates and by instituting in 605 C.E. competitive written examinations for the selection of officials.

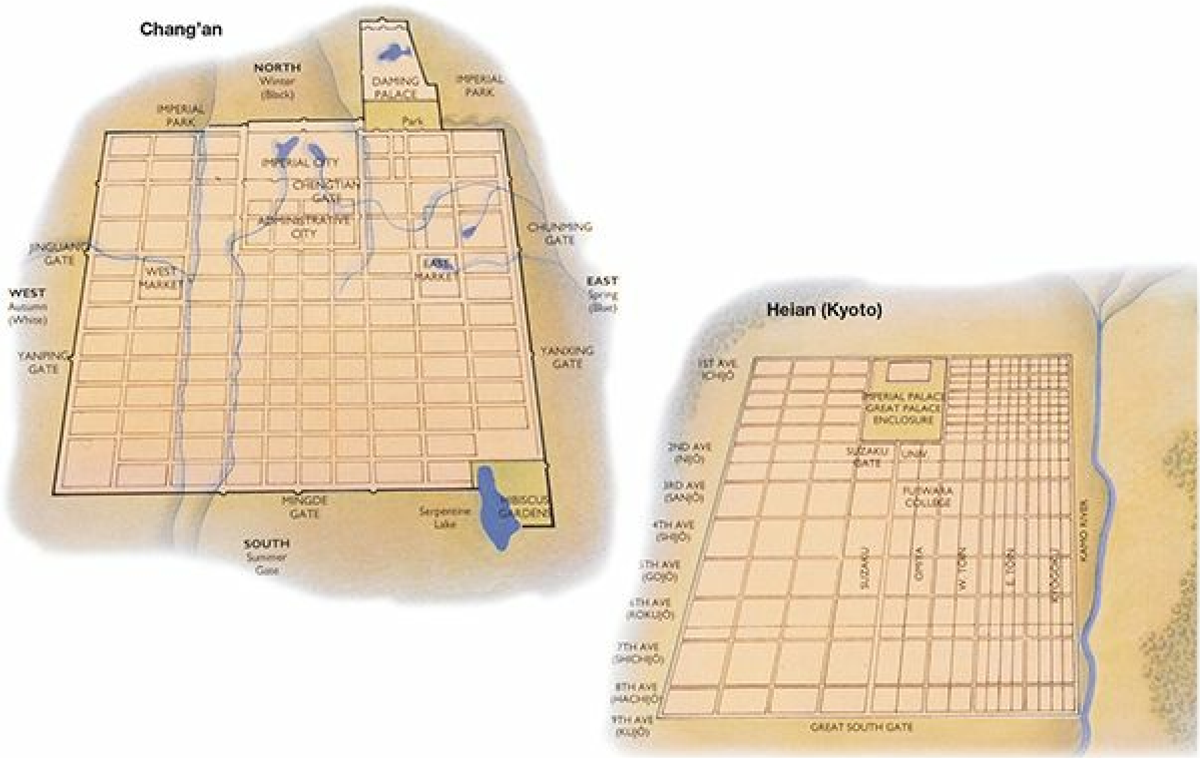
The crowning achievement of the Sui Dynasty was the construction of the **Grand Canal**, which connected the Yellow and Yangzi River regions. Henceforth the rice-growing Yangzi Valley and south China played an ever more influential role in the country's economic and political life, strengthening China's internal cohesion and facilitating maritime trade with Southeast Asia, India, and areas farther west.

Grand Canal A canal, built during the Sui Dynasty, that connected the Yellow and Yangzi Rivers. It was notable for strengthening China's internal cohesion and economic development.

Despite these accomplishments, the Sui Dynasty lasted for only two reigns. The ambitious projects of the two Sui emperors led to exhaustion and unrest, and in the ensuing warfare Li Yuan, a Chinese from the same northwest aristocratic circles as the founder of the Sui, seized the throne.

The Tang Dynasty, 618–907

The dynasty founded by Li Yuan, the Tang, was one of the high points of traditional Chinese civilization. Especially during this dynasty’s first century, its capital, Chang’an, was the cultural center of East Asia, drawing in merchants, pilgrims, missionaries, and students to a degree never matched before or after. This position of strength gave the Chinese the confidence to be open to learning from the outside world, leading to a more cosmopolitan culture than in any other period before the twentieth century.

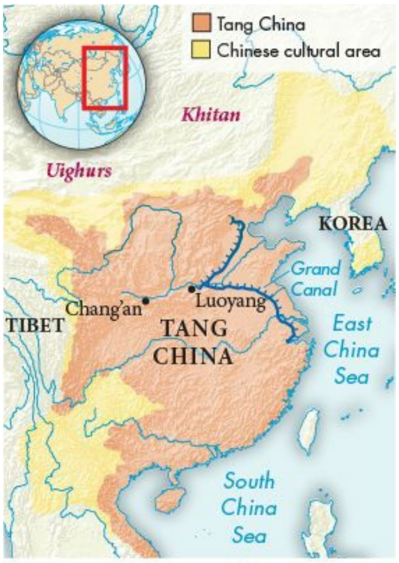

Chang'an
NORTH
Winter
(Black)
DAMING PALACE
IMPERIAL PARK
IMPERIAL PARK
Park
IMPERIAL CITY
CHENGTIAN GATE
ADMINISTRATIVE CITY
CHUNMING GATE
JINGUANG GATE
WEST MARKET
EAST MARKET
WEST
Autumn
(White)
EAST
Spring
(Blue)
YANPING GATE
YANXING GATE
MINGDE GATE
Serpentine Lake
HIBISCUS GARDEN
SOUTH
Summer
Gate
Heian (Kyoto)
1ST AVE (ICHIJŌ)
IMPERIAL PALACE GREAT PALACE ENCLOSURE
2ND AVE (NIJŌ)
SUZAKU GATE
UNIV.
3RD AVE (SANJŌ)
FUJIWARA COLLEGE
4TH AVE (SHIJŌ)
5TH AVE (GOJŌ)
6TH AVE (ROKUJŌ)
7TH AVE (SHICHIJŌ)
8TH AVE (HACHIJŌ)
9TH AVE (KUJŌ)
SUZAKU
OMIYA
W. TOIN
E. TOIN
KYOGOKU
KAMO RIVER
GREAT SOUTH GATE

Visual Connection Archive

Urban Planning Chang’an in Tang times attracted merchants, pilgrims, and students from all over East Asia. The city was laid out on a square grid (left) and divided into walled wards, the gates to which were closed at night. Temples were found throughout the city, but trade was limited to two government-supervised markets. In the eighth and ninth centuries the Japanese copied the general plan of Chang’an in designing their capitals — first at Nara, then at Heian, shown on the right.

The first two Tang rulers, Gaozu (Li Yuan, r. 618–626) and Taizong (tie-dzuhng) (r. 626–649), were able monarchs. Adding to their armies auxiliary troops composed of Turks, Tanguts, Khitans, and other non-Chinese led by their own chieftains, they campaigned into Korea, Vietnam, and Central Asia. In 630 the Chinese turned against their former allies, the Turks, gaining territory from them and winning for Taizong the title of Great Khan.

In the civil sphere the Tang emperors built on the Sui precedent of using written examinations to select officials. Candidates had to master the Confucian classics and the rules of poetry, and they had to be able to analyze practical administrative and political matters. Government schools were founded to prepare the sons of officials and other young men for service as officials.



Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Tang China, ca. 750 C.E.

The mid-Tang Dynasty saw two women — Empress Wu and Consort Yang Guifei (yahng gway-fay) — rise to positions of great political power. Empress Wu was the consort of the weak and sickly emperor Gaozong. After Gaozong suffered a stroke in 660, she took full charge. She continued to rule after Gaozong's death, summarily deposing her own two sons and dealing harshly with all opponents. In 690 she proclaimed herself emperor, becoming the only woman to take that title in Chinese history. To gain support, she circulated a Buddhist sutra that predicted the imminent reincarnation of the Buddha Maitreya as a female monarch, during whose reign the world would be free of illness, worry, and disaster. Although despised by later Chinese historians as an evil usurper, Empress Wu was an effective leader. It was not until she was over eighty that members of the court were able to force her out in favor of her son.

Her grandson, the emperor Xuanzong (r. 713–756), presided over a brilliant court and patronized leading poets, painters, and calligraphers. In his later years, after he became enamored of his consort Yang Guifei, he did not want to be bothered by the details of government and allowed her to place friends and relatives in important positions in the government.

One of her favorites was the general An Lushan, who rebelled in 755. Xuanzong had to flee the capital, and the troops that accompanied him forced him to have Yang Guifei executed.

The rebellion of An Lushan was devastating to the Tang Dynasty. Peace was restored only by calling on the Uighurs (WEE-gurz), a Turkish people allied with the Tang, who looted the capital after taking it from the rebels. The rebellion was finally suppressed in 763, but Tang strength was never fully re-established. Many military governors came to treat their provinces as hereditary kingdoms. In addition, palace eunuchs gained increasing power at court.

Tang Culture

The reunification of north and south led to cultural flowering. The Tang capital cities of Chang'an and Luoyang became great metropolises. In these cosmopolitan cities, knowledge of the outside world was stimulated by the presence of envoys, merchants, pilgrims, and students who came from neighboring states in Central Asia, Japan, Korea, Tibet, and Southeast Asia. Because of the presence of foreign merchants, many religions were practiced, including Nestorian Christianity, Manichaeism, Zoroastrianism, Judaism, and Islam, although none of them spread into the Chinese population the way Buddhism had a few centuries earlier. Foreign fashions in hair and clothing were often copied, and foreign amusements such as the Persian game of polo found followings among the well-to-do. The introduction of new musical instruments and tunes from India, Iran, and Central Asia brought about a major transformation in Chinese music.

Kyodo News International, Inc.

Five-Stringed Pipa/Biwa This musical instrument, decorated with fine wood marquetry, was probably presented by the Tang court to a Japanese envoy. It was among the objects placed in a Japanese royal storage house (Shōsōin) in 756.

The Tang Dynasty was the great age of Chinese poetry. Skill in composing poetry was tested in the civil service examinations, and educated men had to be able to compose poems at social gatherings. The pain of parting, the joys of nature, and the pleasures of wine and friendship were all common poetic topics. One of Li Bo's (701–762) most famous poems describes an evening of drinking with only the moon and his shadow for company:

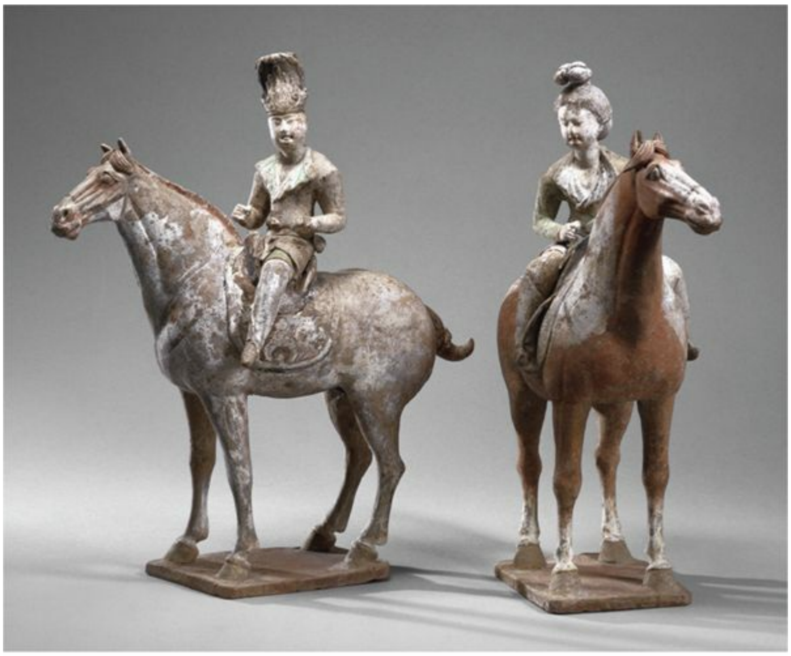
> A cup of wine, under the flowering trees;
> I drink alone, for no friend is near.
> Raising my cup I beckon the bright moon,
> For he, with my shadow, will make three men.
> The moon, alas, is no drinker of wine;
> Listless, my shadow creeps about at my side.
> …
> Now we are drunk, each goes his way.
> May we long share our odd, inanimate feast,
> And we meet at last on the cloudy River of the sky.[3]

In Tang times Buddhism fully penetrated Chinese daily life. Stories of Buddhist origin became widely known, and Buddhist festivals became among the most popular holidays. Buddhist monasteries ran schools for children and in remote areas provided lodging for travelers. Merchants entrusted their money and wares to monasteries for safekeeping, in effect transforming the monasteries into banks and warehouses.

At the intellectual and religious level, Buddhism was developing in distinctly Chinese directions. Two schools that thrived were Pure Land and Chan. **Pure Land** appealed to laypeople because the simple act of calling on the Buddha Amitabha and his chief helper, the compassionate bodhisattva Guanyin, could lead to rebirth in Amitabha’s paradise, the Pure Land. Among the educated elite the **Chan** school (known in Japan as Zen) also gained popularity. Chan teachings rejected the authority of the sutras and claimed the superiority of mind-to-mind transmission of Buddhist truths.

Pure Land A school of Buddhism that taught that by calling on the Buddha Amitabha, one could achieve rebirth in Amitabha’s Pure Land paradise.

Chan A school of Buddhism (known in Japan as Zen) that rejected the authority of the sutras and claimed the superiority of mind-to-mind transmission of Buddhist truths.



Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA/Bridgeman Images

Figurines of a Man and a Woman Mounted on Horses
Tang tombs often contain ceramic figurines of horses or people mounted on horses, including women riding astride.

Opposition to Buddhism re-emerged in the late Tang period. In addition to concerns about the fiscal impact of removing so much land from the tax rolls and so many men from government labor service, there were concerns about Buddhism’s foreign origins. As China’s international position weakened, xenophobia surfaced. During the persecution of 845, more than 4,600 monasteries and 40,000 temples and shrines were destroyed, and more than 260,000 Buddhist monks and nuns were forced to return to secular life. Although this ban was lifted after a few years, the monastic establishment never fully recovered. Buddhism retained a strong hold among laypeople, and basic Buddhist ideas like karma and reincarnation had become fully incorporated into everyday Chinese thinking. But Buddhism was never again as central to Chinese life.

The East Asian Cultural Sphere

What elements of Chinese culture were adopted by Koreans, Vietnamese, and Japanese, and how did they adapt them to their own circumstances?

During the millennium from 200 B.C.E. to 800 C.E., China exerted a powerful influence on its immediate neighbors, who began forming states of their own. By Tang times China was surrounded by independent states in Korea, Manchuria, Tibet, the area that is now Yunnan province, Vietnam, and Japan. All of these states were much smaller than China in area and population, making China by far the dominant force politically and culturally until the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, each of these separate states developed a strong sense of its independent identity.

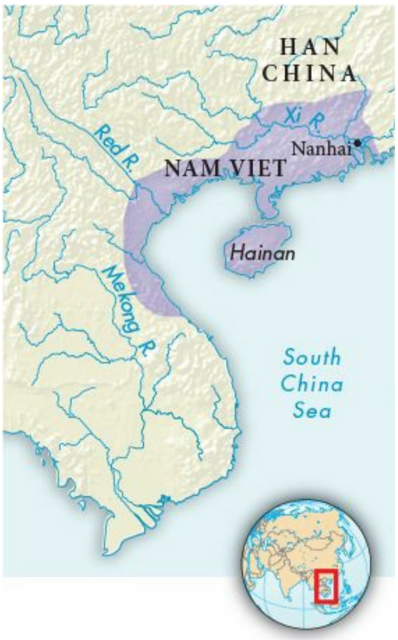
The earliest information about each of these countries is found in Chinese sources. Han armies brought Chinese culture to Korea and Vietnam, but even in those cases much cultural borrowing was entirely voluntary as the elite, merchants, and craftsmen adopted the techniques, ideas, and practices they found appealing. In Japan much of the process of absorbing elements of Chinese culture was mediated via Korea. In Korea, Japan, and Vietnam the fine arts — painting, architecture, and ceramics in particular — were all strongly influenced by Chinese models. Tibet, though a thorn in the side of Tang China, was as much in the Indian sphere of influence as in the Chinese and thus followed a somewhat different trajectory. Most significantly, it never adopted Chinese characters as its written language, nor was it as influenced by Chinese artistic styles as were other areas. Moreover, the form of Buddhism that became dominant in Tibet came directly from India, not through Central Asia and China.

In each area Chinese-style culture was at first adopted by elites, but in time many Chinese products and ideas, ranging from written language to chopsticks and soy sauce, became incorporated into everyday life. By the eighth century the written Chinese language was used by educated people throughout East Asia. The books that educated people read included the Chinese classics, histories, and poetry, as well as Buddhist sutras translated into Chinese. The great appeal of Buddhism known primarily through Chinese translation was a powerful force promoting cultural borrowing.

Vietnam

Vietnam's climate is much like that of southernmost China — subtropical, with abundant rain and rivers. The Vietnamese first appear in Chinese sources as a people of south China called the Yue, who gradually migrated farther south as the Chinese state expanded. The people of the Red River Valley in northern Vietnam had achieved a relatively advanced level of Bronze Age civilization by the first century B.C.E. The bronze heads of their arrows were often dipped in poison to facilitate killing large animals such as elephants, whose tusks were traded to China for iron. Power was held by hereditary tribal chiefs who served as civil, religious, and military leaders, with the king as the most powerful chief.

The collapse of the Qin Dynasty in 206 B.C.E. had an impact on this area because a former Qin general, finding himself in the far south, set up his own kingdom of Nam Viet. This kingdom covered much of south China and was ruled by the king from his capital near the present site of Guangzhou. Its population consisted chiefly of the Viet people. After killing all officials loyal to the Chinese emperor, the king adopted the customs of the Viet and made himself the ruler of a vast state that extended as far south as modern-day Da Nang.



Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

The Kingdom of Nam Viet, ca. 150 B.C.E.

After almost a hundred years of diplomatic and military duels between the Han Dynasty and the Nam Viet king and his successors, Nam Viet was conquered in 111 B.C.E. by Chinese armies. Chinese administrators were assigned to replace the local nobility. Chinese political institutions were imposed, and Confucianism was treated as the official ideology. The

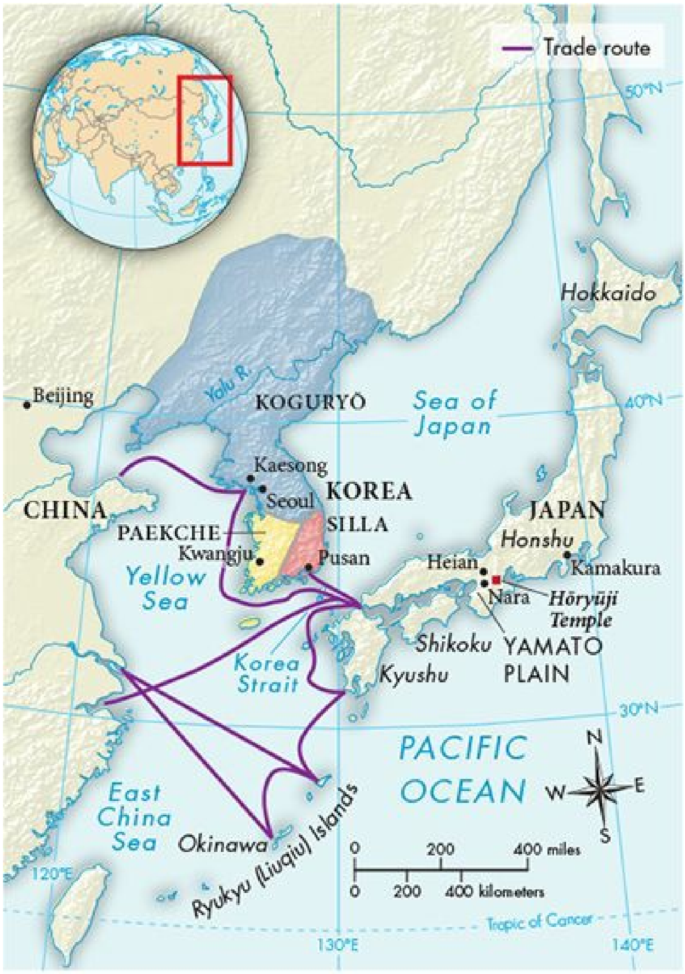
Chinese language was introduced as the medium of official and literary expression, and Chinese characters were adopted as the written form for the Vietnamese spoken language. The Chinese built roads, waterways, and harbors to facilitate communication within the region and to ensure that they maintained administrative and military control over it.

Chinese innovations that were beneficial to the Vietnamese were readily integrated into the indigenous culture, but the local elite were not reconciled to Chinese political domination. The most famous early revolt took place in 39 C.E., when two widows of local aristocrats, the Trung sisters, led an uprising against foreign rule. After overwhelming Chinese strongholds, they declared themselves queens of an independent Vietnamese kingdom. Three years later a powerful army sent by the Han emperor re-established Chinese rule.

China retained at least nominal control over northern Vietnam through the Tang Dynasty, and there were no real borders between China proper and Vietnam during this time. The local elite became culturally dual, serving as brokers between the Chinese governors and the native people.

Korea

Korea is a mountainous peninsula some 600 miles long extending south from Manchuria and Siberia. At its tip it is about 120 miles from Japan (Map 7.4). Archaeological, linguistic, and anthropological evidence indicates that the Korean people share a common ethnic origin with other peoples of North Asia, including those of Manchuria, Siberia, and Japan. Linguistically, Korean is not related to Chinese.


Trade route
50°N
Hokkaido
Beijing
Yalu R.
KOGURYŎ
Sea of Japan
40°N
Kaesong
KOREA
Seoul
JAPAN
CHINA
SILLA
PAEKCHE
Honshu
Kwangju
Pusan
Heian
Kamakura
Yellow Sea
Nara
Hōryūji Temple
Shikoku
YAMATO PLAIN
Korea Strait
Kyushu
30°N
PACIFIC OCEAN
N
W
E
S
East China Sea
Okinawa
Ryukyu (Liuqiu) Islands
0
200
400 miles
0
200
400 kilometers
120°E
Tropic of Cancer
130°E
140°E

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 7.4 Korea and Japan, ca. 600 C.E. Korea and Japan are of similar latitude, but Korea's climate is more continental, with harsher winters. Of Japan's four islands, Kyushu is closest to Korea and mainland Asia.

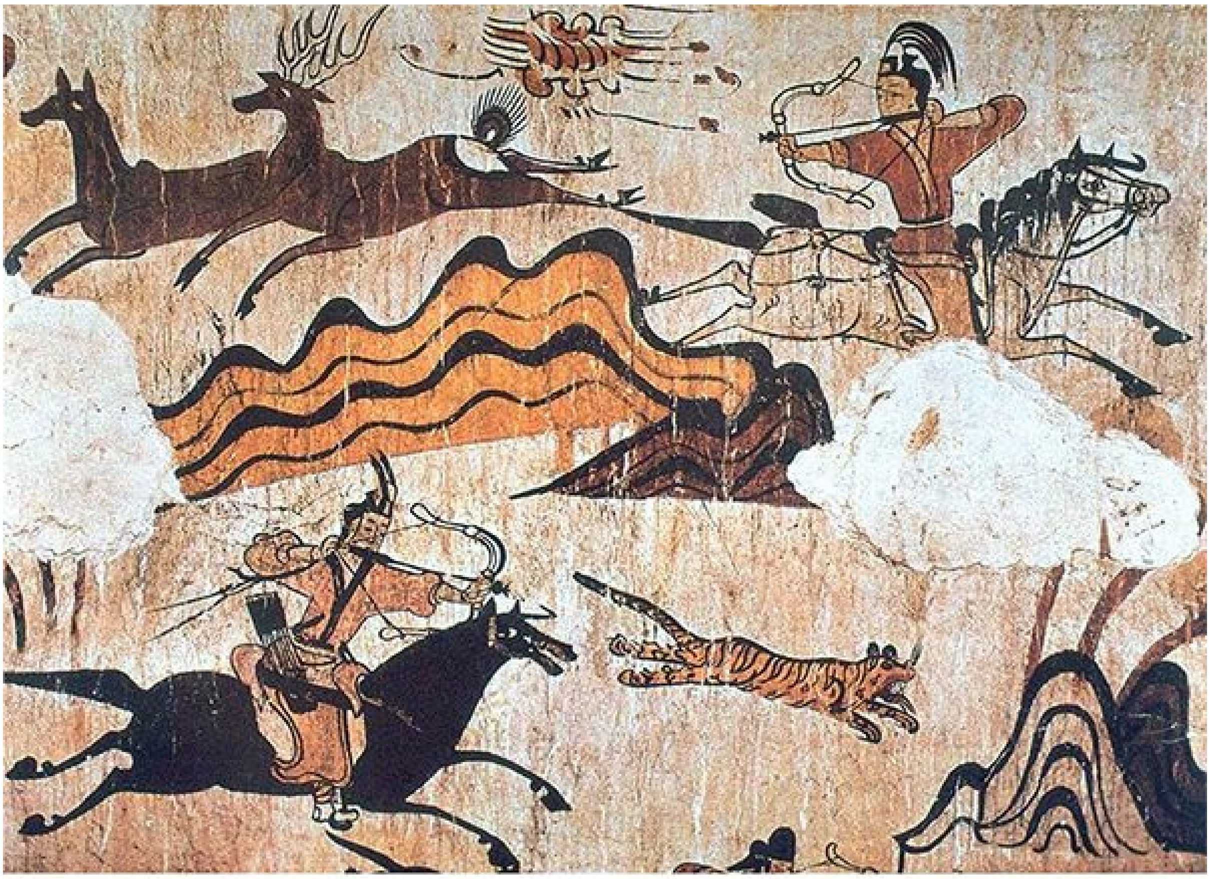
Korea began adopting elements of technology from China in the first millennium B.C.E., including bronze and iron technology. Chinese-Korean contact expanded during the Warring States Period, when the state of Yan extended into part of Korea. In about 194 B.C.E. Wiman, an unsuccessful rebel against the Han Dynasty, fled to Korea and set up a state called Choson in what is now northwest Korea and southern Manchuria. In 108 B.C.E. this state was overthrown by Han armies and four prefectures were established there.

The impact of the Chinese prefectures in Korea was similar to that of the contemporaneous Roman colonies in Britain in encouraging the spread of culture and political forms. The Chinese never controlled the entire Korean peninsula, however. The Han commanderies coexisted with the native Korean kingdom of Koguryo, founded in the first century B.C.E.

Chinese sources describe this kingdom as a society of aristocratic tribal warriors who had under them a mass of serfs and slaves, mostly from conquered tribes. After the Chinese colonies were finally overthrown, the kingdoms of Paekche and Silla emerged farther south on the peninsula in the third and fourth centuries C.E., leading to what is called the Three Kingdoms Period (313–668 C.E.). In all three Korean kingdoms Chinese was used as the language of government and learning. Each of the three kingdoms had hereditary kings, but their power was curbed by the existence of very strong hereditary elites.

Buddhism was officially introduced in Koguryo from China in 372 and in the other states not long after. Buddhism connected Korea to societies across Asia. Buddhist monks went back and forth between China and Korea.

When the Sui Dynasty finally reunified China in 589, it tried to establish control of at least a part of Korea. But the Korean kingdoms were much stronger than their predecessors in Han times, and they repeatedly repulsed Chinese attacks. The Tang government then tried allying itself with one state, Silla, to fight the others. Silla and Tang jointly destroyed Paekche in 660 and Koguryo in 668. With its new resources Silla was able to repel Tang efforts to make Korea a colony but agreed to vassal status. The unification under Silla marked the first political unification of Korea.



Pictures from History/Bridgeman Images

Hunting Scene in Goguryeo Tomb This lively scene of hunters pursuing deer and tigers was painted on the wall of a sixth-century tomb near the Goguryeo capital, north of the Yalu River.

For the next century Silla embarked on a policy of wholesale borrowing of Chinese culture and institutions. Annual embassies were sent to Chang'an, and large numbers of students studied in China.

Japan

The heart of Japan is four mountainous islands off the coast of Korea (see Map 7.4). Since the land is rugged and lacking in navigable waterways, the Inland Sea, like the Aegean in Greece, was the easiest avenue of communication in early times. Hence the land bordering the Inland Sea — Kyushu, Shikoku, and Honshu — developed as the political and cultural center of early Japan. Geography also blessed Japan with a moat to protect it from external interference — the Korea Strait and the Sea of Japan.

Japan's early development was closely tied to that of the mainland, especially to Korea. Anthropologists have discerned several major waves of immigrants into Japan. People of the Jōmon (joh-mohn) culture, established by about 10,000 B.C.E. after an influx of people from Southeast

Asia, practiced hunting and fishing and fashioned clay pots. New arrivals from northeast Asia brought agriculture and a distinct culture called Yayoi (yah-yoh-ee) (ca. 300 B.C.E.–300 C.E.). During the Han Dynasty, objects of Chinese and Korean manufacture found their way into Japan, an indication that people were traveling back and forth as well. In the third century C.E. Chinese histories begin to report on the land called Wa made up of mountainous islands. It had numerous communities with markets, granaries, tax collection, and class distinctions. The people liked liquor, ate with their fingers, used body paint, and purified themselves by bathing after a funeral.

One of the most distinctive features of early Japan was its female rulers. A Chinese historian of the time wrote:

> The country formerly had a man as ruler. For some seventy or eighty years after that there were disturbances and warfare. Thereupon the people agreed upon a woman for their ruler. Her name was Pimiko [pee-mee-koe]. She occupied herself with magic and sorcery, bewitching the people. Though mature in age, she remained unmarried. She had a younger brother who assisted her in ruling the country. After she became the ruler, there were few who saw her. She had one thousand women as attendants, but only one man. He served her food and drink and acted as a medium of communication….
>
> When Pimiko passed away, a great mound was raised, more than a hundred paces in diameter. Over a hundred male and female attendants followed her to the grave. Then a king was placed on the throne, but the people would not obey him. Assassination and murder followed; more than one thousand were thus slain.
>
> A relative of Pimiko named Iyo, a girl of thirteen, was then made queen and order was restored.[4]

During the fourth through sixth centuries new waves of migrants from Korea brought the language that evolved into Japanese as well as sericulture (silkmaking), bronze swords, crossbows, iron plows, and the Chinese written language. In this period a social order similar to Korea’s emerged, dominated by a warrior aristocracy organized into clans. Clad in helmets and armor, these warriors wielded swords, battle-axes, and often bows, and some rode into battle on horseback. Those vanquished in battle were made slaves. Each clan had its own chieftain, who marshaled clansmen for battle and served as chief priest. By the fifth century the chief of the clan that claimed descent from the sun-goddess, located in the Yamato plain around modern Osaka, had come to occupy the position of monarch. These Yamato rulers established the chief shrine of the sun-goddess near the seacoast, where she could catch the first rays of the rising sun. This native religion was later termed **Shinto**, the Way of the Gods, and it coexisted with Buddhism, formally introduced in 538 C.E.

Shinto The Way of the Gods, Japan’s native religion.

Beginning in the sixth century Prince Shōtoku (show-toe-coo) (574–622) undertook a sweeping reform of the state designed to strengthen Yamato rule by adopting Chinese-style bureaucratic practices (though not the recruitment of officials by examination). In 604 he instituted a ladder of official ranks similar to China’s, admonished the nobility to avoid strife and opposition, and urged adherence to Buddhist precepts. Near his seat of government, Prince Shōtoku built the magnificent Hōryūji (hoe-ryou-jee) Temple and staffed it with monks from Korea. (See “Analyzing the Evidence: Hōryūji Temple,” page 193.) He also opened direct relations with China, sending four missions during the brief Sui Dynasty.

State-building efforts continued through the seventh century and culminated in the establishment in 710 of Japan’s first long-term true city, the capital at **Nara**, north of modern Osaka. Nara, which was modeled on the Tang capital of Chang’an, gave its name to an era that lasted until 794 and was characterized by the avid importation of Chinese ideas and methods. As Buddhism developed a stronghold in Japan, it inspired many trips to China to acquire sources and to study at Chinese monasteries. Chinese and Korean craftsmen were often brought back to Japan, especially to help with the decoration of the many Buddhist temples then under construction. Musical instruments and tunes were imported as well, many originally from Central Asia. Chinese practices were instituted, such as the compilation of histories and law codes, the creation of provinces, and the appointment of governors to collect taxes from them. By 750 some seven thousand men staffed the central government.

Nara Japan’s capital and first true city; it was established in 710 and modeled on the Tang capital of Chang’an.

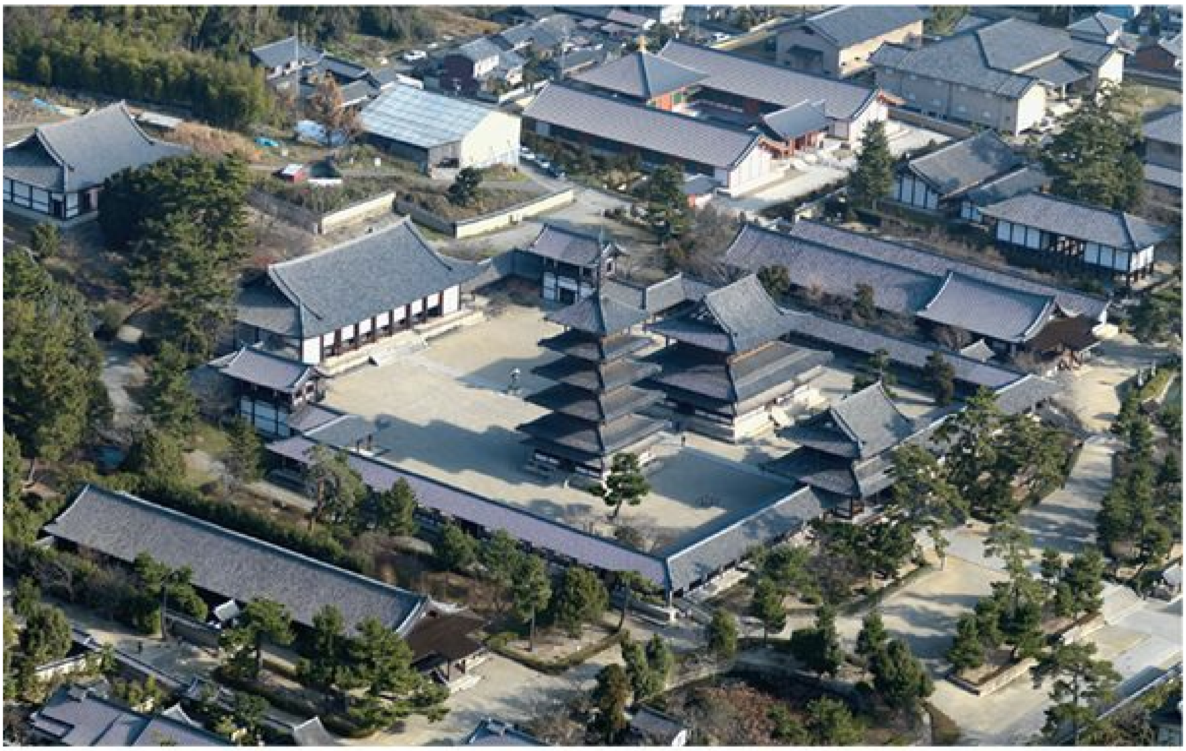
Increased contact with the mainland had unwanted effects as well. In contrast to China and Korea, both part of the Eurasian landmass, Japan had been relatively isolated from many deadly diseases, so when diseases arrived with travelers, people did not have immunity. The great smallpox epidemic of 735–737 is thought to have reduced the population of about 5 million by 30 percent. (See “Global Viewpoints: Coping with Epidemics in Japan and Byzantium,” at right.)

The Buddhist monasteries that ringed Nara were both religious centers and wealthy landlords, and the monks were active in the political life of the capital. Copying the policy of the Tang Dynasty in China, the government ordered every province to establish a Buddhist temple with twenty monks and ten nuns to chant sutras and perform other ceremonies on behalf of the emperor and the state. When an emperor abdicated in 749 in favor of his daughter, he became a Buddhist monk, a practice many of his successors would later follow.

Many of the temples built during the Nara period still stand, the wood, clay, and bronze statues in them exceptionally well preserved. The largest of these temples was the Tōdaiji, with its huge bronze statue of the Buddha, which stood fifty-three feet tall and was made from more than a million pounds of metal. When the temple and statue were completed in 752, an Indian monk painted the eyes. Objects from the dedication ceremony were placed in a special storehouse, and about ten thousand of them are still there, including books, weapons, mirrors, screens, and objects of gold, lacquer, and glass — most made in China but some coming from Central Asia and Persia via the Silk Road.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

Hōryūji Temple



Michael Hitoshi/The Image Bank/Getty Images

Japanese Buddhist temples, like those in China and Korea, consisted of several buildings within a walled compound. The buildings of the Hōryūji Temple (built between 670 and 711, after Prince Shōtoku's original temple burned down) include the oldest wooden structures in the world and house some of the best early Buddhist sculpture in Japan. Craftsmen were sent from Korea to aid in the construction and decoration of the temple, and they brought with them styles that originated in China and India.

The Hōryūji compound is surrounded by a wall lined with covered arcades. Visitors entered through the gate, visible here as a multistory building in the wall on the right. After entering, they saw the five-story pagoda on the left, which is 122 feet tall. It houses what is thought to be a fragment of a bone of the Buddha. To its right is the main hall, built to house the temple's principal images. Originally, these images had included both statues of Buddhas and bodhisattvas and paintings of them on the walls, but a fire in 1949 destroyed the wall paintngs. The statues were preserved, however, and are today classed as national treasures (as are the buildings). Behind the pagoda and main hall is the lecture hall where the monks would assemble for sermons.

The five-story pagoda could be seen from far away, much like the steeples of cathedrals in medieval Europe. Most of the buildings outside this main compound are of later date, and the outer buildings include monks' quarters, libraries, and dining halls.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. How does this temple complex compare to the great churches of Europe? What are the most significant differences?
2. Was this temple laid out primarily for the convenience of monks who resided there or for lay believers coming to worship? How would their needs differ?
3. What is interesting about the roofs?

GLOBAL VIEWPOINTS

Coping with Epidemics in Japan and Byzantium

Major epidemics struck across Eurasia many times, but Japan was far enough from the mainland to escape most of them. The first text below is an order issued by the Japanese central government to the provincial governments in 737 after the arrival of a devastating epidemic, probably smallpox. The second text is an account from the Byzantine historian Procopius of a deadly plague that hit Constantinople in 542.

Japanese Proclamation of 737

■ One: This infection is called “red swellings.” When it first begins, it is similar to autumnal fevers. Suffering in bed lasts for three or four days in some cases, five or six in others, before the blotches appear. For three or four days as the swellings appear, the limbs and internal organs become hot as if on fire….

Two: Wrap the victim’s abdomen and hips thoroughly in hemp cloth or floss silk. Without fail, keep the patient warm. Never let him become chilled.

Three: When there is no floor, do not lie directly on the earth. Spread a straw mat on the ground and lie down to rest.

Four: We recommend the drinking of rice gruel, either thick or thin, and broth made from boiled rice or millet. But do not eat raw fish or fresh fruits and vegetables. Also do not drink water or suck ice….

Five: In general, people with this illness have no appetite. Force the patient to eat….

Six: For twenty days after the illness passes do not carelessly eat raw fish or fresh fruit or vegetables; do not drink water, take a bath, have sex, force yourself to do anything, or walk in wind and rain. If you overdo it, a relapse will begin immediately….

Seven: In general, if you want to bring this illness under control, do not use pills or powders. If a fever arises, take only a little ginseng boiled in water.

Concerning the above, since the 4th month all in the capital and Kinai have been bedridden with this disease. Many have died. We are also aware that people in the provinces have been afflicted with this distress. So we have written up this set of instructions. Each provincial governor should send it along to his neighbor. When it arrives, make a copy and designate one official at the district office who holds the position of secretary or higher to act as the messenger. The messenger should go quickly to the next place without delaying. The provincial office shall make a tour of its jurisdiction and announce these instructions to the people. If they have no rice for gruel, the province shall make an estimate, grant grain relief from government stores, and report to the Council. When the order arrives, carry it out.

Procopius on the Plague of Justinian

■ [542 C.E.] During these times there was a pestilence, by which the whole human race came near to being annihilated.… In the second year it reached Byzantium in the middle of spring, where it happened that I was staying at that time.…

Those who were attending [the victims] were in a state of constant exhaustion and had a most difficult time of it throughout.… [The patients] had also great difficulty in the matter of eating, for they could not easily take food. And many perished through lack of any man to care for them, for they were either overcome by hunger, or threw themselves down from a height.… Death came in some cases immediately, in others after many days; and with some the body broke out with black pustules about as large as a lentil and these did not survive even one day, but all succumbed immediately. With many also a vomiting of blood ensued without visible cause and straightway brought death.…

And it fell to the lot of the emperor, as was natural, to make provision for the trouble. He therefore detailed soldiers from the palace and distributed money, commanding Theodorus to take charge of this work.… Theodorus, by giving out the emperor’s money and by making further expenditures from his own purse, kept burying the bodies which were not cared for. And when it came about that all the tombs which had existed previously were filled with the dead, then they dug up all the places about the city one after the other, laid the dead there, each one as he could, and departed; but later on those who were making these trenches, no longer able to keep up with the number of the dying, mounted the towers of the fortifications in Sycae, and tearing off the roofs threw the bodies in there in complete disorder; and they piled them up just as each one happened to fall, and filled practically all the towers with corpses, and then covered them again with their roofs.… Indeed in a city which was simply abounding in all good things starvation almost absolute was running riot.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. The first document is a decree issued during an epidemic, and the second is a narrative looking back on an epidemic that has already run its course. What

differences in these accounts reflect the nature of the documents?

2. What differences in the understanding of disease can you detect in these accounts?
3. What clues do these accounts provide about the identity of the diseases in the epidemics?

Sources: Reprinted by permission of the Harvard Asia Society from William Farris, *Population and Epidemic Disease in Early Japan, 645–900* (Harvard University Asia Center, 1985), pp. 60–61. © The President and Fellows of Harvard College, 1985; Procopius, *History of the Wars*, trans. H. B. Dewing, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1914), pp. 451–473.

Chapter Summary

After unifying China in 221 B.C.E., the Qin Dynasty created a strongly centralized government that did away with noble privilege. The First Emperor standardized script, coinage, weights, and measures. He also built roads, the Great Wall, and a huge tomb for himself. During the four centuries of the subsequent Han Dynasty, the harsher laws of the Qin were lifted, but the strong centralized government was preserved. The Han government promoted internal peace by providing relief in cases of floods, droughts, and famines and by keeping land taxes low for the peasantry. The Han government sent huge armies against the nomadic Xiongnu, whose confederation threatened them in the north, but the Xiongnu remained a potent foe. Still, Han armies expanded Chinese territory in many directions.

For nearly four centuries after the fall of the Han Dynasty, China was divided among contending states. After 316 the north was in the hands of non-Chinese rulers, while the south had Chinese rulers. In this period merchants and missionaries brought Buddhism to China. Many elements of Buddhism were new to China — a huge body of scriptures, celibate monks and nuns, traditions of depicting Buddhas and bodhisattvas in statues and paintings, and a strong proselytizing tradition. Rulers became major patrons in both north and south.

Unlike the Roman Empire, China was successfully reunified in 589 C.E. The short Sui Dynasty was followed by the longer Tang Dynasty. Tang China regained overlordship of the Silk Road cities in Central Asia. The Tang period was one of cultural flowering, with achievements in poetry especially notable. Music was enriched with instruments and tunes from Persia. Tang power declined after 755, when a powerful general turned his army against the government. Although the rebellion was suppressed, the government was not able to regain its strong central control. Moreover, powerful states were formed along Tang's borders. At court, eunuchs gained power at the expense of civil officials.

Over the ten centuries covered in Chapter 7, Korea, Japan, and Vietnam developed distinct cultures while adopting elements of China's material, political, and religious culture, including the Chinese writing system. During the Tang era, ambitious Korean and Japanese rulers sought Chinese expertise and Chinese products, including Chinese-style centralized governments and the Chinese written language.

CONNECTIONS

East Asia was transformed in the millennium between the Qin unification in 221 B.C.E. and the end of the eighth century C.E. The Han Dynasty and four centuries later the Tang Dynasty proved that a centralized, bureaucratic monarchy could bring peace and prosperity to populations of 50 million or more spread across China proper. By 800 C.E. neighboring societies along China's borders, from Korea and Japan on the east to the Uighurs and Tibetans to the west, had followed China's lead, forming states and building cities. Buddhism had transformed the lives of all of these societies, bringing new ways of thinking about life and death and new ways of pursuing spiritual goals.

In the same centuries that Buddhism was adapting to and simultaneously transforming the culture of much of eastern Eurasia, comparable processes were at work in western Eurasia, where Christianity continued to spread. The spread of these religions was aided by increased contact between different cultures, facilitated in Eurasia by the merchants traveling the Silk Road or sailing the Indian Ocean. Where contact between cultures wasn't as extensive, as in Africa (discussed in Chapter 10), religious beliefs were more localized. The collapse of the Roman Empire in the West during this period was not unlike the collapse of the Han Dynasty, but in Europe the empire was never put back together at the level that it was in China, where the Tang Dynasty by many measures was more splendid than the Han. The story of these centuries in western Eurasia is taken up in Chapters 8 and 9, which trace the rise of Christianity and Islam and the movement of peoples throughout Europe and Asia. Before returning to the story of East Asia after 800 in Chapter 13, we will also examine the empires in Africa (Chapter 10) and the Americas (Chapter 11).

CHAPTER 7 Review and Explore

Identify Key Terms

Identify and explain the significance of each item below.

Great Wall (p. 173)
Confucian classics (p. 173)
Records of the Grand Historian (p. 174)
Silk Road (p. 176)
tributary system (p. 176)
eunuchs (p. 182)
Age of Division (p. 182)
Grand Canal (p. 187)
Pure Land (p. 189)
Chan (p. 189)
Shinto (p. 194)
Nara (p. 194)

Review the Main Ideas

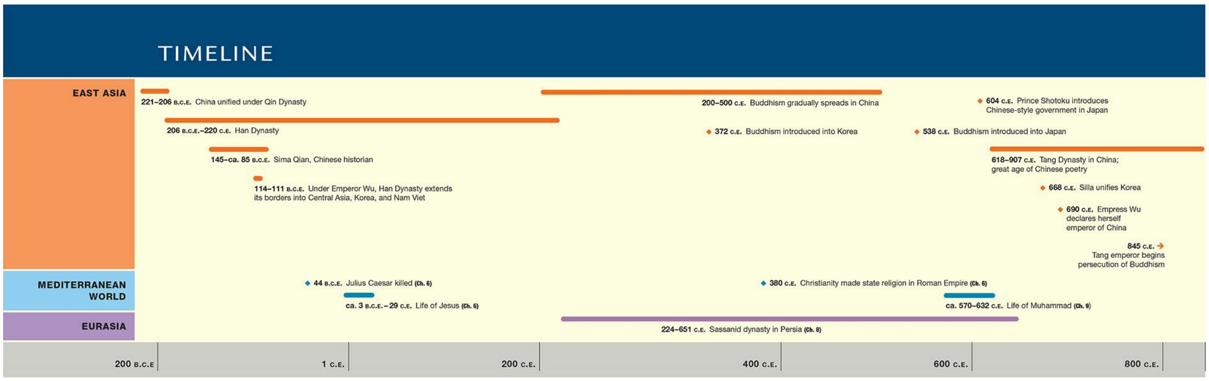
Answer the focus questions from each section of the chapter.

1. What were the social, cultural, and political consequences of the unification of China under the strong centralized governments of the Qin and Han empires? (p. 172)
2. How did Buddhism find its way into East Asia, and what was its appeal and impact? (p. 182)
3. What were the lasting accomplishments of the Sui and Tang Dynasties? (p. 186)
4. What elements of Chinese culture were adopted by Koreans, Vietnamese, and Japanese, and how did they adapt them to their own circumstances? (p. 190)

Make Comparisons and Connections

Analyze the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters.

1. What philosophies or other cultural elements in pre-imperial China (see Chapter 4) help explain China’s development after 221 B.C.E.?
2. How did Buddhism in early India compare to Buddhism in Tang China?
3. How did the influence of Han and Tang China on neighboring regions compare to the influence of Rome on its neighbors?



Suggested Resources

Books

Barfield, Thomas. *Perilous Frontier: Nomadic Empires and China, 221 B.C. – A.D. 1757*. 1989. A bold interpretation of the relationship between the rise and fall of dynasties in China and the rise and fall of nomadic confederations that derived resources from them.

Elvin, Mark. *The Pattern of the Chinese Past*. 1973. Analyzes the military dimensions of China's unification.

Farris, Wayne. *Population, Disease, and Land in Early Japan, 645 – 900*. 1985. Shows the impact of the eighth-century introduction of smallpox to Japan on the government and rural power structure.

Hardy, Grant. *Worlds of Bronze and Bamboo: Sima Qian's Conquest of History*. 1999. An excellent introduction to the methods of China's earliest historian. Although Sima Qian seems to present just the facts, Hardy shows how he brings out different perspectives and interpretations in different chapters.

Holcomb, Charles. *The Genesis of East Asia, 221 B.C. – A.D. 907*. 2001. A thought-provoking analysis of the connections between China and Korea, Japan, and Vietnam that emphasizes the use of the Chinese script.

Lee, Peter H. *Sourcebook of Korean Civilization*. 1993. Excellent collection of primary sources.

Lewis, Mark Edward. *China's Cosmopolitan Empire: The Tang Dynasty*. 2009. This accessible and lively survey complements the author's works on the Han Dynasty (*The Early Chinese Empires*) and the period of division (*China Between Empires*).

Schafer, Edward. *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand*. 1963. Draws on Tang literature to show the place of the western regions in Tang life and imagination.

Scheidel, Walter, ed. *Rome and China: Comparative Perspectives on Ancient World Empires*. 2009. Contributors compare legal and military institutions, trade, money, and charity.

Seth, Michael J. *A Concise History of Korea: From the Neolithic Period Through the Nineteenth Century*. 2006. An up-to-date and well-balanced introduction to Korean history.

Totman, Conrad. *A History of Japan.* 1999. A broad and up-to-date history of Japan.

Varley, H. Paul. *Japanese Culture.* 2000. An accessible introduction to Japanese history and culture.

Waley, Arthur. *The Life and Times of Po Chu-i, 772 – 846 A.D.* 1949. A lively biography of a Tang official, which draws heavily on his poetry.

Watt, James C. Y. *China: Dawn of a Golden Age, 200 – 750 A.D.* 2004. A well-illustrated catalogue of a major art and archaeological exhibition.

Wright, Arthur. *Buddhism in Chinese History.* 1959. This short book remains a good introduction to China's encounter with Buddhism and the ways Buddhism was adapted to China.

Documentaries

Emperor's Ghost Army (*Nova*, 2014). *Nova* special on the terra-cotta army buried with the First Emperor of Qin.

Yungang Grottos (NHK, 2003). A documentary on the Buddhist caves carved in the fifth century, from a series on World Heritage Sites in China.

Feature Film

Hero (Zhang Yimou, 2002). A fictional reimaging of an attempted assassination of the king of Qin.

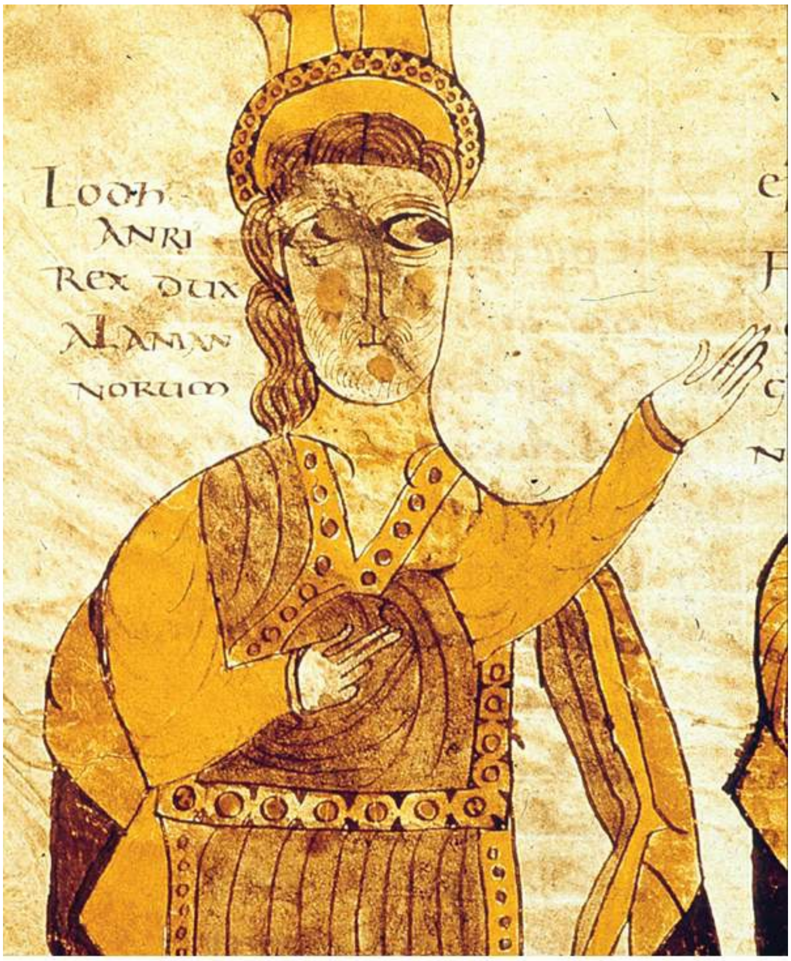
Website

Asian Topics: An Online Resource for Asian History and Culture. This website run by Columbia University offers a good overview of Confucianism, Chinese poetry, classical Japan, and other topics covered in this chapter. Short videos introduce the material.
afe.easia.columbia.edu/at/

8

Continuity and Change in Europe and Western Asia

250–850



LOOH
ANRI
REX DUX
ALAMAN
NORUM

Private Collection/Photo © Tallandier/Bridgeman Images

A Germanic Ruler

This Germanic ruler appears in an early-ninth-

century collection of laws, made in present-day southern France, which includes portraits of rulers, bishops, and nobles along with legal texts such as the Breviary of Alaric, a Visigothic law code based on Roman law and issued in 506. This ruler is identified here as Lodhanri, king of the Alemanni, a confederation of tribes that fought the Romans and were then conquered by the Franks.

From the third century onward the Western Roman Empire slowly disintegrated, and in 476 the Ostrogothic chieftain Odoacer deposed the Roman emperor in the West and did not take on the title of emperor. This date thus marks the official end of the Roman Empire in the West, although much of the empire had come under the rule of various barbarian tribes well before that. Scholars have long seen this era as one of the great turning points in Western history, but during the last several decades the focus has shifted to continuities as well as changes. What is now usually termed "late antiquity" has been recognized as a period of creativity and adaptation in Europe and western Asia, not simply of decline and fall.

The two main agents of continuity were the Eastern Roman (or Byzantine) Empire and the Christian Church. The Byzantine (BIZ-uhn-teen) Empire lasted until 1453, a thousand years longer than the Western Roman Empire, and it preserved and transmitted much of Greco-Roman law and philosophy. Missionaries and church officials spread Christianity within and far beyond the borders of what had been the Roman Empire, carrying Christian ideas and institutions west to Ireland and east to Central and South Asia. The main agent of change in late antiquity was the migration of barbarian groups throughout much of Europe and western Asia. They brought different social, political, and economic structures with them, but as they encountered Roman and Byzantine culture and became Christian, their own ways of doing things were also transformed.

CHAPTER PREVIEW

THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE
How did the Byzantine Empire preserve the legacy of Rome?

THE GROWTH OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH
How did the Christian Church become a major force in Europe?

CHRISTIAN IDEAS AND PRACTICES
How did Christian thinkers adapt classical ideas to Christian teachings, and what new religious concepts and practices did they develop?

MIGRATING PEOPLES

How did the barbarians shape social, economic, and political structures in Europe and western Asia?

CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES AND CONVERSION

How did the church convert barbarian peoples to Christianity?

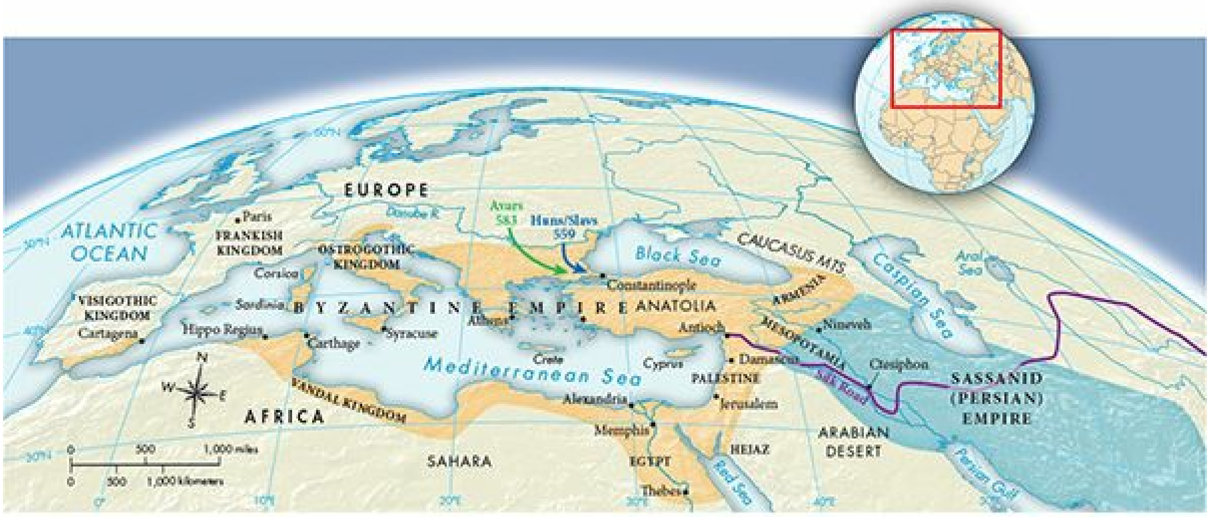
FRANKISH RULERS AND THEIR TERRITORIES

How did the Franks build and govern a European empire?

The Byzantine Empire

How did the Byzantine Empire preserve the legacy of Rome?

The Byzantine (or Eastern Roman) Empire (Map 8.1) preserved the forms, institutions, and traditions of the old Roman Empire, and its people even called themselves Romans. Most important, however, is how Byzantium protected the intellectual heritage of Greco-Roman civilization and then passed it on.


EUROPE
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Paris
FRANKISH KINGDOM
OSTROGOTHIC KINGDOM
Corsica
VISIGOTHIC KINGDOM
Cartagena
Sardinia
Hippo Regius
Carthage
Syracuse
Athens
BYZANTINE EMPIRE
Danube R.
Avars 583
Huns/Slavs 559
Black Sea
Constantinople
ANATOLIA
CAUCASUS MTS.
ARMENIA
Antioch
MESOPOTAMIA
Nineveh
Caspian Sea
Aral Sea
Crete
Cyprus
Damascus
Mediterranean Sea
PALESTINE
Jerusalem
Ctesiphon
Silk Road
SASSANID (PERSIAN) EMPIRE
Alexandria
Memphis
VANDAL KINGDOM
AFRICA
SAHARA
EGYPT
Thebes
HEJAZ
Red Sea
ARABIAN DESERT
Persian Gulf
N
W
E
S
0
500
1,000 miles
0
500
1,000 kilometers
50°N
40°N
30°N
0°
10°E
20°E
30°E
40°E

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 8.1 **The Byzantine and Sassanid Empires, ca. 600** Both the Byzantine and Sassanid Empires included territory that had earlier been part of the Roman Empire. The Sassanid Persians fought Roman armies before the founding of the Byzantine Empire. Later Byzantium and the Sassanids engaged in a series of wars that weakened both and brought neither lasting territorial acquisitions.

Sources of Byzantine Strength

While the western parts of the Roman Empire gradually succumbed to barbarian invaders, the Byzantine Empire survived Germanic, Persian, and Arab attacks. In 540 a force of Xiongnu (whom the Greeks and Romans called Huns) and Bulgars reached the gates of Constantinople. In 583 the Avars, a mounted Mongol people who had swept across Russia and the Balkans, seized Byzantine forts along the Danube and also reached the walls of Constantinople. Between 572 and 630 the Greeks were repeatedly at war with the Sassanid Persians (see "The Sassanid Empire and Conflicts with Byzantium"). Beginning in 632 Muslim forces pressured the Byzantine Empire (see "Islamic States and Their Expansion" in Chapter 9).

Why didn’t one or a combination of these enemies capture Constantinople? The answer lies in strong military leadership and even more in the city’s location and excellent fortifications. During the long reign of the emperor Justinian (r. 527–565), Byzantine generals were able to reconquer much of Italy and North Africa. The Byzantines ruled most of Italy from 535 to 572 and the southern part of the peninsula until the eleventh century. They ruled North Africa until it was conquered by Muslim forces in the late seventh century. Massive triple walls, built by the emperors Constantine and Theodosius II (r. 408–450) and kept in good repair by later emperors, protected Constantinople from sea invasion. Within the walls huge cisterns provided water, and vast gardens and grazing areas supplied food so the defending people could hold out far longer than the besieging army. Attacking Constantinople by land posed greater geographical and logistical problems than a seventh- or eighth-century government could solve. Because the city survived, the empire, though reduced in territory, endured.

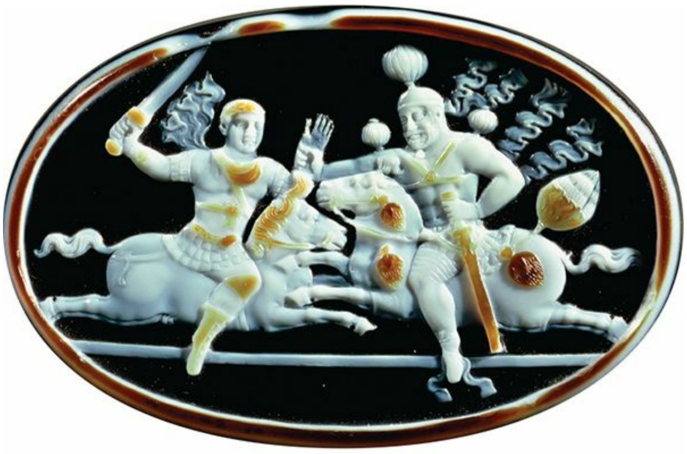
The Sassanid Empire and Conflicts with Byzantium

For several centuries the Sassanid empire of Persia was Byzantium’s most regular foe. Ardashir I (r. 224–243), the ruler of a small state and the first of the Sassanid dynasty, conquered the Parthian empire in 226 (see Map 6.2). Ardashir kept expanding his holdings to the east and northwest. Like all empires, the Sassanid depended on agriculture for its economic prosperity, but its location also proved well suited for commerce (see Map 8.1). A lucrative caravan trade linked the Sassanid empire to the Silk Road and China. This trade brought about considerable cultural contact between the Sassanids and the Chinese.

Whereas the Parthians had tolerated many religions, the Sassanid Persians made Zoroastrianism (see “The Religion of Zoroaster” in Chapter 2) the official state religion. The king’s power rested on the support of nobles and Zoroastrian priests who monopolized positions in the court and in the imperial bureaucracy. A highly elaborate court ceremonial and ritual exalted the status of the king and emphasized his semidivine pre-eminence over his subjects. (The Byzantine monarchy, the Roman papacy, and the Muslim caliphate subsequently copied aspects of this Persian ceremonial.) Adherents to religions other than Zoroastrianism, such as Jews and Christians, faced discrimination.

An expansionist foreign policy brought Persia into frequent conflict with Rome and then with Byzantium. Neither side was able to achieve a clear-cut victory until the early seventh century, when the Sassanids advanced all the way to the Mediterranean and even took Egypt in 621.

Their victory would be very short-lived, however, as the taxes required to finance the wars and conflicts over the succession to the throne had weakened the Persians. The Byzantines crushed the Persians in a series of battles ending with one at Nineveh in 627. Just five years later, the first Arabic forces inspired by Islam entered Persian territories, and by 651 the Sassanid dynasty had collapsed (see “Islam’s Spread Beyond Arabia” in Chapter 9).



Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, France/Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY

Sassanid Cameo In this cameo — a type of jewelry made by carving into a multicolored piece of rock — the Sassanid king Shapur and the Byzantine emperor Valerian, each identifiable by his distinctive clothing and headgear, fight on horseback. This image does not record an actual hand-to-hand battle, but uses the well-muscled rulers as symbols of their empires.

Justinian’s Code of Law

Byzantine emperors organized and preserved Roman law, making a lasting contribution to the medieval and modern worlds. By the fourth century Roman law had become a huge, bewildering mass. Its sheer bulk made it almost unusable. The emperor Justinian appointed a committee of eminent jurists to sort through and organize the laws. The result was the *Corpus Juris Civilis* (Body of Civil Law), a multipart collection of laws and legal commentary issued from 529 to 534 that is often simply termed **Justinian’s Code** and formed the backbone of Byzantine jurisprudence from that point on. (See “Thinking Like a Historian: Slavery in Roman and Germanic Society,” page 204.)

Justinian’s Code Multipart collection of laws and legal commentary issued in the sixth century by the emperor Justinian.

Like so much of classical culture, Justinian’s Code was lost in western Europe with the end of the Roman Empire, but it was rediscovered in the eleventh century and came to form the foundation of law for nearly every modern European nation.

THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN

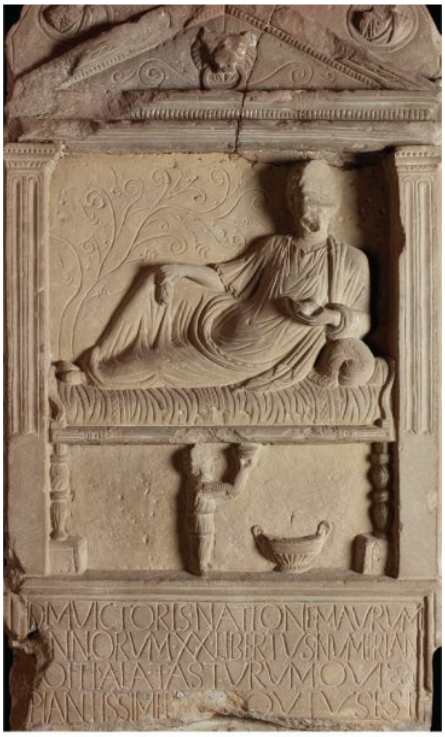
Slavery in Roman and Germanic Society

Slavery continued to be a common condition in the late Roman Empire, and the Germanic tribes were also slave-owning cultures. In both societies, slavery was based not on racial distinctions, but on one's personal status as free or unfree, which was increasingly regulated by law. How could a person cross the border between slave and free in these two societies, and what larger social values do laws regarding slavery reflect?

1 **Theodosian Code, 435–438.** Under Emperor Theodosius II (r. 408–450), imperial decrees issued since the time of Constantine that were still in effect were brought together in a single law code.

■ If a father, forced by need, shall sell any freeborn child whatsoever, the child cannot remain in perpetual slavery, but if he has made compensation by his slavery, he shall be restored to his freeborn status without the repayment of the purchase price…. It is established that children born from the womb of a slave woman are slaves, according to the law…. We have subjected the Scyrae, a barbarian nation, to Our power. Therefore We grant to all persons the opportunity to supply their own fields with men of the aforesaid race…. If any person should take up a boy or girl child that has been cast out of its home with the knowledge and consent of its father or owner, and if he should rear this child to strength with his own sustenance, he shall have the right to keep the said child under the same status as he wished it to have when he took charge of it, that is, as his child or as a slave, whichever he should prefer…. We exhort slaves, that as soon as possible they shall offer themselves for the labors of war, and if they receive their arms as men fit for military service, they shall obtain the reward of freedom…. [In the case of deserters] if the slave should surrender such a deserter, he shall be given his freedom.

2 **Roman tombstone.** The tombstone at right shows a man reclining on a couch, being served a drink by a small slave boy. The inscription identifies the man as a twenty-year-old soldier and freed slave, and it gives his name simply as Victor, with no family name or patronymic.



Arbeia Roman Fort, South Shields, UK/© Tyne & Wear Archives & Museums/Bridgeman Images)

3 **Justinian's Code, 529–534.** The law code of Emperor Justinian includes many provisions regarding slaves.

■ Liberty is the natural power of doing whatever anyone wishes to do unless he is prevented in some way, by force or by law. Slavery is an institution of the Law of Nations by means of which anyone may subject one man to the control of another, contrary to nature. Slaves are so called for the reason that military commanders were accustomed to sell their captives, and in this manner to preserve them, instead of putting them to death…. Slaves are brought under our ownership either by the Civil Law or by that of Nations. This is done by the Civil Law where anyone who is over twenty years of age permits himself to be sold for the sake of sharing in his own price [that is, for debt]. Slaves become our property by the Law of Nations when they are either taken from the enemy, or are born of our female slaves…. Where a fugitive slave betakes himself to the arena [as a gladiator], he cannot escape the power of his master by exposing himself to this danger, which is only that of the risk of death; such a slave must, by all means, be restored to his master, either before or after the combat with wild beasts.

4 **The Burgundian Code, ca. 500.** King Gundobad (r. 474–516), who ruled the Burgundian kingdom in what is now southeastern France, drew up one of the earliest Germanic law codes for his subjects.

■ If anyone shall buy another's slave from the Franks [with whom the

Burgundians were at war], let him prove with suitable witnesses how much and what sort of price he paid and when the witnesses have been sworn in, they shall make oath in the following manner, “We saw him pay the price in our presence, and he who purchased the slave did not do so through any fraud or connivance with the enemy.” … If anyone wishes to manumit a slave, he may do so by giving him his liberty through a legally competent document; or if anyone wishes to give freedom to a bondservant without a written document, let the manumission thus be conferred with the witness of not less than five or seven native freemen.

5 **Lombard laws, 643–735.** The Lombards invaded Italy in 568, conquered Germanic tribes that were already there, and established a kingdom that lasted until 774. Various Lombard kings issued laws on many topics.

■ In the case of a natural son who is born to another man’s woman slave, if the father purchases him and gives him his freedom by the formal procedure he shall remain free. But if the father does not free him, the natural son shall be a slave to him to whom the mother slave belongs…. He who renders false testimony against anyone else, or sets his hand knowingly to a false charter, and this fraud becomes evident, shall pay restitution, half to the king and half to him whose case it is. If the guilty party does not have enough to pay restitution, a public official ought to hand him over as a slave to him who was injured, and he [the offender] shall serve him as a slave…. If a man who is prodigal and ruined, or who has sold or dissipated his substance, or for other reasons does not have that with which to pay restitution, commits theft or adultery or a breach of the peace, or injures another man and the restitution for this is twenty solidi or more, then a public representative ought to hand him over as a slave to the man who committed such illegal acts…. If a freeman has a man and woman slave, or freedman and freedwoman, who are married, and inspired by hatred of the human race, he has intercourse with that woman whose husband is the slave or with the freedwoman whose husband is the freedman, he has committed adultery and we decree that he shall lose that slave or freedman with whose wife he committed adultery and the woman as well, for it is not pleasing to God that any man should have intercourse with the wife of another.

6 **Laws of the Anglo-Saxon kings, early tenth century**. The Anglo-Saxon rulers in England issued law codes; this law is from the code of Edward the Elder (r. 899–925), king of Wessex and Mercia.

■ If a man, through [being found guilty of] an accusation of stealing, forfeits his freedom and gives up his person to his lord, and his kinsmen forsake him, and he knows no one who will make legal amends for him, he shall do such servile labour as may be required and his kinsmen shall have no right to his wergeld [if he is slain].

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. According to the Roman laws (Sources 1 and 3), how could a person become a slave in Roman society? According to the Germanic laws (Sources 4–6), how could this happen in Germanic society? Which of these methods established more permanent conditions of servitude?
2. How could a slave become free in Roman society? In Germanic?
3. How might the man in the tombstone (Source 2) have obtained his freedom?
4. According to Justinian's Code (Source 3), is slavery natural? What types of laws establish it, and how do these laws reflect Roman notions of law?
5. In Germanic society, the kin group was responsible for the actions of its members. How do the laws in Sources 4–6 reflect this principle? From Sources 1–3 and your reading in this and earlier chapters, how did family and kin shape slavery in Roman society?

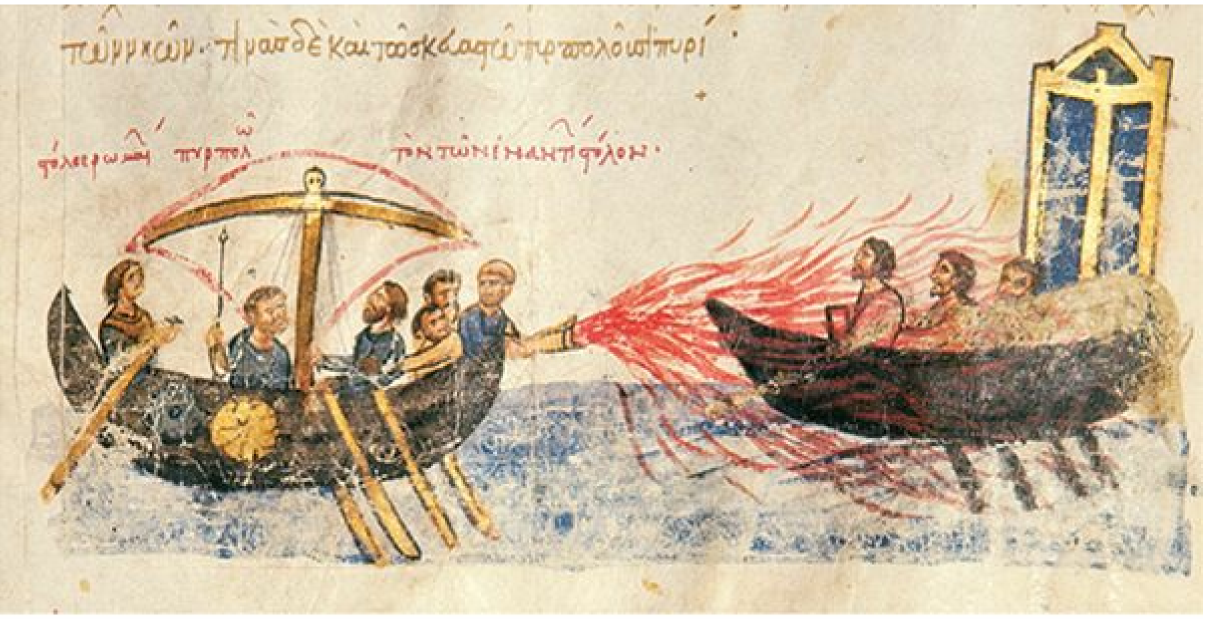
PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

Using the sources above, along with what you have learned in class and in Chapters 6 and 8, write a short essay that analyzes ways in which the boundary between slave and free was established, protected, and traversed in Roman and Germanic society. How could a person cross the border between slave and free in these two societies, and what larger social values do laws regarding slavery reflect? How did the laws regarding slavery differ in Roman and Germanic society, and how were they similar?

Sources: (1) Clyde Pharr, ed., *The Theodosian Code* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1952), 3.3.1, 5.6.3, 5.9.1, 7.13.16, 7.18.4; (3) S. P. Scott, trans., *The Civil Law* (Cincinnati: The Central Trust Company, 1932), vol. 2, p. 228; vol. 4, p. 82; (4) Katherine Fischer Drew, trans., *The Burgundian Code* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972), Constitutiones Extravagantes 21.9; (5) Katherine Fischer Drew, trans., *The Lombard Laws* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1973), Rothair 156, Luitprand 63, Luitprand 140, Luitprand 152; (6) F. L. Attenborough, *Laws of the Earliest English Kings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), Laws of Edward the Elder 6.

Byzantine Intellectual Life

Just as they valued the law, the Byzantines prized education. As a result, many masterpieces of ancient Greek literature survived to influence the intellectual life of the modern world. Among members of the large reading public, history was a favorite subject. The most remarkable Byzantine historian was Procopius (ca. 500–ca. 562), who wrote the *Secret History*, a vicious and uproarious attack on Justinian and his wife, the empress Theodora. (See “Individuals in Society: Theodora of Constantinople,” at right.)



Museo del Prado, Madrid, Spain/Bridgeman Images

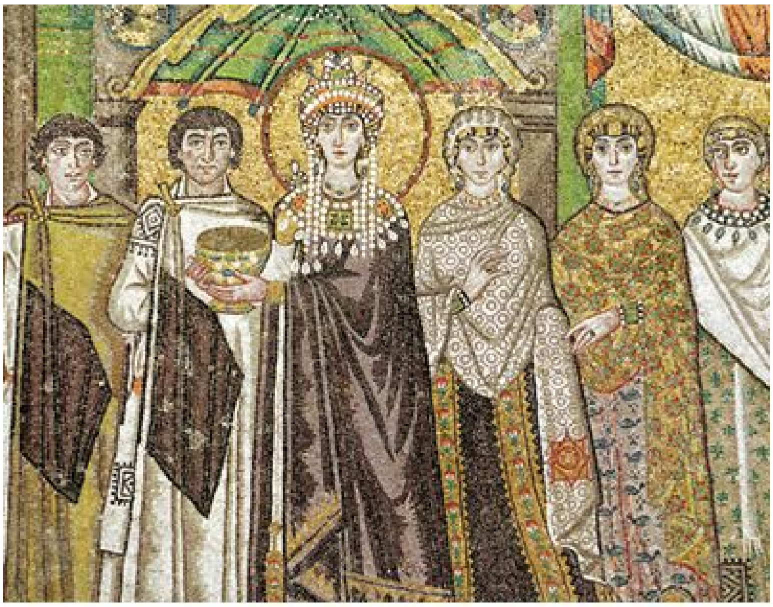
Greek Fire In this illustration from a twelfth-century manuscript, sailors shoot Greek fire toward an attacking ship from a pressurized tube that looks strikingly similar to a modern flamethrower. The exact formula for Greek fire has been lost, but it was probably made from a petroleum product because it continued burning on water. Greek fire was particularly important in Byzantine defenses of Constantinople from Muslim forces in the late seventh century.

Although the Byzantines discovered little that was new in mathematics and geometry, they made advances in military applications. For example, they invented an explosive liquid that came to be known as “Greek fire.” The liquid was heated and propelled by a pump through a bronze tube, and as the jet left the tube, it was ignited — somewhat like a modern flamethrower.

The Byzantines devoted a great deal of attention to medicine, and their general level of medical competence was far higher than that of western Europeans. Yet their physicians could not cope with the terrible disease, often called “the Justinian plague,” that swept through the Byzantine Empire and parts of western Europe between 542 and 560. In 2013 scientists studying ancient teeth confirmed that this disease was bubonic plague caused by the bacillus *Yersinia pestis*, probably originating in northwestern India and carried to the Mediterranean region by ships. The epidemic had profound political as well as social consequences. It weakened Justinian’s military resources, thus hampering his efforts to restore unity to the Mediterranean world.

INDIVIDUALS IN SOCIETY

Theodora of Constantinople



San Vitale, Ravenna, Italy/Bridgeman Images

A sixth-century mosaic of the empress Theodora, made of thousands of tiny cubes of glass, shows her with a halo — a symbol of power — and surrounded by officials, priests, and court ladies. (San Vitale, Ravenna, Italy/Bridgeman Images)

THE MOST POWERFUL WOMAN IN BYZANTINE HISTORY was the daughter of a bear trainer for the circus. Theodora (ca. 497–548) grew up in what her contemporaries regarded as an undignified and morally suspect atmosphere, and she worked as a dancer and actress, both dishonorable occupations in the Roman world. Despite her background, she caught the eye of Justinian, who was then a military leader and whose uncle (and adoptive father) Justin had himself risen from obscurity to become the ruler of the Byzantine Empire. Under Justinian's influence, Justin changed the law to allow an actress who had left her disreputable life to marry whom she liked, and Justinian and Theodora married in 525. When Justinian was proclaimed co-emperor with his uncle Justin on April 1, 527, Theodora received the rare title of *augusta*, empress. Thereafter her name was linked with Justinian's in the exercise of imperial power.

Most of our knowledge of Theodora's early life comes from the

Secret History, a tell-all description of the vices of Justinian and his court written by Procopius around 550. Procopius was the official court historian and thus spent his days praising those same people. In the *Secret History*, however, he portrays Theodora and Justinian as demonic, greedy, and vicious, killing courtiers to steal their property. In scene after detailed scene, Procopius portrays Theodora as particularly evil, sexually insatiable, and cruel, a temptress who used sorcery to attract men, including the hapless Justinian.

In one of his official histories, *The History of the Wars of Justinian*, Procopius presents a very different Theodora. Riots between the supporters of two teams in chariot races had turned deadly, and Justinian wavered in his handling of the perpetrators. Both sides turned against the emperor, besieging the palace while Justinian was inside it. Shouting "*Nika*!" (Victory), the rioters swept through the city, burning and looting. Justinian's counselors urged flight, but, according to Procopius, Theodora rose and declared:

> For one who has reigned, it is intolerable to be an exile…. If you wish, O Emperor, to save yourself, there is no difficulty: we have ample funds and there are the ships. Yet reflect whether, when you have once escaped to a place of security, you will not prefer death to safety. I agree with an old saying that the purple [that is, the color worn only by emperors] is a fair winding sheet [to be buried in].

Justinian rallied, ordered more than thirty thousand men and women executed, and crushed the revolt.

Other sources describe or suggest Theodora's influence on imperial policy. Justinian passed a number of laws that improved the legal status of women, such as allowing women to own property and to be guardians over their own children. He forbade the exposure of unwanted infants, which happened more often to girls than to boys because boys were valued more highly. Theodora presided at imperial receptions for Arab sheiks, Persian ambassadors, Germanic princesses from the West, and barbarian chieftains from southern Russia. When Justinian fell ill from the bubonic plague in 542, Theodora took over his duties. Justinian is reputed to have consulted her every day about all aspects of state policy, including religious policy regarding the doctrinal disputes that continued throughout his reign.

Theodora's influence over her husband and her power in the Byzantine state continued until she died, perhaps of cancer, twenty years before Justinian. Her influence may have even continued after death, for Justinian continued to pass reforms favoring women and, at the end of his life, accepted an interpretation of Christian doctrine she had favored. Institutions that she established, including hospitals and churches, continued to be reminders of her charity and piety.

Theodora has been viewed as a symbol of the use of beauty and cleverness to attain position and power, and also as a strong and capable co-ruler who held the empire together during riots, revolts, and deadly epidemics. Just as she fascinated Procopius, she continues to intrigue writers today, who make her a character not only in historical works, but also in science fiction and fantasy.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. How would you assess the complex legacy of Theodora?
2. Since Procopius's public and private views of the empress are so different, should he be trusted at all as a historical source? Why or why not?

Life in Constantinople

By the seventh century Constantinople was the greatest city in the Christian world: a large population center, the seat of the imperial court and administration, and the pivot of a large volume of international trade. Given that the city was a natural geographical connecting point between East and West, its markets offered goods from many parts of the world. Furs and timber flowed across the Black Sea from the Rus (Russia) to the capital, as did slaves across the Mediterranean from northern Europe and the Balkans via Venice. Spices, silks, jewelry, and other luxury goods came to Constantinople from India and China by way of Arabia, the Red Sea, and the Indian Ocean. In return, the city exported glassware, mosaics, gold coins, silk cloth, carpets, and a host of other products, with much foreign trade in the hands of Italian merchants. At the end of the eleventh century Constantinople may have been the world's third-largest city, with only Córdoba in Spain and Kaifeng in China larger.

Constantinople did not enjoy constant political stability. Between the accession of Emperor Heraclius in 610 and the fall of the city to Western Crusaders in 1204 (see "The Crusades" in Chapter 14), four separate dynasties ruled at Constantinople. Imperial government involved such intricate court intrigue, assassination plots, and military revolts that the word *byzantine* is sometimes used in English to mean extremely entangled and complicated politics.

The typical household in the city included family members and servants, some of whom were slaves. Artisans lived and worked in their shops, while clerks, civil servants, minor officials, and business people commonly dwelled in multistory buildings perhaps comparable to the apartment complexes of modern American cities. Wealthy aristocrats resided in freestanding mansions that frequently included interior courts, galleries, large reception halls, small sleeping rooms, reading and writing rooms, baths, and chapels.

In the homes of the upper classes, the segregation of women seems to have been the first principle of interior design. As in ancient Athens, private houses contained a *gynaeceum* (guy-neh-KEE-uhm), or women's apartment, where women were kept strictly separated from the outside world. The fundamental reason for this segregation was the family's honor.

As it was throughout the world, marriage was part of a family's strategy for social advancement. Both the immediate family and the larger kinship group participated in the selection of a bride or a groom, choosing a spouse who might enhance the family's wealth or prestige.

The Growth of the Christian Church

How did the Christian Church become a major force in Europe?

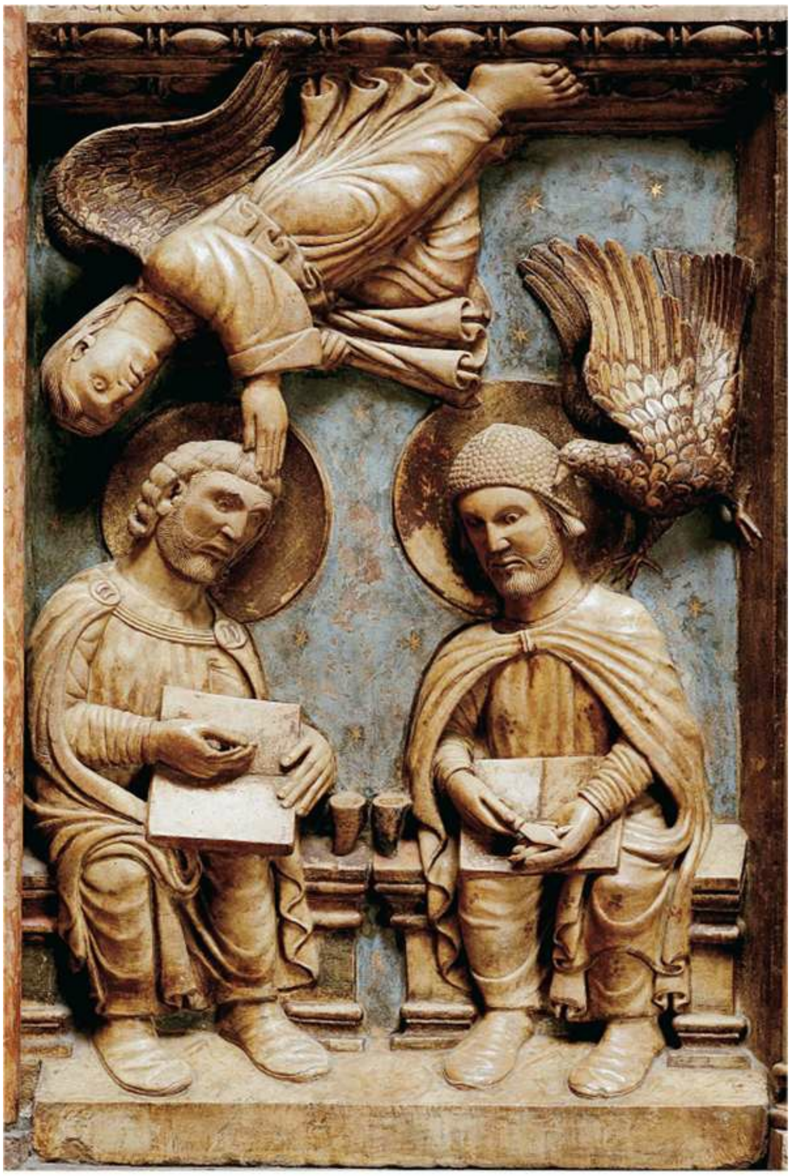
As the Western Roman Empire disintegrated, the Christian Church survived and grew, becoming the most important institution in Europe. The administrators of the church developed permanent institutions that drew on the Greco-Roman tradition but also expressed Christian values.

The Evolution of Church Leadership and Orthodoxy

Believers in early Christian communities chose their own leaders, but over time appointment by existing church leaders or secular rulers became the common practice. During the reign of Diocletian (die-oh-KLEE-shun) (r. 284–305), the Roman Empire had been divided for administrative purposes into geographical units called **dioceses**, and Christianity adopted this pattern. Each diocese was headed by a bishop, who was responsible for organizing preaching, overseeing the community’s goods, maintaining orthodox (established or correct) doctrine, and delegating responsibilities for preaching and teaching. The center of a bishop’s authority was his cathedral, a word deriving from the Latin *cathedra*, meaning “chair.”

dioceses Geographic administrative districts of the church, each under the authority of a bishop and centered on a cathedral.

The early Christian Church benefited from the administrative abilities of church leaders. Bishop Ambrose of Milan (339–397) was typical of the Roman aristocrats who held high public office, converted to Christianity, and subsequently became bishops. Like many bishops, Ambrose had a solid education in classical law and rhetoric, which he used to become an eloquent preacher. He had a strong sense of his authority and even successfully resisted Emperor Theodosius’s (r. 379–395) efforts to take control of church property. Ambrose’s assertion that the church was supreme in spiritual matters and the state in secular issues was to serve as the cornerstone of the church’s position on church-state relations for centuries. Because of his strong influence, Ambrose came to be regarded as one of the “fathers of the church,” that is, early Christian thinkers whose authority was regarded as second only to the Bible in later centuries.



Duomo, Modena, Italy/Alinari/Art Resource, NY

Saint Jerome and Saint Ambrose This wood carving shows Saint Ambrose and Saint Jerome, two of the most important early church fathers, hard at work writing. Divine inspiration appears in the form of an angel and a dove. (Duomo, Modena, Italy/Alinari/Art Resource, NY)

Although conflicts between religious and secular leaders were frequent, the church also received support from the emperors. In 380 Theodosius made Christianity the official religion of the empire, and later in his reign he authorized the closure or destruction of temples and holy sites dedicated to the traditional Roman and Greek gods. In return for such support, the emperors expected the Christian Church's assistance in maintaining order and unity.

Christians disagreed with one another about many issues. In the fourth and fifth centuries disputes arose over the nature of Christ. For example, Arianism, developed by Arius (ca. 250–336), a priest of Alexandria, held that Jesus was created by the will of God the Father and thus was not co-eternal with him. Emperor Constantine, who legalized Christianity in 312, rejected the Arian interpretation. In 325 he summoned a council of church leaders to Nicaea (nigh-SEE-uh) in Asia Minor and presided over it personally. The council produced the Nicene (nigh-SEEN) Creed, which defined the position that Christ is "eternally begotten of the Father" and of the same substance as the Father. Arius and those who refused to accept Nicene Christianity were banished. Their interpretation of the nature of Christ was declared a **heresy**, that is, a belief that contradicted the interpretation the church leaders declared was correct, which was termed orthodoxy. These actions did not end Arianism, however. Several later emperors were Arian Christian, and Arian missionaries converted many barbarian tribes, who were attracted by the idea that Jesus was God's second-in-command, which fit well with their own warrior hierarchies and was less complicated than the idea of two persons with one substance. The Nicene interpretation eventually became the most widely held understanding of the nature of Christ, however, and is accepted today by the Roman Catholic Church, the Eastern Orthodox Churches, and most Protestant Churches.

heresy A religious practice or belief judged unacceptable by church officials.

The Nicene Creed says little specifically about the Holy Spirit, but in the following centuries the idea that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are "one substance in three persons" — the Trinity — became a central doctrine in Christianity, though again there were those who disagreed. Disputes about the nature of Christ also continued, with factions establishing themselves as separate Christian groups. The Nestorians, for example, regarded the divine and human natures in Jesus as distinct from one another, whereas the orthodox opinion was that they were united. The Nestorians split from the rest of the church in the fifth century after their position was outlawed and settled in Persia. Nestorian Christian missionaries later founded churches in Central Asia, India, and China.

The Western Church and the Eastern Church

The leader of the church in the West, the bishop of Rome, became more powerful than his counterpart in the Byzantine East for a variety of reasons. Most significantly, bishops of Rome asserted that Rome had a special place in Christian history. According to tradition, Saint Peter, chief of Jesus’s disciples, had lived in Rome and been its first bishop. Thus, as successors of Peter, the bishops of Rome — known as **popes** — claimed a privileged position in the church hierarchy, an idea called the Petrine Doctrine. They urged other churches to appeal to Rome for the resolution of disputed issues and sent letters of guidance to other bishops. (The Christian Church headed by the pope in Rome was generally called the Roman Church in this era, and later the Roman Catholic Church.)

popes Heads of the Roman Catholic Church, who became political as well as religious authorities. The period of a pope’s term in office is called a pontificate.

The popes also expanded the church’s secular authority. They made treaties with barbarian leaders, charged taxes, enforced laws, and organized armies. The Western Christian Church headed by the pope in Rome would become the most enduring nongovernmental institution in world history.

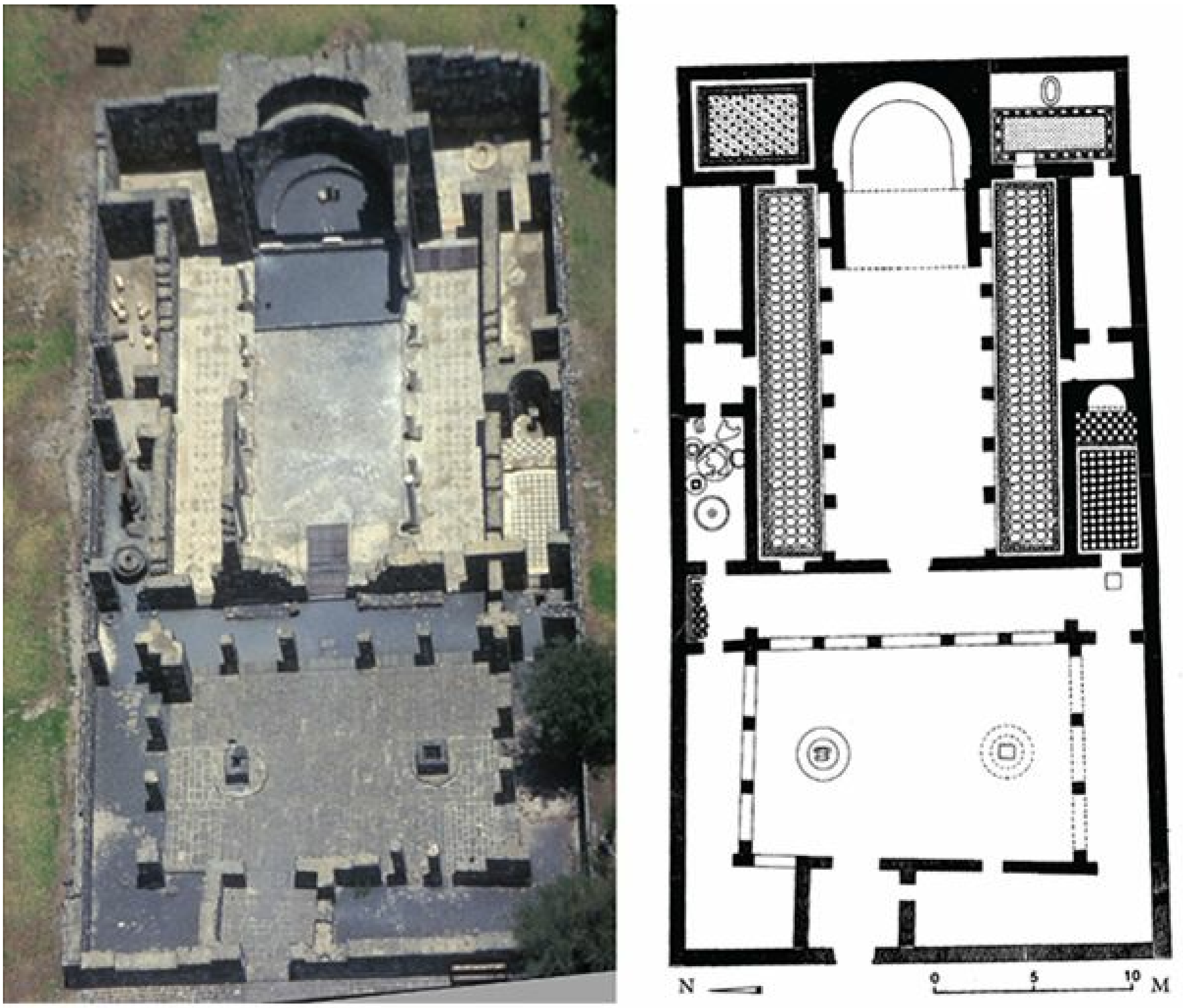
By contrast, in the East the emperor’s jurisdiction over the church was fully acknowledged. As in Rome, there was a head of the church in Constantinople, called the patriarch, but he did not develop the same powers that the pope did in the West because there was never a similar power vacuum into which he needed to step. He and other high church officials were appointed by the emperor. The Eastern emperors looked on religion as a branch of the state, and they considered it their duty to protect the faith not only against heathen outsiders but also against heretics within the empire. Following the pattern set by Constantine, the emperors summoned councils of bishops and theologians to settle doctrinal disputes. They and the Eastern bishops did not accept Rome’s claim to primacy, and gradually the Byzantine Christian Church, generally called the **Orthodox Church**, and the Roman Church began to diverge. In addition, other branches of Christianity in the East, including the Nestorians, Maronites, and Copts, developed their own distinctive theological ideas and patterns of organization, which have continued to today.

Orthodox Church Another name for the Eastern Christian Church, over which emperors continued to have power.

Christian Monasticism

Christianity began and spread as a city religion. With time, however, some especially pious Christians started to feel that a life of asceticism (extreme material sacrifice, including fasting and the renunciation of sex) was a better way to show their devotion to Christ’s teachings, just as followers of Mahavira or the Buddha had centuries earlier in South Asia (see “India’s Great Religions” in Chapter 3).

Ascetics often separate themselves from their families and normal social life, and this is what Christian ascetics did. Individuals and small groups withdrew from cities and moved to the Egyptian desert, where they sought God through prayer in caves and shelters in the desert or mountains. These individuals were called hermits or monks. Gradually, large groups of monks emerged in the deserts of Upper Egypt, creating a style of life known as monasticism. Many devout women were also attracted to this type of monasticism, becoming nuns. Although monks and nuns led isolated lives, ordinary people soon recognized them as holy people and sought them as spiritual guides.



Private Collection/Photo © Zev Radovan/Bridgeman Images

Floor Plan and Foundation of Kursi Monastery Church Built on the eastern shore of the Sea of Galilee in the fifth century at a major pilgrimage site, this walled monastery had living quarters for the monks, a guesthouse, and a bath for pilgrims. It contained a church modeled on the type of Roman public building known as a basilica, with an open courtyard with two wells (at the bottom in the pictures), mosaic floors, and a central nave separated from side aisles by rows of arched columns. In one side chapel (on the left in the pictures) was a small baptismal font, and in another a press for olive oil, a major source of income for the monastery. The skeletons of thirty monks were found in a crypt when the site was uncovered during road construction in 1970.

Church leaders did not really approve of the solitary life. Hermits sometimes claimed to have mystical experiences — direct communications with God. If hermits could communicate directly with the Lord, what need had they for priests, bishops, and the institutional church? The church hierarchy instead encouraged those who wanted to live ascetic lives of devotion to do so in communities. Consequently, in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries many different kinds of communal monasticism developed in Gaul, Italy, Spain, Anglo-Saxon England, and Ireland.

In 529 Benedict of Nursia (ca. 480–547) wrote a brief set of regulations for the monks who had gathered around him at Monte Cassino, between Rome and Naples. Benedict’s guide for monastic life, known as *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, slowly replaced all others, and it has influenced all forms of organized religious life in the Roman Church. The guide outlined a monastic life of regularity, discipline, and moderation in an atmosphere of silence. Under Benedict’s regulations, monks spent part of each day in formal prayer, chanting psalms and other prayers from the Bible. The rest of the day was passed in manual labor, study, and private prayer. The monastic life as conceived by Saint Benedict provided opportunities for men of different abilities and talents — from mechanics to gardeners to literary scholars. The Benedictine form of religious life also appealed to women, because it allowed them to show their devotion and engage in study. Benedict’s twin sister, Scholastica (480–543), adapted the *Rule* for use by her community of nuns.

Benedictine monasticism also succeeded partly because it was so materially successful. In the seventh and eighth centuries Benedictine monasteries pushed back forests and wastelands, drained swamps, and experimented with crop rotation, making a significant contribution to the agricultural development of Europe. Monasteries also conducted schools for local young people. Some learned about prescriptions and herbal remedies and went on to provide medical treatment for their localities. Others copied manuscripts and wrote books. Local and royal governments drew on the services of the literate men and able administrators the monasteries produced.

Because all monasteries followed rules, men who lived a communal monastic life came to be called regular clergy, from the Latin word *regulus* (rule). In contrast, priests and bishops who staffed churches in which people worshipped and who were not cut off from the world were called secular clergy. According to official church doctrine, women were not members of the clergy, but this distinction was not clear to most people, who thought of nuns as members of the clergy.

Monasticism in the Orthodox world differed in fundamental ways from the monasticism that evolved in western Europe. First, while *The Rule of Saint Benedict* gradually became the universal guide for all western European monasteries, each monastic house in the Byzantine world developed its own set of rules for organization and behavior. Second, education never became a central feature of the Orthodox houses. Since bishops and patriarchs of the Orthodox Church were recruited only from the monasteries, however, these institutions did exercise cultural influence.

Christian Ideas and Practices

How did Christian thinkers adapt classical ideas to Christian teachings, and what new religious concepts and practices did they develop?

The growth of Christianity was tied not just to institutions such as the papacy and monasteries but also to ideas. Initially, Christians rejected Greco-Roman culture. Gradually, however, Christian leaders and thinkers developed ideas that drew on classical influences, though there were also areas of controversy that differed in the Western and Eastern Churches.

Christianity and Classical Culture

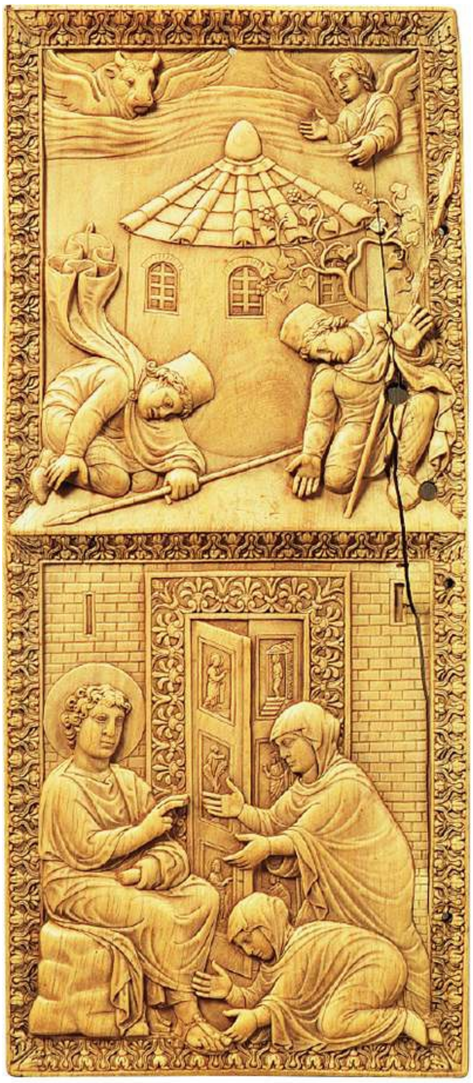
In the first century Christians believed that Christ would soon fulfill his promise to return and that the end of the world was near; therefore, they saw no point in devoting time to learning. By the second century, however, these apocalyptic expectations were diminishing, and church leaders began to incorporate elements of Greek and Roman philosophy and learning into Christian teachings (see “The Growing Acceptance and Evolution of Christianity” in Chapter 6). They found support for this incorporation in the written texts that circulated among Christians. In the third and fourth centuries these texts were brought together as the New Testament of the Bible, with general agreement about most of what should be included but sharp disputes about some books. Although some of Jesus’s sermons as recorded in the Gospels (see “The Life and Teachings of Jesus” in Chapter 6) urged followers to avoid worldly attachments, other parts of the Bible advocated acceptance of existing social, economic, and political structures. Christian thinkers built on these, adapting Christian teachings to fit with Roman realities and Roman ideas to fit with Christian aims, just as Buddhist thinkers adapted Buddhist teachings when they spread them to Central Asia, China, Korea, and Japan (see “The Spread of Buddhism Out of India” in Chapter 7).

Saint Jerome (340–419), a theologian and linguist regarded as a father of the church, translated the Old Testament and New Testament from Hebrew and Greek, respectively, into vernacular Latin. Called the Vulgate, his edition of the Bible served as the official translation until the sixteenth century. Familiar with the writings of classical authors such as Cicero and Virgil, Saint Jerome believed that Christians should study the best of ancient thought because it would direct their minds to God. He maintained that the best ancient literature should be interpreted in light of the Christian faith.

Christian attitudes toward gender and sexuality provide a good example of the ways early Christians first challenged and then largely adopted the views of their contemporary world. In his plan of salvation Jesus considered women the equal of men. Women were among the earliest converts to Christianity and took an active role in its spread, preaching, acting as missionaries, being martyred alongside men, and perhaps even baptizing believers. Some women embraced the ideal of virginity and either singly or in monastic communities declared themselves "virgins in the service of Christ." All this initially made Christianity seem dangerous to many Romans who viewed marriage as the foundation of society and the proper patriarchal order.

Not all Christian teachings about gender were radical, however. In the first century male church leaders began to place restrictions on female believers. Women were forbidden to preach and were gradually excluded from holding official positions in Christianity other than in women's monasteries. In so limiting the activities of female believers, Christianity was following well-established social patterns, just as it modeled its official hierarchy after that of the Roman Empire.

Christian teachings about sexuality also built on and challenged classical models. The rejection of sexual activity involved an affirmation of the importance of a spiritual life, but it also incorporated hostility toward the body found in some Hellenistic philosophies. Just as spirit was superior to matter, the thinking went, the mind was superior to the body. Though Christian teachings affirmed that God had created the material world and sanctioned marriage, most Christian thinkers also taught that celibacy was the better life and that anything that distracted one's attention from the spiritual world performed an evil function. For most clerical writers (who were themselves male), this temptation came from women, and in some of their writings women themselves are portrayed as evil, the "devil's gateway." Thus the writings of many church fathers contain a strong streak of misogyny (hatred of women), which was passed down to later Christian thinkers.



Castello Sforzesco Milan, Italy/Scala/Art Resource, NY

The Marys at Jesus's Tomb This late-fourth-century ivory panel tells the biblical story of Mary Magdalene and another Mary who went to Jesus's tomb to anoint the body (Matthew 28:1–7). At the top guards collapse when an angel descends from Heaven, and at the bottom the Marys listen to the angel telling them that Jesus has risen. Here the artist uses Roman artistic styles to convey Christian subject matter, synthesizing classical form and Christian teaching.

Saint Augustine on Sin, Grace, and Redemption

One thinker had an especially strong role in shaping Christian views about sexual activity and many other issues: Saint Augustine of Hippo (354–430). Augustine was born into an urban family in what is now Algeria in

North Africa. His father was a pagan; his mother, Monica, was a devout Christian. He gained an excellent education, fathered a son, and experimented with various religious ideas. In adulthood he converted to his mother's religion, eventually becoming bishop of the city of Hippo Regius.

Augustine's autobiography, *The Confessions*, is a literary masterpiece and one of the most influential books in Western history. Written in the rhetorical style and language of late Roman antiquity, it marks a synthesis of Greco-Roman forms and Christian thought. *The Confessions* describes Augustine's moral struggle, the conflict between his spiritual aspirations and his sensual self. Many Greek and Roman philosophers had taught that knowledge would lead to virtue. Augustine came to reject this idea, claiming that people do not always act on the basis of rational knowledge. Instead the basic or dynamic force in any individual is the will. When Adam ate the fruit forbidden by God in the Garden of Eden (Genesis 3:6), he committed the "original sin" and corrupted the will, wrote Augustine. Adam's sin did not simply remain his own but was passed on to all later humans through sexual intercourse; even infants were tainted. Original sin thus became a common social stain, in Augustine's opinion, transmitted by sexual desire. By viewing sexual desire as the result of Adam and Eve's disobedience to divine instructions, Augustine linked sexuality even more clearly with sin than had earlier church fathers. According to Augustine, because Adam disobeyed God, all human beings have an innate tendency to sin: their will is weak. But Augustine held that God restores the strength of the will through grace, which is transmitted in certain rituals that the church defined as **sacraments**, such as baptism. Augustine's ideas on sin, grace, and redemption became the foundation of all subsequent Western Christian theology, Protestant as well as Catholic.

sacraments Certain rituals of the church believed to act as a conduit of God's grace, such as baptism.

The Iconoclastic Controversy

Augustine's ideas about original sin did not become important in the Eastern Orthodox Church, where other issues seemed more significant. In the centuries after Constantine, the most serious dispute within the Orthodox Church concerned icons — images or representations of God the Father, Jesus, and the saints in painting, bas-relief, or mosaic. (See "Analyzing the Evidence: Orthodox Icon of Jesus," page 214.) Icons were important tools in conversion and in people’s devotional lives, but some church leaders and emperors came to feel that the veneration of images had gone too far.

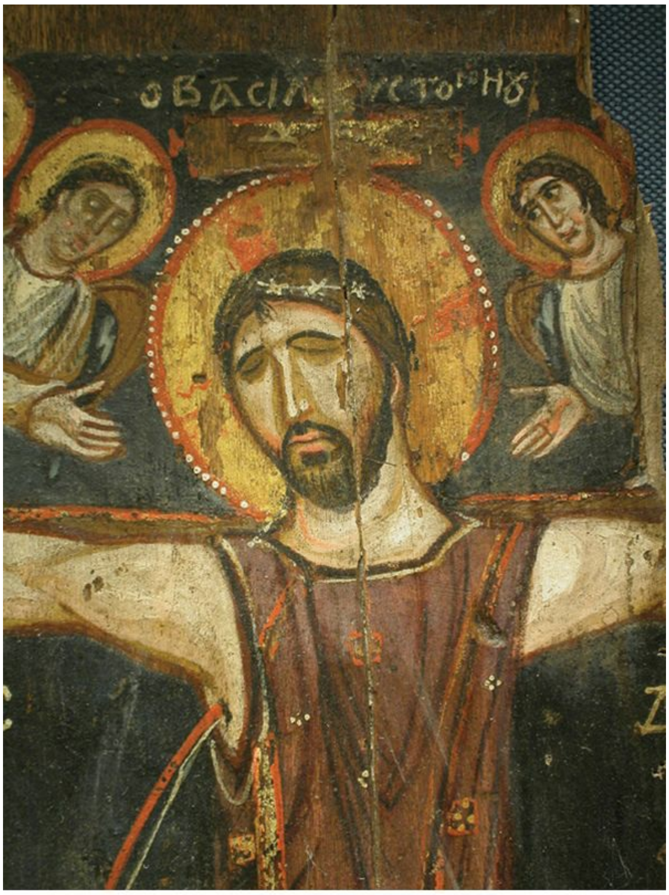
The result of this dispute was a terrible theological conflict, the **iconoclastic controversy**, that split the Byzantine world for a century. In 730 the emperor Leo III (r. 717–741) ordered the destruction of icons. The removal of these images from Byzantine churches provoked a violent reaction: entire provinces revolted, and the Byzantine Empire and the Roman papacy severed relations. Since Eastern monasteries were the fiercest defenders of icons, Leo’s son Constantine V (r. 741–775) seized their property, executed some of the monks, and forced other monks into the army. Theological disputes and civil disorder over the icons continued intermittently until 843, when the icons were restored.

iconoclastic controversy The conflict over the veneration of religious images in the Byzantine Empire.

The implications of the iconoclastic controversy extended far beyond strictly theological issues. Iconoclasm raised the question of the right of the emperor to intervene in religious disputes. Iconoclasm antagonized the pope and served to encourage him in his quest for an alliance with the Frankish monarchy (see “The Warrior-Ruler Charlemagne”), which further divided the two parts of Christendom. The ultimate acceptance of icons profoundly influenced subsequent art within both Eastern and Western Christianity.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

Orthodox Icon of Jesus



Dagli Orti/REX/Shutterstock

In this painted icon, made for the monastery of Saint Catherine in Egypt in the eighth century, Jesus is shown on the cross, wearing a tunic and a crown of thorns, while blood spurts from his side. Above him are two angels who gesture toward him, one with what appears to be blood on his hand. Religious images, often called “icons” in the Eastern Christian or Orthodox Church, were important means of communicating Christian ideas, as most people could not read. Some early church leaders opposed them, because they thought people might worship or pray to the icon instead of God and come to think of the religious image itself as divine. This opposition was an inheritance from Judaism, which regarded any attempt to portray the divine as wrong and saw religious rituals that involved images as worshipping idols. Gradually Christian teaching came to make a distinction between venerating icons and worshipping idols: actually worshipping religious images themselves was wrong, but venerating icons of Jesus, the Virgin Mary, and the saints fostered reverence and helped believers connect with the divine. Believers could also ask the individual depicted in the icon to plead a cause to God the Father and intercede on their behalf. (For more about the role of saints, see “The Process of Conversion.”)

In the seventh century, a period of crisis in the Byzantine Empire, the veneration of icons became an even more important part of popular religious devotion. Many people thought that icons had power in and of themselves, and that some were even miraculously created, rather than made by human hands. Many church officials and some Byzantine emperors argued that people were now worshipping the image itself rather than what it signified. This, they claimed, constituted idolatry, a violation of one of the Ten Commandments, the religious and moral code found in Hebrew Scripture that was also sacred to Christians. Images of Christ, they argued, were particularly objectionable, as his divine and human natures could never be represented in physical form. Beginning in 730 they ordered images taken down and destroyed, which led to decades of violent controversy.

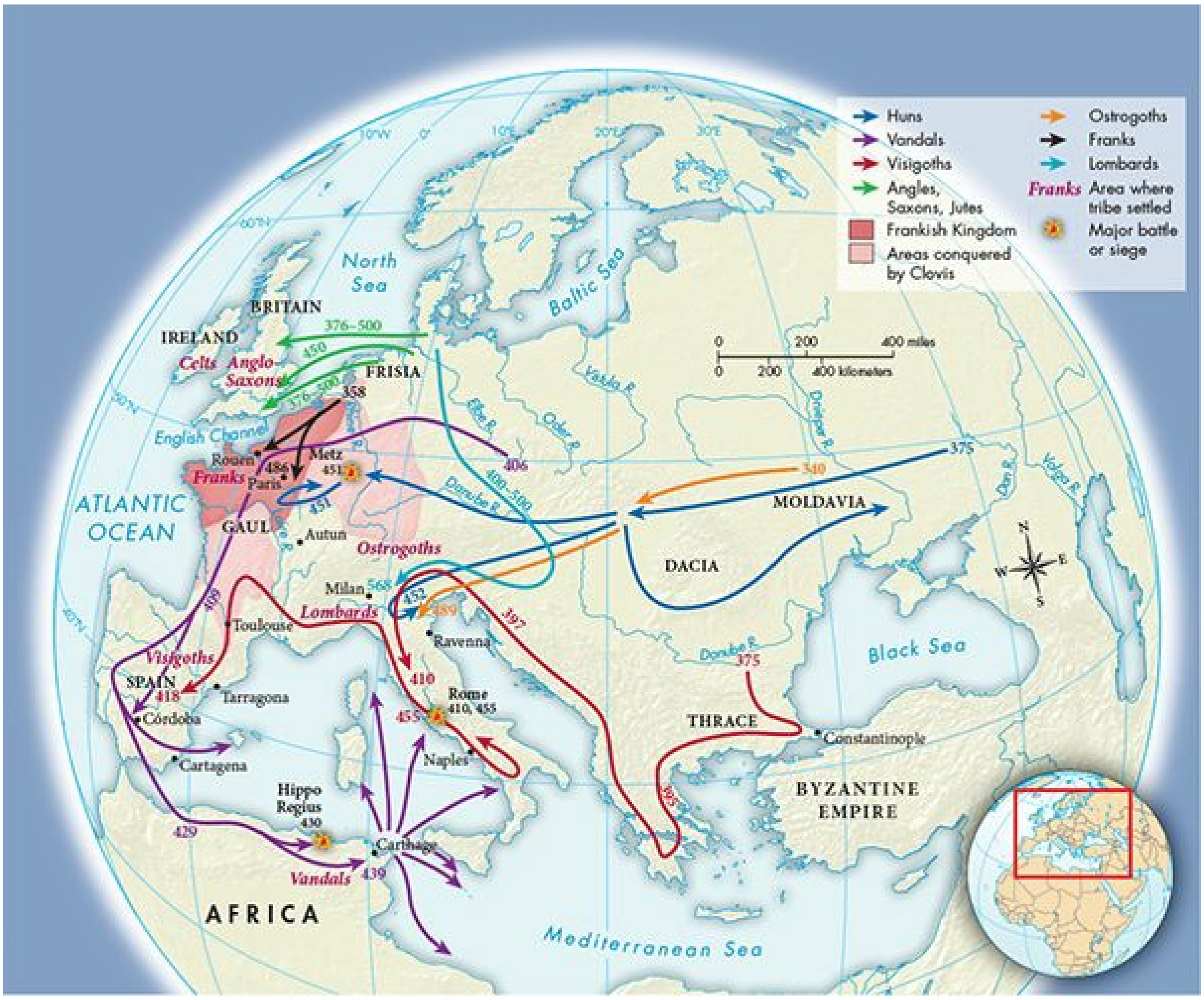
QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. How does the icon evoke emotions and religious devotion in its portrayal of Jesus?
2. How do Christian icons link with Greco-Roman traditions in terms of the portrayal of divine figures?
3. This image was made in the eighth century, in the middle of the iconoclastic controversy. Why do you think the monastery that ordered it did so at just this time?

Migrating Peoples

How did the barbarians shape social, economic, and political structures in Europe and western Asia?

The word *barbarian* comes from the Greek *barbaros*, meaning someone who did not speak Greek. (To the Greeks, others seemed to be speaking nonsense syllables; *barbar* is the Greek equivalent of “blah-blah” or “yada-yada.”) The Greeks used this word to include people such as the Egyptians, whom the Greeks respected. The Romans usually used the Latin version of *barbarian* to mean the peoples who lived beyond the northeastern boundary of Roman territory, whom they regarded as unruly, savage, and primitive. (See “Global Viewpoints: Roman and Byzantine Views of Barbarians,” page 216.) That value judgment is generally also present when we use *barbarian* in English, but there really is no other word to describe the many different peoples who lived to the north of the Roman Empire. Thus historians of late antiquity use the word *barbarian* to designate these peoples, who spoke a variety of languages but had similarities in their basic social, economic, and political structures (Map 8.2). Many of these historians find much to admire in barbarian society.


Huns
Vandals
Visigoths
Angles, Saxons, Jutes
Frankish Kingdom
Areas conquered by Clovis
Ostrogoths
Franks
Lombards
Franks Area where tribe settled
Major battle or siege
0 200 400 miles
0 200 400 kilometers
North Sea
Baltic Sea
BRITAIN
IRELAND
Celts
Anglo-Saxons
FRISIA
376–500
450
358
English Channel
Rouen
486
Paris
Franks
Metz
451
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GAUL
Autun
Ostrogoths
Milan
568
Lombards
452
489
Toulouse
Visigoths
SPAIN
418
Córdoba
Tarragona
Cartagena
Ravenna
410
Rome
410, 455
455
Naples
397
Hippo Regius
430
429
Carthage
439
Vandals
AFRICA
Mediterranean Sea
406
408–500
Vistula R.
Elbe R.
Oder R.
Danube R.
Dnieper R.
Don R.
Volga R.
340
375
MOLDAVIA
DACIA
Black Sea
THRACE
Constantinople
BYZANTINE EMPIRE
N
S
E
W
10°W
0°
10°E
20°E
30°E
60°N
50°N
40°N

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 8.2 The Barbarian Migrations, ca. 340–500 Various barbarian groups migrated throughout Europe and western Asia in late antiquity, pushed and pulled by a number of factors. Many of them formed loosely structured states, of which the Frankish kingdom would become the most significant.

Barbarians included many different ethnic groups with social and political structures, languages, laws, and beliefs developed in central and northern Europe and western Asia over many centuries. Among the largest barbarian groups were the Celts (KELTS) (whom the Romans called Gauls) and Germans; Germans were further subdivided into various tribes, such as Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Burgundians, and Franks. *Celt* and *German* are often used as ethnic terms, but they are better understood as linguistic terms, a Celt being a person who spoke a Celtic language and a German one who spoke a Germanic language. Celts, Germans, and other barbarians brought their customs and traditions with them when they moved south and west, and these gradually combined with classical and Christian customs and beliefs to form new types of societies. From this cultural mix the Franks emerged as an especially strong and influential force, and they built a lasting empire (see “The Warrior-Ruler Charlemagne”).

GLOBAL VIEWPOINTS

Roman and Byzantine Views of Barbarians

The earliest written records about the barbarian groups that migrated, attacked, and sometimes conquered the more urbanized and densely populated areas of Europe and western Asia all come from the pens of educated Greeks, Romans, and Byzantines. They provide us with important information about barbarians, but always from the perspective of outsiders with a particular point of view. The selections below are typical of such commentary. The first is from the fourth-century Roman general and historian Ammianus Marcellinus, who fought in Roman armies against Germanic tribes, the Huns, and the Persians and later wrote a history of the Roman Empire. The second is from the sixth-century Byzantine historian Agathias, who described recent encounters between the forces of the Byzantine emperor Justinian and various Germanic tribes.

Ammianus Marcellinus on the Huns, ca. 380

■ The people of the Huns, but little known from ancient records, dwelling beyond the Maeotic Sea near the ice-bound ocean, exceed every degree of savagery…. They all have compact, strong limbs and thick necks, and are so monstrously ugly and misshapen, that one might take them for two-legged beasts or for the stumps, rough-hewn into images, that are used in putting sides to bridges. But although they have the form of men, however ugly, they are so hardy in their mode of life that they have no need of fire nor of savory food, but eat the roots of wild plants and the half-raw flesh of any kind of animal whatever, which they put between their thighs and the backs of their horses, and thus warm a little. They are never protected by any buildings, but they avoid these like tombs…. They are not at all adapted to battles on foot, but they are almost glued to their horses, which are hardy, it is true, but ugly…. They fight from a distance with missiles having sharp bone [points], instead of the usual (metal) parts, joined to the shafts with wonderful skill; then they gallop over the intervening spaces and fight hand to hand with swords, regardless of their own lives…. No one in their country ever plows a field or touches a plow-handle. They are all without fixed abode, without hearth, or law, or settled mode of life, and keep roaming from place to place, like fugitives, accompanied by wagons in which they live; in wagons their wives weave for them their hideous garments, in wagons they cohabit with their husbands, bear children, and rear them to the age of puberty.

Agathias on the Franks

■ The Franks are not nomads, as indeed some barbarian peoples are, but their system of government, administration and laws are modelled more or less on the Roman pattern, apart from which they uphold similar standards with regard to contracts, marriage, and religious observance. They are in fact all Christians and adhere to the strictest orthodoxy. They also have magistrates in their cities and priests and celebrate the feasts in the same way we do, and, for a barbarian people, strike me as extremely well-bred and civilized and as practically the same as ourselves except for their uncouth style of dress and peculiar language. I admire them for their other attributes and especially for the spirit of justice and harmony which prevails amongst them.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What qualities of the Huns does Ammianus Marcellinus find admirable? What does he criticize?
2. What qualities of the Franks does Agathias praise? Why does he find these qualities admirable?
3. How does the fact that both Ammianus Marcellinus and Agathias come from agricultural societies with large cities shape their views of barbarians?

Sources: *Ammianus Marcellinus: Volume I*, Loeb Classical Library Volume 331, with an English translation by John C. Rolfe (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press), pp. 383, 385. First published 1939. Loeb Classical Library® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College; Agathias, *The Histories*, trans. Joseph D. Frendo (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1975), p. 10.

Social and Economic Structures

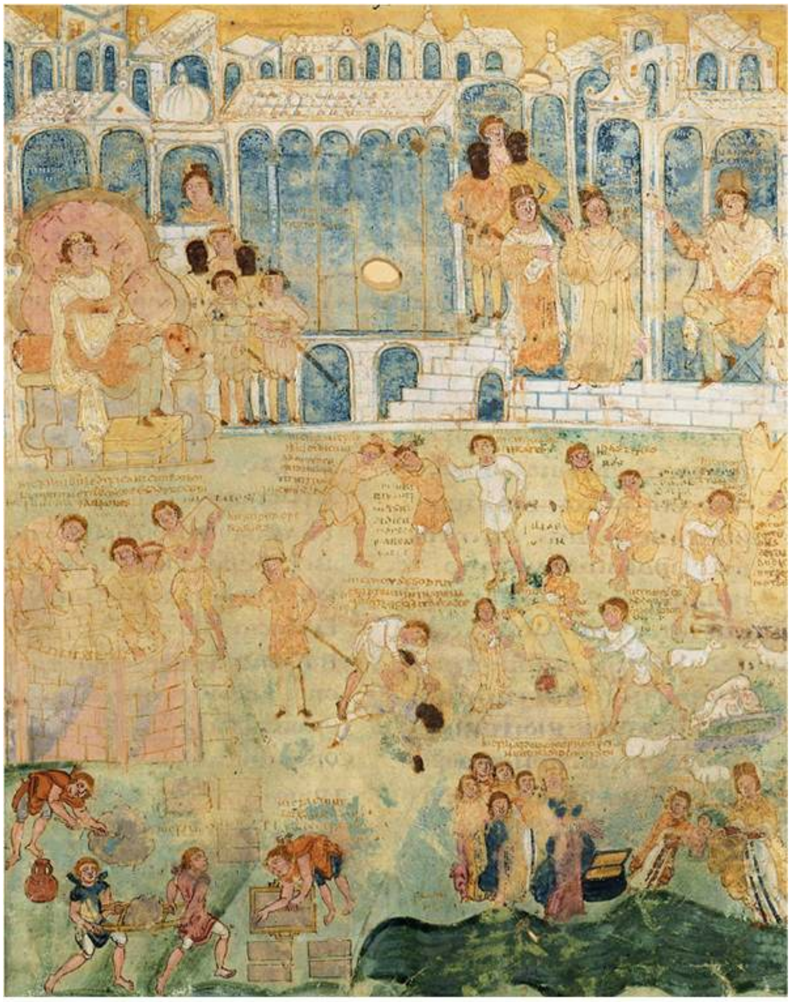
Barbarian groups usually resided in small villages, and climate and geography determined the basic patterns of agricultural and pastoral life. Many groups settled on the edges of clearings where they raised barley, wheat, oats, peas, and beans. Men and women tilled their fields with simple scratch plows and harvested their grain with small iron sickles. The kernels of grain were eaten as porridge, ground up for flour, or fermented into strong, thick beer. Most of people’s caloric intake came from grain in some form.

Within the villages, there were great differences in wealth and status. Free men and their families constituted the largest class, and the number of cattle these men possessed indicated their wealth and determined their social status. Free men also took part in tribal warfare. Slaves acquired through warfare worked as farm laborers, herdsmen, and household servants. Barbarian society was patriarchal: within each household the father had authority over his wife, children, and slaves. Some wealthy and powerful men had more than one wife, a pattern that continued even after they became Christian, but polygamy was not widespread among ordinary people. Once women were widowed, they sometimes assumed their husbands’ rights over family property and took guardianship of their children.

Tribes, Warriors, and Laws

The basic social and political unit among barbarian groups was the tribe or confederation, made up of kin groups whose members believed they were all descended from a common ancestor. Tribes were led by chieftains, who were elected from among the male members of the most powerful family. The chief led the tribe in war, settled disputes among its members, conducted negotiations with outside powers, and offered sacrifices to the gods. As barbarian groups migrated into and conquered parts of the Western Roman Empire, their chiefs became even more powerful. Often chiefs adopted the title of king.

Closely associated with the chief in some tribes was the comitatus (kuhm-ee-TAH-tuhs), or war band. The warriors swore loyalty to the chief and fought alongside him in battle. Warriors may originally have been relatively equal to one another, but during the migrations and warfare of the second through the fourth centuries, the war band was transformed into a system of stratified ranks. When tribes settled down, warriors also began to acquire land as both a mark of prestige and a means to power. Social inequalities emerged and gradually grew stronger. These inequalities help explain the origins of the European noble class.



The Art Archive/REX/Shutterstock

Visigothic Work and Play This page comes from one of the very few manuscripts from the time of the barbarian invasions to have survived, a copy of the first five books of the Old Testament — the Pentateuch — made around 600, perhaps in Visigothic Spain or North Africa. The top shows biblical scenes, while the bottom shows people engaged in everyday activities: building a wall, drawing water from a well, and trading punches.

Early barbarian tribes had no written laws, but beginning in the late fifth century some chieftains began to collect, write, and publish lists of their customs and laws. (See “Thinking Like a Historian: Slavery in Roman and Germanic Society,” page 204.) Barbarian law codes often included clauses designed to reduce interpersonal violence. Any crime that involved a personal injury, such as assault, rape, and murder, was given a particular monetary value, called the **wergeld** (WUHR-gehld) (literally “man-money”) that was to be paid by a person accused of a crime to the victim or the victim’s family. The wergeld varied according to the severity of the crime and also the social status and gender of the victim, and was designed to prevent an act of violence from escalating into a blood-feud between families.

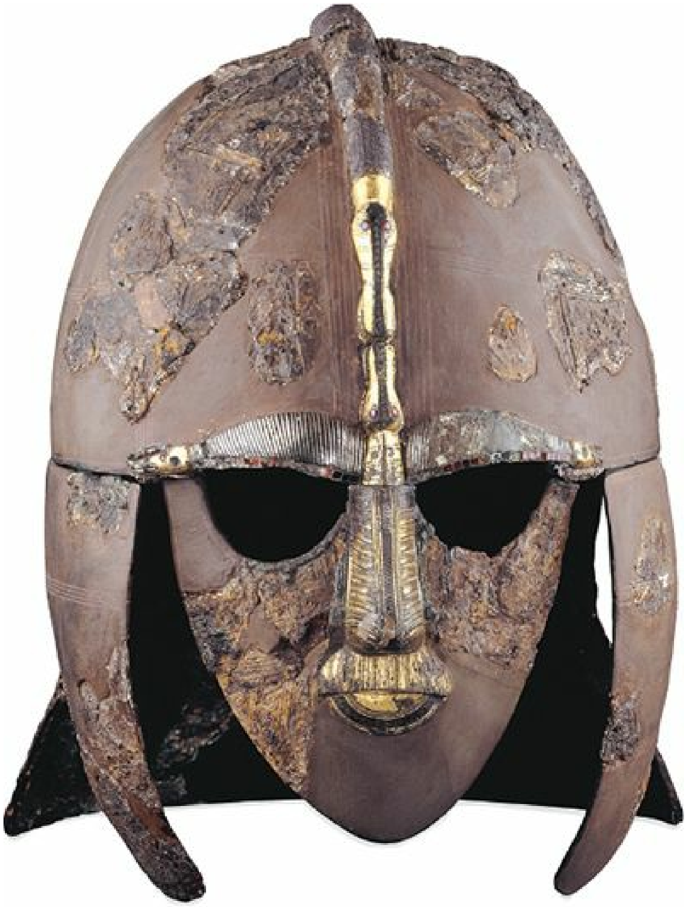
wergeld Compensatory payment for death or injury set in many barbarian law codes.

Like most people of the ancient world, barbarians worshipped hundreds of gods and goddesses with specialized functions. They regarded certain mountains, lakes, rivers, or groves of trees as sacred because these were linked to deities. Among the Celts, religious leaders called druids had legal and educational as well as religious functions, orally passing down laws and traditions from generation to generation. Bards singing poems and ballads also passed down myths and stories of heroes and gods, which were written down much later.

Migrations and Political Change

Migrating groups that the Romans labeled barbarians had moved southward and eastward off and on since about 100 C.E. (see “Migrating Peoples”). Why did the barbarians migrate? In part, they were searching for more regular supplies of food, better farmland, and a warmer climate. Conflicts within and among barbarian groups also led to war and disruption, which motivated groups to move. Roman expansion led to further movement of barbarian groups but also to the blending of cultures.

The spread of the Celts presents a good example of both conflict and assimilation. Celtic-speaking peoples had lived in central Europe since at least the fifth century B.C.E. and had spread out from there to the Iberian Peninsula in the west, Hungary in the east, and the British Isles in the north. As Julius Caesar advanced northward into what he termed Gaul (present-day France), he defeated many Celtic tribes (see Map 6.2). Celtic peoples conquered by the Romans often assimilated to Roman ways, intermarrying with Romans and adopting the Latin language and many aspects of Roman culture. By the fourth century C.E., however, Gaul and Britain were under pressure from Germanic groups moving westward. Roman troops withdrew from Britain, and Celtic-speaking peoples clashed with Germanic-speaking invaders, of whom the largest tribes were the Angles and the Saxons. Some Celtic-speakers moved farther west. Others remained and intermarried with Germanic peoples, their descendants forming a number of small Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.



© The Trustees of the British Museum/Art Resource, NY

Anglo-Saxon Helmet This ceremonial bronze helmet from seventh-century England was found inside a ship buried at Sutton Hoo. The nearly 100-foot-long ship was dragged overland before being buried completely. It held one body and many grave goods, including swords, gold buckles, and silver bowls made in Byzantium. The unidentified person who was buried here was clearly wealthy and powerful, and so was very likely a chief.

In eastern Europe, a significant factor in barbarian migration and the merging of various Germanic groups was pressure from nomadic steppe peoples from central Asia, most prominently the Huns, who attacked the Black Sea area and the Eastern Roman Empire beginning in the fourth century. Under the leadership of their warrior-king Attila, the Huns attacked the Byzantine Empire in 447 and then turned westward, allying with some Germanic groups and moving into what is now France. After Attila turned his army southward and crossed the Alps into Italy, a papal delegation, including Pope Leo I himself, asked him not to attack Rome. Though papal diplomacy was later credited with stopping the advance of the Huns, their dwindling food supplies and a plague that spread among their troops were probably much more important factors. The Huns retreated from Italy, and within a year Attila was dead. The Huns never again played a significant role in European history. Their conquests had pushed many Germanic groups together, however, which transformed smaller bands of people into larger, more unified peoples who could more easily pick the Western Roman Empire apart.

After they conquered an area, barbarians generally established states ruled by kings. However, the kingdoms did not have definite geographical borders, and their locations shifted as tribes moved. Eventually, barbarian kingdoms came to include Italy itself. The Western Roman emperors increasingly relied on barbarian commanders and their troops to maintain order, and, as we saw in Chapter 6, in 476 the barbarian chieftain Odoacer (oh-doh-AY-suhr) deposed Romulus Augustus, the last person to have the title of Roman emperor in the West. Odoacer did not take the title of emperor, calling himself instead the king of Italy, so this date marks the official end of the Roman Empire in the West. From Constantinople, Eastern Roman emperors such as Justinian (see “Sources of Byzantine Strength”) worked to reconquer at least some of the West from barbarian tribes. They were occasionally successful but could not hold the empire together for long.

Christian Missionaries and Conversion

How did the church convert barbarian peoples to Christianity?

The Mediterranean served as the highway over which Christianity spread to the cities of the Roman Empire. Christian teachings were often spread into the countryside and into areas beyond the borders of the empire by those who had dedicated their lives to the church, such as monks. Such missionaries were often sent by popes specifically to convert certain groups.

Missionaries' Actions

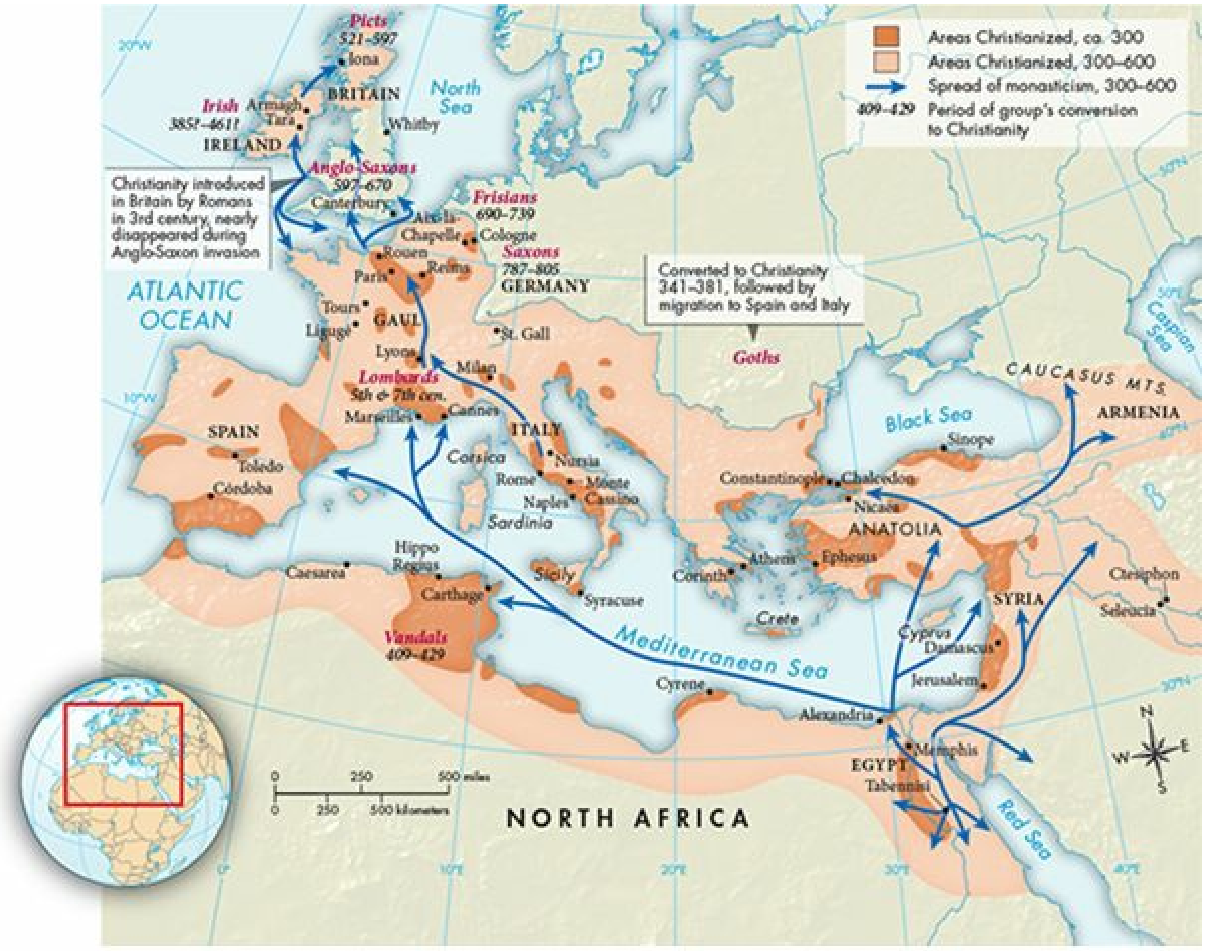
Throughout barbarian Europe, religion was not a private or individual matter; it was a social affair, and the religion of the chieftain or king determined the religion of the people. Thus missionaries concentrated their initial efforts not on ordinary people but on kings or tribal chieftains and the members of their families. Because they had more opportunity to spend time with missionaries, queens and other female members of the royal family were often the first converts in an area, and they influenced their husbands and brothers. Germanic kings sometimes accepted Christianity because they came to believe that the Christian God was more powerful than pagan gods and that the Christian God — in either its Arian or Roman version — would deliver victory in battle.

Many barbarian groups were converted by Arian missionaries (see "The Evolution of Church Leadership and Orthodoxy"), who also founded dioceses. Bishop Ulfilas (ca. 310–383), for example, an Ostrogoth himself, translated the Bible from Greek into the Gothic language even before Jerome wrote the Latin Vulgate, creating a new Gothic script in order to write it down. In the sixth and seventh centuries most Goths and other Germanic tribes converted to Roman Christianity, sometimes peacefully and sometimes as a result of conquest. Ulfilas's Bible — and the Gothic script he invented — were forgotten and rediscovered only a thousand years later.

Tradition identifies the conversion of Ireland with Saint Patrick (ca. 385–461). After a vision urged him to Christianize Ireland, Patrick studied in Gaul and in 432 was consecrated a bishop. He then returned to Ireland, where he converted the Irish tribe by tribe, first baptizing the king.

The Christianization of the English began in earnest in 597, when Pope Gregory I (pontificate 590–604) sent a delegation of monks to England. The conversion of the English had far-reaching consequences because

Britain later served as a base for the Christianization of Germany and other parts of northern Europe (Map 8.3). In eastern Europe Byzantine missionaries gained converts among the Bulgars and Slavs. Between the fifth and tenth centuries the majority of people living in Europe accepted the Christian religion — that is, they received baptism, though baptism in itself did not automatically transform people into Christians.


Areas Christianized, ca. 300
Areas Christianized, 300–600
Spread of monasticism, 300–600
409–429 Period of group's conversion to Christianity
Picts 521–597
Iona
BRITAIN
North Sea
Irish 385?–461?
Armagh
Tara
IRELAND
Whitby
Anglo-Saxons 597–670
Canterbury
Christianity introduced in Britain by Romans in 3rd century, nearly disappeared during Anglo-Saxon invasion
Frisians 690–739
Aachen
Chapelle
Cologne
Saxons 787–805
GERMANY
Rouen
Paris
Reims
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Tours
Ligugé
GAUL
St. Gall
Lyons
Milan
Lombards 5th & 7th cen.
Marseilles
Cannes
Converted to Christianity 341–381, followed by migration to Spain and Italy
Goths
CAUCASUS MTS.
Caspian Sea
ARMENIA
Black Sea
Sinope
SPAIN
Toledo
Córdoba
ITALY
Corsica
Nursia
Rome
Monte Cassino
Naples
Sardinia
Constantinople
Chalcedon
Nicaea
ANATOLIA
Hippo Regius
Caesarea
Carthage
Sicily
Syracuse
Corinth
Athens
Ephesus
Crete
Ctesiphon
Seleucia
SYRIA
Cyprus
Damascus
Jerusalem
Vandals 409–429
Mediterranean Sea
Cyrene
Alexandria
Memphis
EGYPT
Tabennisi
Red Sea
NORTH AFRICA
0 250 500 miles
0 250 500 kilometers
N
W
E
S
20°W
10°W
0°
10°E
20°E
30°E
40°E
30°N
40°N
50°N

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Mapping the Past

MAP 8.3 The Spread of Christianity, ca. 300–800 Originating in the area near Jerusalem, Christianity spread throughout and then beyond the Roman world.

ANALYZING THE MAP Based on the map, how did the roads and sea-lanes of the Roman Empire influence the spread of Christianity?

CONNECTIONS How does the map support the conclusion that Christianity began as an urban religion and then spread into more rural areas?

The Process of Conversion

When a ruler marched his people to the waters of baptism, the work of Christianization had only begun. Churches could be built, and people could be required to attend services and belong to parishes, but the process of conversion was a gradual one.

How did missionaries and priests get masses of pagan and illiterate peoples to understand Christian ideals and teachings? They did it through preaching, assimilation of pagan customs, the ritual of penance, and veneration of the saints. Those who preached aimed to present the basic teachings of Christianity and strengthen the newly baptized in their faith through stories about the lives of Christ and the saints.

Deeply ingrained pagan customs and practices, however, could not be stamped out by words alone. Thus Christian missionaries often pursued a policy of assimilation, easing the conversion of pagan men and women by stressing similarities between their customs and beliefs and those of Christianity and by mixing barbarian pagan ideas and practices with Christian ones. For example, bogs and lakes sacred to Germanic gods became associated with saints, as did various aspects of ordinary life, such as traveling, planting crops, and worrying about a sick child. Aspects of existing midwinter celebrations were assimilated into celebrations of Christmas. Spring rituals involving eggs and rabbits (both symbols of fertility) were added to celebrations of Easter. People joined with family members, friends, and neighbors to celebrate these holidays, and also baptisms, weddings, and funerals, presided over by a priest.

The ritual of **penance** was also instrumental in teaching people Christian ideas. Christianity taught that certain actions and thoughts were sins. Only by confessing sins and asking forgiveness could a sinning believer be reconciled with God. Confession was initially a public ritual, but by the fifth century individual confession to a parish priest was more common. During this ritual the individual knelt before the priest, who questioned him or her about sins he or she might have committed. The priest then set a penance such as fasting or saying specific prayers to allow the person to atone for the sin. Penance gave new converts a sense of the behavior expected of Christians, encouraged the private examination of conscience, and offered relief from the burden of sinful deeds.

penance Ritual in which Christians asked a priest for forgiveness for sins and the priest set certain actions to atone for the sins.

Veneration of **saints**, people who had lived (or died) in a way that was spiritually heroic or noteworthy, was another way that Christians formed stronger connections with their religion. Saints were understood to provide protection and assistance to worshippers, and parish churches often housed saints’ relics, that is, bones, articles of clothing, or other objects associated with them. The relics served as links between the material world and the spiritual, and miracle stories about saints and their relics were an important part of Christian preaching and writing.

saints People who were venerated for having lived or died in a way that was spiritually heroic or noteworthy.

Christians came to venerate the saints as powerful and holy. They prayed to saints or to the Virgin Mary to intercede with God, or they simply asked the saints to assist and bless them. The entire village participated in processions marking saints’ days or important points in the agricultural year, often carrying images of saints or their relics around the houses and fields. The decision to adopt Christianity was often made first by an emperor or king, but actual conversion was a local matter, as people came to feel that the parish priest and the saints provided them with benefits in this world and the world to come.

Frankish Rulers and Their Territories

How did the Franks build and govern a European empire?

Most barbarian kingdoms did not last very long, but one that did — and that came to have a decisive role in history — was that of the confederation of Germanic peoples known as the Franks. In the fourth and fifth centuries the Franks settled within the empire and allied with the Romans, some attaining high military and civil positions. Though at that time the Frankish kingdom was simply one barbarian kingdom among many, rulers after the influential Clovis used a variety of tactics to expand their holdings, enhance their authority, and create a stable system. Charles the Great (r. 768–814), generally known by the French version of his name, Charlemagne (SHAHR-luh-mayne), created the largest state in western Europe since the Roman Empire.

The Merovingians and Carolingians

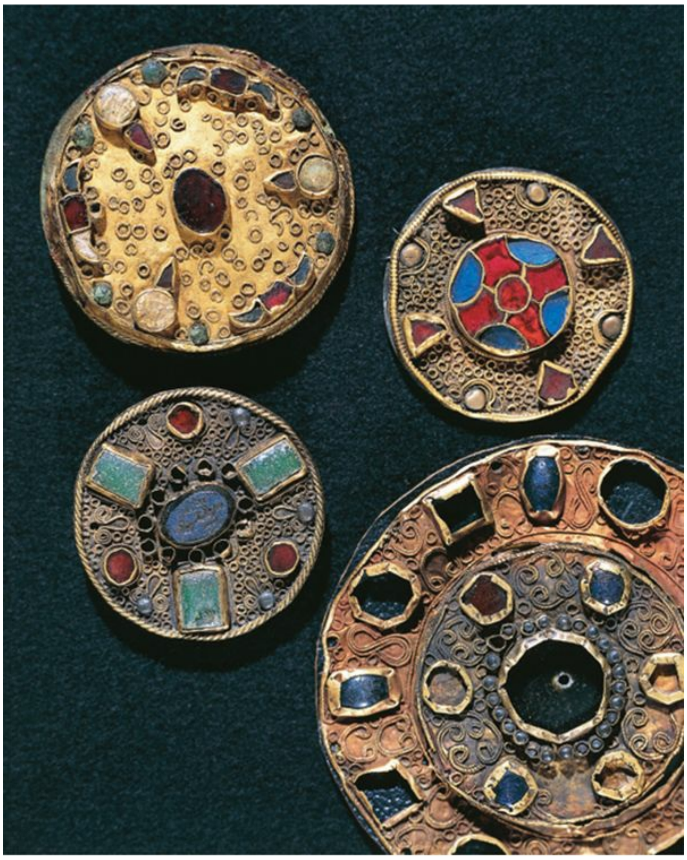
The Franks believed that Merovech, a semi-legendary figure, founded their ruling dynasty, which was thus called **Merovingian** (mehr-uh-VIHN-jee-uhn). The reign of Clovis (r. ca. 481–511) was decisive in the development of the Franks as a unified people. Through military campaigns, Clovis acquired the central provinces of Roman Gaul and began to conquer southern Gaul from other Germanic tribes. His wife, Clotild, a Roman Christian, pressured him to convert, but he refused. His later biographer Gregory of Tours, a bishop in the Frankish kingdom in the sixth century, attributed his conversion to a battlefield vision, just as Emperor Constantine's biographers had reported about his conversion.

Merovingian A dynasty of rulers that decisively unified the Franks under the reign of Clovis (ca. 481–511) and ruled the Frankish kingdom until the seventh century.

Most historians today conclude that Clovis's conversion to Roman Christianity was a pragmatic choice: it brought him the crucial support of the bishops of Gaul in his campaigns against tribes that were still pagan or had accepted the Arian version of Christianity. As the defender of Roman Christianity against heretical tribes, Clovis went on to conquer the Visigoths, extending his domain to include much of what is now France and southwestern Germany.

Following Frankish traditions in which property was divided among male heirs, at Clovis's death his kingdom was divided among his four sons. For the next two centuries rulers of the various kingdoms fought one another in civil wars, and other military leaders challenged their authority.

Merovingian kings based some aspects of their government on Roman principles. For example, they adopted the Roman concept of the *civitas* — Latin for a city and its surrounding territory. A count presided over the civitas, raising troops, collecting royal revenues, and providing justice. Within the royal household, Merovingian politics provided women with opportunities, and some queens not only influenced but occasionally also dominated events. Because the finances of the kingdom were merged with those of the royal family, queens often had control of the royal treasury just as more ordinary women controlled household expenditures.



Musée Archéologique, Strasbourg, France/De Agostini Picture Library/Bridgeman Images

Merovingian Jewelry These earrings and brooches, made of gilt silver, cloisonné enamel, pearls, garnets, lapis lazuli, and other semiprecious stones, were made by a skilled Merovingian metal-smith, no doubt for a wealthy and powerful customer. As today, eye-catching jewelry in Merovingian society showed one's social status, as the raw materials were expensive and often came from far away, and making it took a great deal of skill and time.

At the king's court an official called the mayor of the palace supervised legal, financial, and household officials; the mayor of the palace also governed in the king's absence. In the seventh century the position as mayor was held by members of an increasingly powerful family, the **Carolingians** (ka-ruh-LIHN-jee-uhns), who advanced themselves through advantageous marriages, a well-earned reputation for military strength, and the help of the church. *Carolingian* derives from the Latin word for "Charles," the name of several members of this dynasty.

Carolingian A dynasty of rulers that took over the Frankish kingdom from the Merovingians in the seventh century; *Carolingian* derives from the Latin word for "Charles," the name of several members of this dynasty.

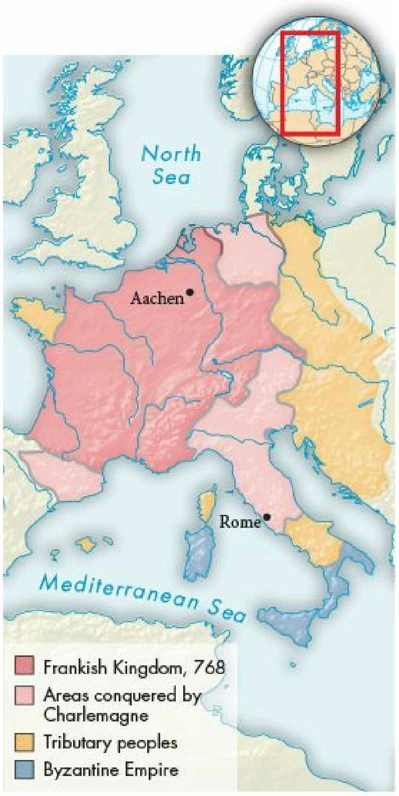
Eventually the Carolingians replaced the Merovingians as rulers of the Frankish kingdom, cementing their authority when the Carolingian Charles Martel defeated Muslim invaders in 732 at the Battle of Poitiers (pwah-tee-AY) in central France. Muslims and Christians have interpreted the battle differently. Muslims considered it a minor skirmish and attributed the Frankish victory to Muslim difficulties in maintaining supply lines over long distances and to ethnic conflicts and unrest in Islamic Spain. Charles Martel and later Carolingians used the victory to portray themselves as defenders of Christendom against the Muslims.

The Battle of Poitiers helped the Carolingians acquire more support from the church, perhaps their most important asset. They further strengthened their ties to the church by supporting the work of missionaries who preached Christian principles — including the duty to obey secular authorities — to pagan peoples and by allying themselves with the papacy against other Germanic tribes.

The Warrior-Ruler Charlemagne

The most powerful of the Carolingians was Charlemagne. Through brutal military expeditions that brought wealth and by peaceful travel, personal appearances, shrewd marital alliances, and the sheer force of his personality, Charlemagne sought to awe newly conquered peoples and rebellious domestic enemies. By around 805 the Frankish kingdom included all of continental Europe except Spain, Scandinavia, southern Italy, and the Slavic fringes of the East.

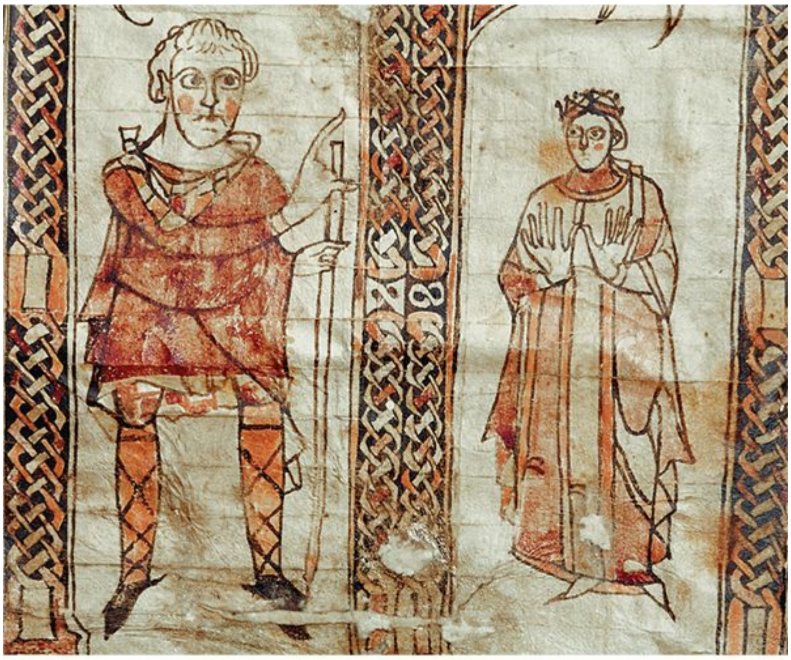
For administrative purposes, Charlemagne divided his entire kingdom into counties. Each of the approximately six hundred counties was governed by a count. As a link between local authorities and the central government, Charlemagne appointed officials called *missi dominici*, “agents of the lord king.” Each year beginning in 802 two missi, usually a count and a bishop or abbot, visited assigned districts. They checked up on the counts and their districts’ judicial, financial, and clerical activities. (See “Analyzing the Evidence: The Capitulary de Villis,” at right.)



Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin’s

Charlemagne’s Conquests, ca. 768–814

In the autumn of the year 800 Charlemagne visited Rome, where on Christmas Day Pope Leo III crowned him emperor. The event had momentous consequences. In taking as his motto *Renovatio romani imperi* (Revival of the Roman Empire), Charlemagne was deliberately perpetuating old Roman imperial ideas while identifying with the new Rome of the Christian Church. From Baghdad, the Abbasid Empire’s caliph, Harun al-Rashid (r. 786–809), congratulated Charlemagne on his coronation with the gift of an elephant. The elephant survived for nearly a decade, though like everyone else at Charlemagne’s capital of Aachen (AH-ken) on the western border of modern Germany, it lived in a city that was far less sophisticated, healthy, and beautiful than Abbasid Baghdad. Although the Muslim caliph recognized Charlemagne as a fellow sovereign, the Byzantines regarded his papal coronation as rebellious and Charlemagne as a usurper. His crowning as emperor thus marked a decisive break between Rome and Constantinople and gave church authorities in the West proof that the imperial title could be granted only by the pope.



Abbey Library, Sankt Paul im Lavanttal, Austria/Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY

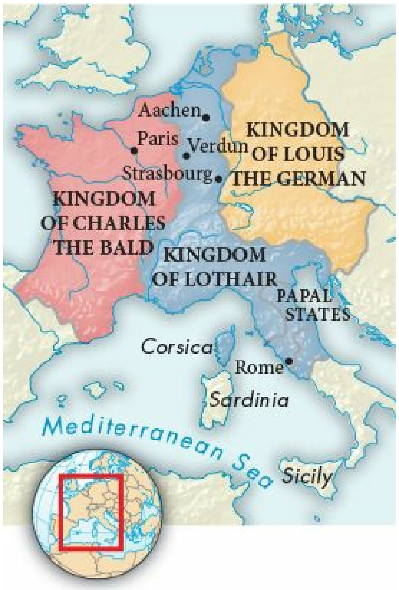
Charlemagne and His Wife This illumination from a ninth-century manuscript portrays Charlemagne with one of his wives. Marriage was an important tool of diplomacy for Charlemagne, and he had a number of wives and concubines.

As he built an empire through conquest and strategic alliances, Charlemagne also set in motion a cultural revival that later historians called the "Carolingian Renaissance." The Carolingian Renaissance was a rebirth of interest in, study of, and preservation of the language, ideas, and achievements of classical Greece and Rome. Scholars at Charlemagne's capital of Aachen copied Greco-Roman and Christian books and manuscripts and created libraries housed in churches and monasteries. Furthermore, Charlemagne urged monasteries to promote Christian learning.

Charlemagne left his vast empire to his sole surviving son, Louis the Pious (r. 814–840), who attempted to keep the empire intact. This proved to be impossible. Members of the nobility engaged in plots and open warfare against the emperor, often allying themselves with one of Louis's three sons. In 843, shortly after Louis's death, those sons agreed to the **Treaty of Verdun**, which divided the empire into three parts: Charles the

Bald received the western part, Lothair the middle and the title of emperor, and Louis the eastern part, from which he acquired the title “the German.” Though of course no one knew it at the time, this treaty set the pattern for political boundaries in Europe that have been maintained through today, including the modern states of Germany, France, and Italy. Other than in brief periods under Napoleon and Hitler, Europe would never again see as large a unified state as it had under Charlemagne, which is one reason he has become a symbol of European unity in the twenty-first century.

Treaty of Verdun A treaty ratified in 843 that divided Charlemagne’s territories among his three surviving grandsons; their kingdoms set the pattern for the modern states of Germany, France, and Italy.


Aachen
Paris
Verdun
KINGDOM OF LOUIS THE GERMAN
Strasbourg
KINGDOM OF CHARLES THE BALD
KINGDOM OF LOTHAIR
PAPAL STATES
Corsica
Rome
Sardinia
Mediterranean Sea
Sicily

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin’s

The Treaty of Verdun, 843

The weakening of central power was hastened by invasions and migrations from the north, south, and east. Thus Charlemagne’s empire ended in much the same way that the Roman Empire had earlier, from a combination of internal weakness and external pressure.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

The Capitulary de Villis

Charlemagne and other Frankish rulers issued sets of instructions and decisions, called capitularies, to their officials on legal, military, political, and economic matters. Like all instructions or sets of rules, capitularies describe an ideal, not the way things really were, but we can still use them as sources for many aspects of life. The Capitulary de Villis, issued in about 800, describes the wide variety of activities envisioned for royal manors, which were run by individuals called stewards.

We desire that each steward shall make an annual statement of all our income, giving an account of our lands cultivated by the oxen which our own plowmen drive and of our lands which the tenants of farms ought to plow; of the pigs, of the rents, of the obligations and fines; of the game taken in our forests without our permission; of the various compositions [things that have been made]; of the mills, of the forest, of the fields, of the bridges and ships; of the free men and the districts under obligations to our treasury; of markets, vineyards, and those who owe wine to us; of the hay, firewood, torches, planks, and other kinds of lumber; of the waste lands; of the vegetables, millet, panic [a type of millet]; of the wool, flax, and hemp; of the fruits of the trees; of the nut trees, larger and smaller; of the grafted trees of all kinds; of the gardens; of the turnips; of the fish ponds; of the hides, skins, and horns; of the honey and wax; of the fat, tallow [fat used for candles], and soap; of the mulberry wine, cooked wine, mead, vinegar, beer, and wine, new and old; of the new grain and the old; of the hens and eggs; of the geese; of the number of fishermen, workers in metal, sword makers, and shoemakers; of the bins and boxes; of the turners and saddlers; of the forges and mines, — that is, of iron, lead, or other substances; of the colts and fillies. They shall make all these known to us, set forth separately and in order, at Christmas, so that we may know what and how much of each thing we have.

The greatest care must be taken that whatever is prepared or made with the hands, — that is, bacon, smoked meat, sausage, partially salted meat, wine, vinegar, mulberry wine, cooked wine, garum [fermented fish sauce], mustard, cheese, butter, malt, beer, mead, honey, wax, flour, — all should be prepared and made with the greatest cleanliness.

Each steward on each of our domains shall always have, for the sake of ornament, peacocks, pheasants, ducks, pigeons, partridges, and turtle-doves. . . .

For our women’s work they are to give at the proper time, as has been ordered, the materials [for clothmaking], — that is, the linen, wool, woad [for making blue dye], vermilion [for making red dye], madder [for making yellow dye], wool combs, teasels, soap, grease, vessels, and the other objects which are necessary….

Each steward shall have in his district good workmen, namely, blacksmiths, a goldsmith, a silversmith, shoemakers, turners, carpenters, sword makers, fishermen, fowlers, soap makers, men who know how to make beer, cider, perry [pear cider], or other kind of liquor good to drink, bakers to make pastry for our table, net makers who know how to make nets for hunting, fishing, and fowling, and other sorts of workmen too numerous to be designated.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What tasks were men expected to do on Charlemagne’s estates? What tasks were seen as women’s work?
2. How does this listing of the work on medieval estates support the idea that the Carolingian economy was more localized than the economy of the Roman Empire had been? (See “Rome and the Provinces” in Chapter 6.)

Source: James Harvey Robinson, ed., *Readings in European History*, vol. 1 (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1904), pp. 137–139.

Chapter Summary

During the sixth and seventh centuries the Byzantine Empire survived waves of attacks, owing to effective military leadership and to fortifications around Constantinople. Byzantine emperors organized and preserved Roman institutions, and the Byzantine Empire survived until 1453. The emperor Justinian oversaw creation of a new uniform code of Roman law. The Byzantines prized education, and because of them many aspects of ancient Greek thought survived to influence the intellectual life of the Muslim world and eventually that of western Europe.

Christianity gained the support of the fourth-century emperors, and the church gradually adopted the Roman system of hierarchical organization. The church possessed able administrators and leaders. Bishops expanded their activities, and in the fifth century the bishops of Rome, taking the title "pope," began to stress their supremacy over other Christian communities. Monasteries offered opportunities for individuals to develop deeper spiritual devotion and also provided a model of Christian living and places for education and learning. Christian thinkers reinterpreted the classics in a Christian sense, incorporating elements of Greek and Roman philosophy into Christian teachings.

Barbarian groups migrated throughout Europe and Central Asia beginning in the second century. Among barbarians, the basic social unit was the tribe, made up of kin groups and led by a tribal chieftain. Missionaries and priests persuaded pagan and illiterate peoples to accept Christianity. Most barbarian kingdoms were weak and short-lived, though the kingdom of the Franks was relatively more unified and powerful. Rulers first in the Merovingian dynasty, and then in the Carolingian, used military victories, carefully calculated marriage alliances, and the help of the church to enhance their authority. Carolingian government reached the peak of its power under Charlemagne, who brought much of Europe under his authority through military conquest and strategic alliances.

CONNECTIONS

For centuries the end of the Roman Empire in the West was seen as a major turning point in history: the fall of the sophisticated and educated classical world to uncouth and illiterate tribes, and the beginning of a "Dark Ages" that would last for centuries. Over the last several decades, however, many historians have put a greater emphasis on continuities. Barbarian kings relied on officials trained in

Roman law, and Latin remained the language of scholarly communication and the Christian Church. Greco-Roman art and architecture still adorned the land, and people continued to use Roman roads, aqueducts, and buildings. In eastern Europe and western Asia, the Byzantine Empire preserved the traditions of the Roman Empire and protected the intellectual heritage of Greco-Roman culture for another millennium.

In the middle of the era covered in this chapter, a new force emerged that had a dramatic impact on much of Europe and western Asia — Islam. In the seventh and eighth centuries Sassanid Persia, much of the Byzantine Empire, and the barbarian kingdoms in the Iberian Peninsula fell to Arab forces motivated by this new religion. As we have seen in this chapter, a reputation as victors over Islam helped the Franks establish the most powerful state in Europe. As we will see when we pick up the story of Europe again in Chapter 14, Islam continued to shape European culture and politics in subsequent centuries. In terms of world history, the expansion of Islam may have been an even more dramatic turning point than the fall of the Roman Empire. Here, too, however, there were continuities, as the Muslims adopted and adapted Greek, Byzantine, and Persian political and cultural institutions.

CHAPTER 8 Review and Explore

Identify Key Terms

Identify and explain the significance of each item below.

Justinian's Code (p. 203)
dioceses (p. 208)
heresy (p. 208)
popes (p. 209)
Orthodox Church (p. 209)
sacraments (p. 213)
iconoclastic controversy (p. 213)
wergeld (p. 217)
penance (p. 219)
saints (p. 219)
Merovingian (p. 220)
Carolingian (p. 221)
Treaty of Verdun (p. 223)

Review the Main Ideas

Answer the focus questions from each section of the chapter.

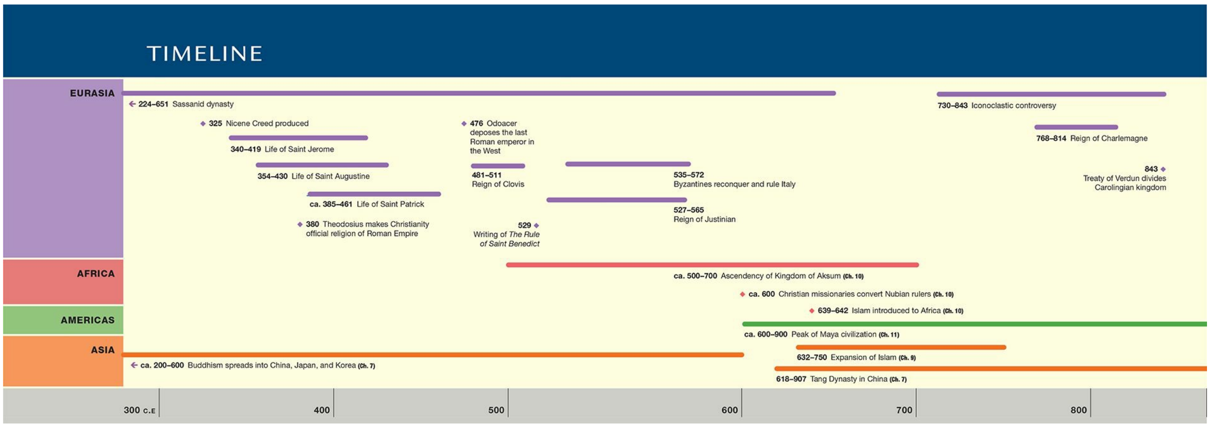
1. How did the Byzantine Empire preserve the legacy of Rome? (p. 202)
2. How did the Christian Church become a major force in Europe? (p. 208)
3. How did Christian thinkers adapt classical ideas to Christian teachings, and what new religious concepts and practices did they develop? (p. 211)
4. How did the barbarians shape social, economic, and political structures in Europe and western Asia? (p. 213)
5. How did the church convert barbarian peoples to Christianity? (p. 218)
6. How did the Franks build and govern a European empire? (p. 220)

Make Comparisons and Connections

Analyze the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters.

1. The end of the Roman Empire in the West in 476 has long been viewed as one of the most important turning points in history. Do you agree with this idea? Why or why not?
2. How did the Christian Church adapt to Roman and barbarian society? How was it different in 850 than it had been in 100, as discussed in Chapter 6?
3. In what ways were the spread of Buddhism (Chapter 7) and the spread of

Christianity similar? In what ways were they different?



Suggested Resources

Books

Barbero, Allesandro. *Charlemagne: Father of a Continent.* 2004. A wonderful biography of Charlemagne and a study of the times in which he lived that argues for the complexity of his legacy.

Brown, Peter. *Augustine of Hippo*, rev. ed. 2000. The definitive biography of Saint Augustine, who is viewed here as a symbol of change.

Burns, Thomas S. *Rome and the Barbarians, 100 B.C. – 400 A.D.* 2003. Argues that Germanic and Roman cultures assimilated more than they conflicted.

Clark, Gillian. *Late Antiquity: A Very Short Introduction.* 2011. A compact survey of the era, portraying it as a period of great transformation rather than simply decline.

Dunn, Marilyn. *The Emergence of Monasticism: From the Desert Fathers to the Early Middle Ages.* 2003. Focuses on the beginnings of monasticism.

Fletcher, Richard. *The Barbarian Conversion: From Paganism to Christianity.* 1998. A superbly written analysis of conversion to Christianity.

Heather, Peter. *Empires and Barbarians: The Fall of Rome and the Birth of Europe.* 2010. Evaluates the dynamics of migration and the social, economic, and ethnic interactions that created Europe.

Herrin, Judith. *The Formation of Christendom.* 1987. The best synthesis of the development of the Christian Church from the third to the ninth centuries.

Todd, Malcolm. *The Early Germans*, 2d ed. 2004. Uses archaeological and literary sources to analyze Germanic social structure, customs, and religion and to suggest implications for an understanding of migration and ethnicity.

Ward-Perkins, Bryan. *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization.* 2006. Uses material evidence to trace the physical destruction and economic dislocation that accompanied the barbarian migrations.

Wells, Peter S. *The Barbarians Speak: How the Conquered Peoples Shaped Roman Europe.* 1999. Presents extensive evidence of Celtic and Germanic social and technical development.

Wickham, Chris. *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the*

Mediterranean, 400–800. 2007. A massive yet accessible survey of economic and social changes in many regions, with great attention to ordinary people.

Documentaries

The Dark Ages (History Channel, 2007). A blood-and-gore-filled documentary of the violence and instability of the early Middle Ages that also looks at Charlemagne and others as heroic creators of new institutions.

The Germanic Tribes: The Complete Four-Part Saga (Kultur, 2003). Using computer graphics and re-enactments, this documentary examines the settlements and religion of the German tribes as well as their warfare, and argues that they actually preserved much of the Roman legacy.

Terry Jones' Barbarians (BBC, 2006). A witty and lively four-part documentary by a member of the Monty Python comedy troupe that sees the barbarians as less important for Rome's fall than other factors.

Websites

Christian Classics Ethereal Library. Hosted by Calvin College, this site has hundreds of primary sources in the public domain on all aspects of the history of Christianity and is especially strong in the writings of the church fathers, including Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, and Benedict. **www.ccel.org**

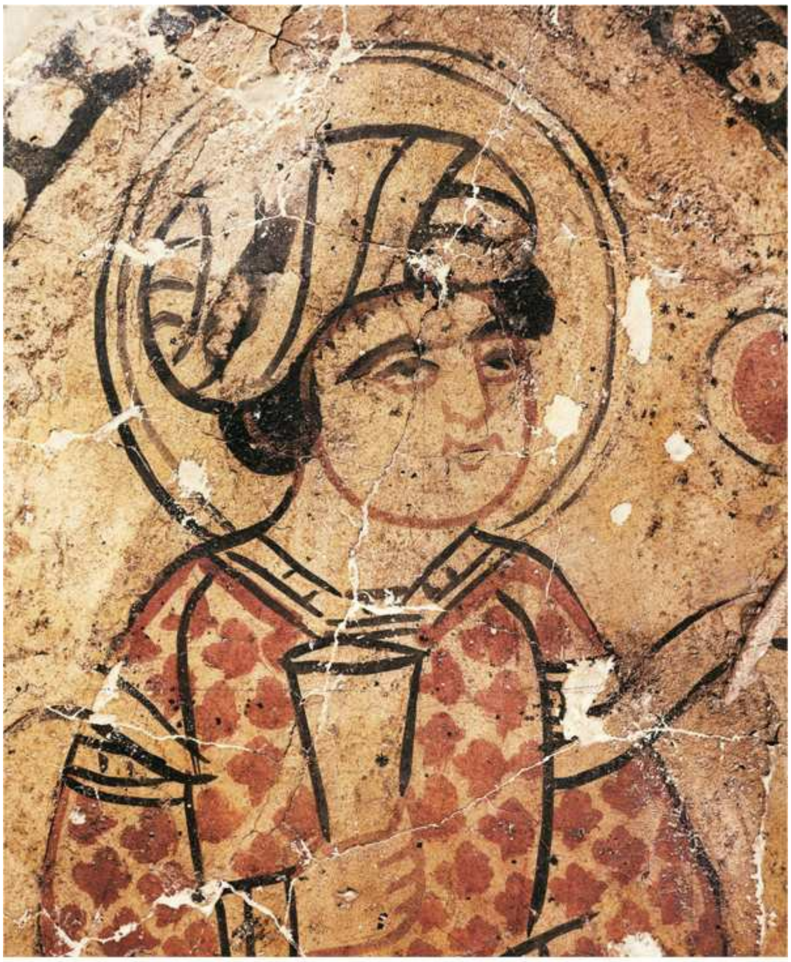
Internet Medieval Sourcebook. The definitive location for primary sources from the Middle Ages. Most of the texts are in English and are organized chronologically and thematically. **www.fordham.edu/halsall/sbook.html**

The Labyrinth: Resources for Medieval Studies. Run by Georgetown University, this site provides free access to electronic resources in medieval studies, which are organized thematically. **labyrinth.georgetown.edu**

9

The Islamic World

600–1400



Islamic Art Museum, Cairo, Egypt/De Agostini Picture Library/Gianni Dagli Orti/Bridgeman Images

Egyptian Man

Life remained gracious in the great cities of North Africa and the Middle East even as Islam brought new traditions. This image of a man wearing a turban and holding a cup is from a wall painting. Found in Egypt, it dates to the eleventh century, during the Fatimid caliphate.

Around 610 in the city of Mecca in what is now Saudi Arabia, a merchant called Muhammad had a religious vision that inspired him to preach God's revelations to the people of Mecca. By the time he died in 632, he had many followers in Arabia, and a century later his followers controlled what is now Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Iraq, Iran, northern Africa, Spain, and southern France. Within another century Muhammad's beliefs had been carried across Central Asia to the borders of China and India. The speed with which Islam spread is one of the most amazing stories in world history, and scholars have pointed to many factors that must have contributed to its success. Military victories were rooted in strong military organization and the practice of establishing garrison cities in newly conquered territories. The religious zeal of new converts certainly played an important role. So too did the political weakness of many of the governments then holding power in the lands where Islam extended, such as the Byzantine government centered in Constantinople. Commerce and trade also spread the faith of Muhammad.

Although its first adherents were nomads, Islam developed and flourished in a mercantile milieu. By land and sea, Muslim merchants transported a rich variety of goods across Eurasia. On the basis of the wealth that trade generated, a gracious, sophisticated, and cosmopolitan culture developed with centers at Baghdad and Córdoba. During the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, the Islamic world witnessed enormous intellectual vitality and creativity. Muslim scholars produced important work in many disciplines, especially mathematics, medicine, and philosophy. This brilliant civilization profoundly influenced the development of both Eastern and Western civilizations.

CHAPTER PREVIEW

THE ORIGINS OF ISLAM
From what kind of social and economic environment did Muhammad arise, and what did he teach?

ISLAMIC STATES AND THEIR EXPANSION
What made possible the spread of Islam, and what forms of government were established to rule Islamic lands?

FRAGMENTATION AND MILITARY CHALLENGES, 900–1400
How were the Islamic lands governed from 900 to 1400, and what new challenges did rulers face?

MUSLIM SOCIETY: THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE
What social distinctions were important in Muslim society?

TRADE AND COMMERCE
Why did trade thrive in Islamic lands?

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS
What new ideas and practices emerged in the arts, sciences, education, and religion?

MUSLIM-CHRISTIAN ENCOUNTERS
How did Muslims and Christians come into contact with each other, and how did they view each other?

The Origins of Islam

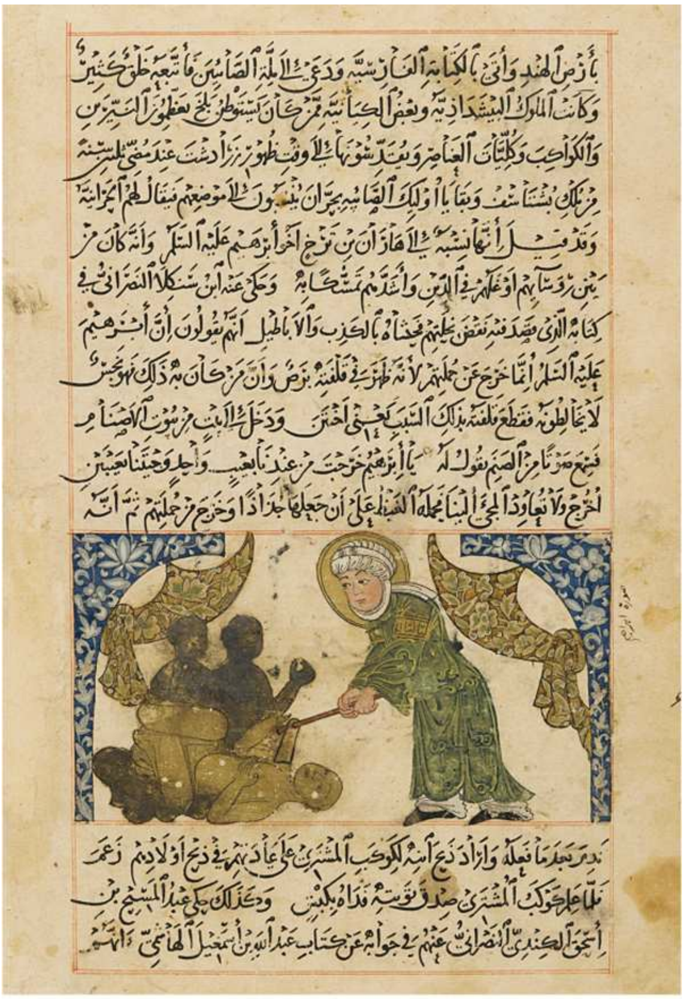
From what kind of social and economic environment did Muhammad arise, and what did he teach?

Much of the Arabian peninsula is desert. Outside the oasis towns were Bedouin (BEH-duh-uhn) nomadic tribes who grazed sheep, goats, and camels. Though always small in number, Bedouins were politically dominant because of their toughness, solidarity, fighting traditions, possession of horses and camels, and ability to control trade and lines of communication. Mecca became the economic and cultural center of western Arabia, in part because pilgrims came to visit the Ka'ba, a temple containing a black stone thought to be a god's dwelling place. Muhammad's roots were in this region.

Arabian Social and Economic Structure

The basic social unit of the Bedouins and other Arabs was the tribe. Consisting of people connected through kinship, tribes provided protection and support and in turn expected members' total loyalty. Like the Germanic peoples in the age of their migrations (see "Migrating Peoples" in Chapter 8), Arab tribes were not static entities but rather continually evolving groups. A particular tribe might include both nomadic and sedentary members.

In northern and central Arabia in the early seventh century, tribal confederations led by their warrior elite were dominant. In the southern parts of the peninsula, however, priestly aristocracies tended to hold political power. Many oasis or market towns had a shrine to their guardian deity where the priest would try to settle disputes among warring tribes. All Arabs respected the shrines because they served as neutral places for such arbitration.



Edinburgh University Library, Scotland/With kind permission of the University of Edinburgh/Bridgeman Images

Page from Arabic Manuscript The aesthetic appeal of Arabic calligraphy is easy to recognize in this page from a fourteenth-century manuscript.

The power of the northern warrior tribes rested on their fighting skills. The southern religious aristocracy, by contrast, depended on its religious and economic power. The political genius of Muhammad was to bind together these different tribal groups into a strong, unified state.

Muhammad’s Rise as a Religious Leader

Much like the earliest accounts of Jesus and the Buddha, the earliest account of the life of Muhammad (ca. 570–632) comes from oral traditions passed down among followers. According to these traditions, Muhammad was a merchant in the caravan trade who later married a wealthy widow. At about age forty Muhammad had a vision of an angelic being who commanded him to preach the revelations that God would be sending him. Muhammad began to preach to the people of Mecca, urging them to give up their idols and to submit to the one indivisible God. After his death, scribes organized the revelations jotted down or memorized by followers. In 651 they published the version of them that Muslims consider authoritative, the **Qur'an** (kuh-RAHN). Muslims revere the Qur'an for its sacred message and for the beauty of its Arabic language.

Qur'an The sacred book of Islam.

For the first two or three centuries after the death of Muhammad, there was considerable debate about theological and political issues. Likewise, religious scholars had to sort out and assess the **hadith** (huh-DEETH), collections of the sayings and anecdotes about Muhammad. Muhammad's example as revealed in the hadith became the legal basis for the conduct of every Muslim. The life of Muhammad provides the "normative example," or **Sunna** (SOON-ah), for the Muslim believer.

hadith Collections of the sayings of and anecdotes about Muhammad.

Sunna An Arabic term meaning "trodden path." The term refers to the deeds and sayings of Muhammad, which constitute the obligatory example for Muslim life.

ImageBROKER/SuperStock

Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem Completed in 691 and revered by Muslims as the site where Muhammad ascended to Heaven, the Dome of the Rock is the oldest surviving

Islamic sanctuary and, after Mecca and Medina, the holiest place in Islam. Although influenced by Byzantine and Persian architecture, it also has distinctly Arab features, such as the 700 feet of carefully selected Qur'anic inscriptions and vegetal motifs that grace the top of the outer walls.

The Tenets of Islam

Islam, the strict monotheistic faith that is based on the teachings of Muhammad, rests on the principle of the oneness and omnipotence of God (Allah). The word *Islam* means "surrender to God," and *Muslim* means "a person who submits." Muslims believe that Muhammad was the last of the prophets, completing the work begun by Abraham, Moses, and Jesus. Islam appropriates much of the Old and New Testaments of the Bible but often retells the narratives with significant shifts in meaning. Islam recognizes Moses's laws about circumcision, ritual bathing, and restrictions on eating pork and shellfish, and the Qur'an calls Christians "nearest in love" to Muslims. Muhammad insisted that he was not preaching a new message; rather, he was calling people back to the one true God, urging his contemporaries to reform their lives and return to the faith of Abraham, the first monotheist.

Unlike the Old Testament, much of which is historical narrative, or the New Testament, which is a collection of essays on the example and teachings of Jesus, the Qur'an is a collection of directives issued in God's name. Its organization is not strictly topical or chronological. To deal with seeming contradictions, later commentators explained the historical circumstances behind each revelation.

The Qur'an prescribes a strict code of moral behavior. A Muslim must recite the profession of faith in God and in Muhammad as his prophet: "There is no God but God, and Muhammad is his Prophet." A believer must also pray five times a day, fast and pray during the sacred month of Ramadan, make a pilgrimage (hajj) to the holy city of Mecca once during his or her lifetime, and give alms to the Muslim poor. These fundamental obligations are known as the **Five Pillars of Islam**.

Five Pillars of Islam The basic tenets of the Islamic faith; they include reciting a profession of faith in God and in Muhammad as God's prophet, praying five times daily, fasting and praying during the month of Ramadan, making a pilgrimage to Mecca once in one's lifetime, and contributing alms to the poor.

Islam forbids alcoholic beverages and gambling. It condemns usury in business — that is, lending money and charging the borrower interest — and taking advantage of market demand for products to raise prices. Muslim jurisprudence condemned licentious behavior by both men and women and specified the same punishments for both.

As on the Christian Judgment Day, on the Islamic Judgment Day God will separate the saved and the damned. The Qur'an describes in detail the frightful tortures with which God will punish the damned and the heavenly rewards of the saved and the blessed.

Ahmad Faizal Yahya/afby 71/Getty Images

Ka'ba Pilgrims to Mecca are expected to circumambulate the 43-foot-high black stone Ka'ba — the holiest site in Islam — seven times counterclockwise. Here a large group encircles it at dawn. In recent years more than a million pilgrims have come to Saudi Arabia to perform the hajj.

Islamic States and Their Expansion

What made possible the spread of Islam, and what forms of government were established to rule Islamic lands?

According to Muslim tradition, Muhammad’s preaching at first did not appeal to many people — for the first three years he attracted only fourteen believers. In preaching a transformation of the social order and calling for the destruction of the idols in the Ka’ba, Muhammad challenged the power of the local elite and the pilgrimage-based economy. As a result, the townspeople of Mecca turned against him, and he and his followers were forced to flee to Medina. This *hijra* (hih-JIGH-ruh), or emigration, occurred in 622, and Muslims later dated the beginning of their era from it.

At Medina, Muhammad attracted increasing numbers of believers, many of whom were Bedouins who supported themselves by raiding caravans en route to Mecca, setting off a violent conflict between Mecca and Medina. After eight years of strife, Mecca capitulated. In this way, by the time Muhammad died in 632, he had welded together all the Bedouin tribes.

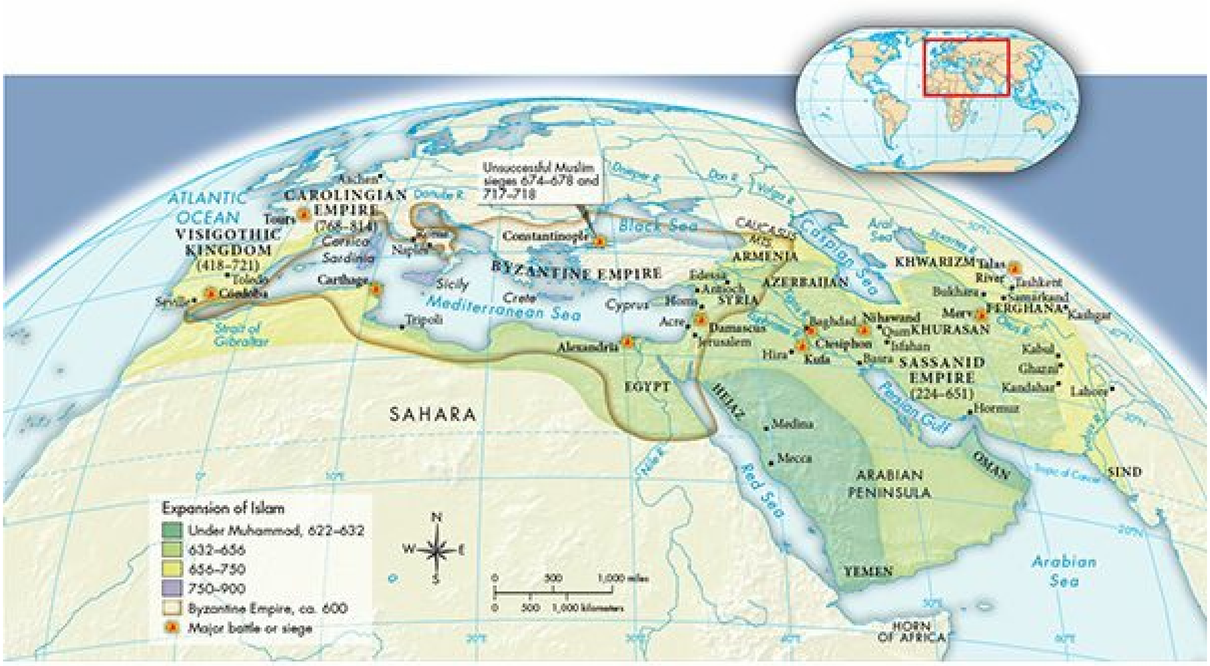
Muhammad displayed genius as both political strategist and religious teacher. He gave Arabs the idea of a unique and unified **umma** (UH-muh), or community, that consisted of all those whose bond was a common religious faith. The umma was to be a religious and political community led by Muhammad for the achievement of God’s will on earth. The Islamic notion of an absolute higher authority transcended the boundaries of individual tribal units and fostered political consolidation. All authority came from God through Muhammad.

umma A community of people who share a religious faith and commitment rather than a tribal tie.

Islam’s Spread Beyond Arabia

After the Prophet’s death, Islam quickly spread far beyond Arabia. In the sixth century two powerful empires divided the Middle East: the Greek-Byzantine empire centered at Constantinople and the Persian-Sassanid empire concentrated at Ctesiphon (near Baghdad in present-day Iraq). The Byzantine Empire stood for Hellenistic culture and championed Christianity (see Chapter 8). The Sassanid empire espoused Persian cultural traditions and favored the religious faith known as Zoroastrianism (see “The Religion of Zoroaster” in Chapter 2). From the fourth through sixth centuries the Byzantines and Sassanids fought each other fiercely, each trying to expand its territories at the expense of the other and to control and tax the rich trade coming from Arabia and the Indian Ocean region. Many peripheral societies were drawn into the conflict. The resulting disorder facilitated the growth of Islamic states.

The second and third successors of Muhammad, Umar (r. 634–644) and Uthman (r. 644–656), launched a two-pronged attack against the Byzantine and Sassanid Empires. One force moved north from Arabia against the Byzantine provinces of Syria and Palestine (see Map 8.1, page 202). From Syria, the Muslims conquered the rich province of Egypt. Simultaneously, Arab armies swept into the Sassanid empire. The Muslim defeat of the Persians at Nihawand in 642 signaled the collapse of this empire (Map 9.1).


Unsuccessful Muslim sieges 674–678 and 717–718
Aachen
ATLANTIC OCEAN
CAROLINGIAN EMPIRE (768–814)
Danube R.
Tours
VISIGOTHIC KINGDOM (418–721)
Toledo
Córdoba
Seville
Corsica
Sardinia
Naples
Rome
Carthage
Strait of Gibraltar
Sicily
Crete
Mediterranean Sea
Tripoli
Constantinople
Black Sea
BYZANTINE EMPIRE
Cyprus
Alexandria
EGYPT
SAHARA
Dnieper R.
Don R.
Volga R.
CAUCASUS MTS.
ARMENIA
Caspian Sea
Aral Sea
AZERBAIJAN
Edessa
Antioch
SYRIA
Homs
Acre
Damascus
Jerusalem
Baghdad
Nihawand
Qum
KHURASAN
Ctesiphon
Isfahan
Hira
Kufa
Basra
SASSANID EMPIRE (224–651)
KHWARIZM
Talas River
Tashkent
Bukhara
Samarkand
Merv
FERGHANA
Kashgar
Kabul
Ghazni
Kandahar
Lahore
Hormuz
Persian Gulf
HEJAZ
Medina
Mecca
Red Sea
Nile R.
ARABIAN PENINSULA
OMAN
SIND
Tropic of Cancer
YEMEN
Arabian Sea
HORN OF AFRICA
Expansion of Islam
🟩 Under Muhammad, 622–632
🟩 632–656
🟨 656–750
🟪 750–900
⬜ Byzantine Empire, ca. 600
● Major battle or siege
N
W
E
S
0 500 1,000 miles
0 500 1,000 kilometers

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin’s

Mapping the Past

MAP 9.1 The Expansion of Islam, 622–900 The rapid expansion of Islam in a relatively short span of time testifies to the Arabs’ superior fighting skills, religious zeal, and economic ambition as well as to their enemies’ weakness. Plague, famine, and political troubles in Sassanid Persia contributed to Muslim victory there.

ANALYZING THE MAP Trace the routes of the spread of Islam by time period. How fast did it spread? How similar were the climates of the regions that became Muslim?

CONNECTIONS Which were the most powerful and populous of the societies that were absorbed into the Islamic world? What regions or societies were more resistant?

The Muslims continued their drive eastward and in the mid-seventh century occupied the province of Khurasan. By 700 the Muslims had crossed the Oxus River and swept toward Kabul, today the capital of Afghanistan. They then penetrated Kazakhstan and seized Tashkent. From southern Persia, a Muslim force marched into the Indus Valley in northwest India in 713 and founded an Islamic community there.

To the west, Arab forces moved across North Africa and crossed the Strait of Gibraltar. In 711 at the Guadalete River they easily defeated the Visigothic kingdom of Spain. Muslims controlled most of Spain until the thirteenth century. Advances into France were stopped in 732 when the Franks defeated Arab armies in a battle near the city of Tours, and Muslim occupation of parts of southern France did not last long.

Reasons for the Spread of Islam

By the beginning of the eleventh century the crescent of Islam had flown from the Iberian heartlands to northern India. How can this rapid and remarkable expansion be explained? Most historians point to a combination of the Arabs’ military advantages and the political weaknesses of their opponents. The Byzantine and Sassanid Empires had just fought a grueling century-long war and had also been weakened by the plague, which hit urban, stationary populations harder than nomadic populations. Equally important are the military strength and tactics of the Arabs. For example, rather than scattering as landlords of peasant farmers over conquered lands, Arab soldiers remained together in garrison cities, where their Arab ethnicity, tribal organization, religion, and military success set them apart. All soldiers were registered in the **diwān** (dih-WAHN), an administrative organ adopted from the Persians or Byzantines. Soldiers received a monthly ration of food for themselves and their families and an annual cash stipend. In return, they had to be available for military service. Fixed salaries, regular pay, and the lure of battlefield booty attracted rugged tribesmen from Arabia.

diwān An administrative unit of government through which Arab soldiers were registered during the early years of the spread of Islam.

The Caliphate and the Split Between Shi’a and Sunni Alliances

When Muhammad died in 632, he left a large Muslim umma, but this community stood in danger of disintegrating into separate tribal groups.

Neither the Qur’an nor the Sunna offered guidance concerning the succession.

In this crisis, according to tradition, a group of Muhammad’s ablest followers elected Abu Bakr (573–634), the Prophet’s father-in-law and close supporter, and hailed him as caliph (KAY-lihf), a term combining the ideas of leader, successor, and deputy (of the Prophet). In the two years of his rule (632–634), Abu Bakr governed on the basis of his personal prestige within the Muslim umma. He sent out military expeditions, collected taxes, dealt with tribes on behalf of the entire community, and led the community in prayer.

Gradually, under Abu Bakr’s first three successors, Umar (r. 634–644), Uthman (r. 644–656), and Ali (r. 656–661), the caliphate (KAL-uh-fate) emerged as an institution. Umar succeeded in exerting his authority over the Bedouin tribes involved in ongoing conquests. Uthman asserted the right of the caliph to protect the economic interests of the entire umma. Also, Uthman’s publication of the definitive text of the Qur’an showed his concern for the unity of the umma. However, Uthman was from a Mecca family that had resisted the Prophet until the capitulation of Mecca in 630, and he aroused resentment when he gave favors to members of his family. Opposition to Uthman coalesced around Ali, and when Uthman was assassinated in 656, Ali was chosen to succeed him.

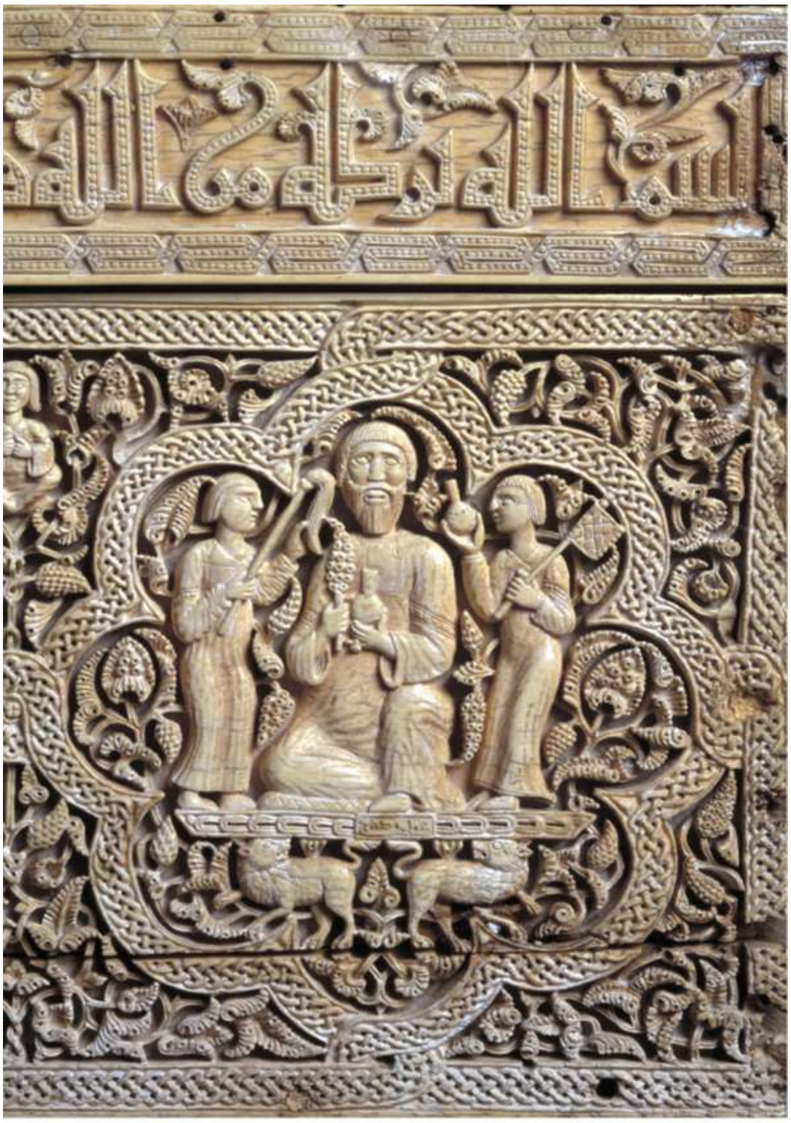
Uthman’s cousin Mu’awiya, a member of the Umayyad family who had built a power base as governor of Syria, refused to recognize Ali as caliph. In the ensuing civil war Ali was assassinated, and Mu’awiya (r. 661–680) assumed the caliphate. Mu’awiya founded the Umayyad Dynasty and shifted the capital of the Islamic state from Medina in Arabia to Damascus in Syria. Although electing caliphs remained the Islamic ideal, beginning with Mu’awiya, the office of caliph increasingly became hereditary. Two successive dynasties, the Umayyad (661–750) and the Abbasid (750–1258), held the caliphate.

From its inception the caliphate rested on the theoretical principle that Muslim political and religious unity transcended tribalism. Mu’awiya sought to enhance the power of the caliphate by making tribal leaders dependent on him for concessions and special benefits. At the same time, his control of a loyal and well-disciplined army enabled him to take the caliphate in an authoritarian direction. Through intimidation he forced the tribal leaders to accept his son Yazid as his heir, thereby establishing the dynastic principle of succession.

The assassination of Ali and the assumption of the caliphate by Mu’awiya had another profound consequence. It gave rise to a fundamental division in the umma and in Muslim theology. Ali had claimed the caliphate on the basis of family ties — he was Muhammad’s cousin and son-in-law. When Ali was murdered, his followers argued that Ali had been the Prophet’s designated successor — partly because of the blood tie, partly because Muhammad had designated Ali **imam** (ih-MAHM), or leader in community prayer. These supporters of Ali were called **Shi’a** (SHEE-uh), meaning “supporters” or “partisans” of Ali (Shi’a are also known as Shi’ites). In succeeding generations, opponents of the Umayyad Dynasty emphasized their blood descent from Ali and claimed to possess divine knowledge that Muhammad had given them as his heirs.

imam The leader in community prayer.

Shi’a Arabic term meaning “supporters of Ali”; they make up one of the two main divisions of Islam.



Museo de Navarra, Pamplona, Spain/photo: Markus Bassler, © Bildarchiv Monheim GmbH/Alamy Stock Photo

Ivory Chest of Pamplona, Spain The court of the Spanish Umayyads prized small, intricately carved ivory chests, often made in a royal workshop and used to store precious perfumes. This exquisite side panel depicts an eleventh-century caliph flanked by two attendants. An inscription on the front translates as "In the Name of God. Blessings from God, goodwill, and happiness."

Those who accepted Mu'awiya as caliph insisted that the central issue was adhering to the practices and beliefs of the umma based on the precedents of the Prophet. They came to be called **Sunnis** (SOO-neez), which derived from *Sunna* (examples from Muhammad's life). When a situation arose for which the Qur'an offered no solution, Sunni scholars searched for a precedent in the Sunna, which gained an authority comparable to that of the Qur'an itself.

Sunnis Members of the larger of the two main divisions of Islam; the division between Sunnis and Shi’a began in a dispute about succession to Muhammad, but over time many differences in theology developed.

Both Sunnis and Shi’a maintain that authority within Islam lies first in the Qur’an and then in the Sunna. Who interprets these sources? Shi’a claim that the imam does, for he is invested with divine grace and insight. Sunnis insist that interpretation comes from the consensus of the **ulama**, the group of religious scholars.

ulama A group of religious scholars whom Sunnis trust to interpret the Qur’an and the Sunna.

Throughout the Umayyad period, the Shi’a constituted a major source of discontent. They condemned the Umayyads as worldly and sensual rulers, in contrast to the pious true successors of Muhammad. A rival Sunni clan, the Abbasid (uh-BA-suhd), exploited the situation, agitating the Shi’a and encouraging dissension among tribal factions.

The Abbasid Caliphate

In 747 the Abbasid leader Abu’ al-Abbas led a rebellion against the Umayyads, and in 750 he won general recognition as caliph. Damascus had served as the headquarters of Umayyad rule. Abu’ al-Abbas’s successor, al-Mansur (r. 754–775), founded the city of Baghdad in 762 and made it his capital. Thus the geographical center of the caliphate shifted eastward to former Sassanid territories. The first three Abbasid caliphs crushed their opponents, turned against many of their supporters, and created a new ruling elite drawn from newly converted Persian families that had traditionally served the ruler. The Abbasid revolution established a basis for rule and citizenship more cosmopolitan and Islamic than the narrow, elitist, and Arab basis that had characterized Umayyad government.

The Abbasids worked to identify their rule with Islam. They patronized the ulama, built mosques, and supported the development of Islamic scholarship. Although at first Muslims represented only a small minority of the conquered peoples, Abbasid rule provided the religious-political milieu in which Islam gained, over time, the allegiance of the vast majority of the populations from Spain to Afghanistan.

The Abbasids also borrowed heavily from Persian culture. Following Persian tradition, the Abbasid caliphs claimed to rule by divine right, as reflected in the change of their title from “successor of the Prophet” to “deputy of God.” A majestic palace with hundreds of attendants and elaborate court ceremonies deliberately isolated the caliph from the people he ruled. Subjects had to bow before the caliph and kiss the ground, symbolizing his absolute power.

Under the third caliph, Baghdad emerged as a flourishing commercial, artistic, and scientific center. Its population of about a million people created a huge demand for goods and services, and Baghdad became an entrepôt (trading center) for textiles, slaves, and foodstuffs coming from Oman, East Africa, and India. The city also became intellectually influential. Harun al-Rashid organized the translation of Greek medical and philosophical texts. As part of this effort the Christian scholar Hunayn Ibn Ishaq (808–873) translated Galen’s medical works into Arabic and made Baghdad a center for the study and practice of medicine. Likewise, impetus was given to the study of astronomy, as Muslim astronomers sought to correct and complement Ptolemaic astronomy. Above all, studies in Qur’anic textual analysis, history, poetry, law, and philosophy — all in Arabic — reflected the development of a distinctly Islamic literary and scientific culture.

An important innovation of the Abbasids was the use of slaves as soldiers. The caliph al-Mu’taşim (r. 833– 842) acquired several thousand Turkish slaves who were converted to Islam and employed in military service. Scholars have offered varied explanations for this practice: that the use of slave soldiers was a response to a manpower shortage; that as highly skilled horsemen, the Turks had military skills superior to those of the Arabs and other peoples; and that al-Mu’taşim felt he could trust the Turks more than the Arabs, Persians, Khurasans, and other recruits. In any case, slave soldiers — later including Slavs, Indians, and sub-Saharan blacks — became a standard feature of Muslim armies in the Middle East until the twentieth century.

Administration of the Islamic Territories

The Islamic conquests brought into being a new imperial system. At the head stood the caliph, who led military campaigns against unbelievers. Theoretically, he had the ultimate responsibility for the interpretation of the sacred law. In practice, however, the ulama interpreted the law as revealed in the Qur’an and the Sunna. In the course of time, the ulama’s interpretations constituted a rich body of law, the **shari’a** (shuh-REE-uh), which covered social, criminal, political, commercial, and religious matters. The *qadis* (KAH-dees), or judges, who were well versed in the sacred law, carried out the judicial functions of the state. Nevertheless, Muslim law prescribed that all people have access to the caliph, and he set aside special times for hearing petitions and for directly redressing grievances.

shari’a Muslim law, which covers social, criminal, political, commercial, and religious matters.

The central administrative organ was the diwān, which collected the taxes that paid soldiers’ salaries and financed charitable and public works, such as aid to the poor and the construction of mosques, irrigation works, and public baths. Another important undertaking was a relay network established to rapidly convey letters and intelligence reports between the capital and distant outposts.

The early Abbasid period witnessed considerable economic expansion and population growth, complicating the work of government. New and specialized departments emerged, each with a hierarchy of officials. The most important new official was the vizier (vuh-ZEER), a position that the Abbasids adopted from the Persians. The vizier was the caliph’s chief assistant. Depending on the caliph’s personality, viziers could acquire extensive power, and some used their offices for personal gain. Away from the capital **emirs**, or governors, were given overall responsibility for public order, maintenance of the armed forces, and tax collection. Below them, experienced native officials often remained in office.

emirs Arab governors who were given overall responsibility for public order, maintenance of the armed forces, and tax collection.

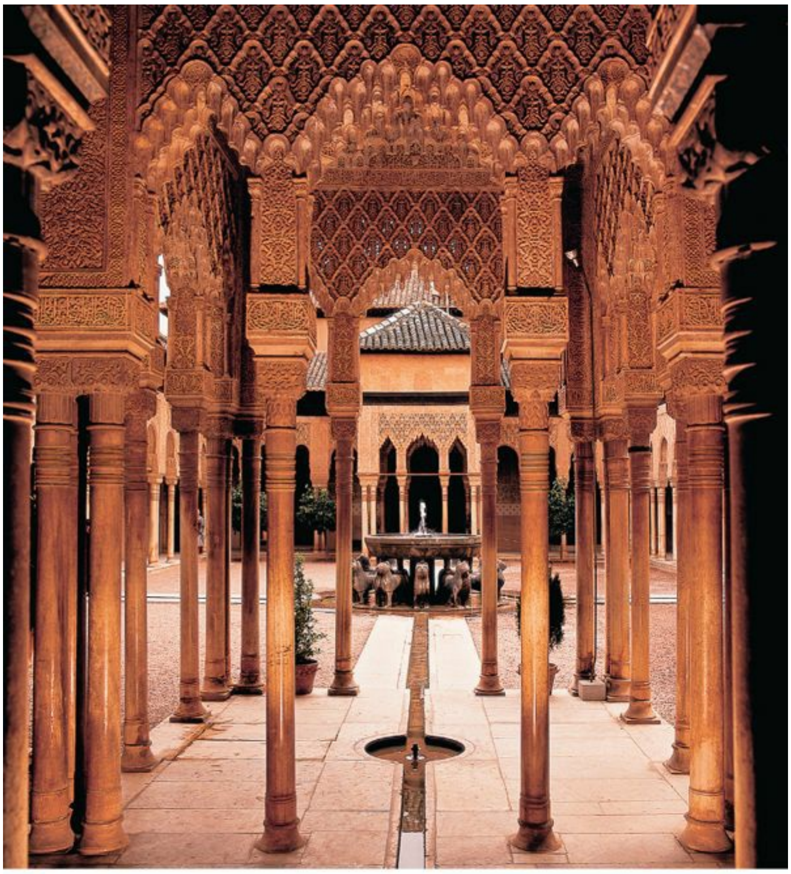
Fragmentation and Military Challenges, 900–1400

How were the Islamic lands governed from 900 to 1400, and what new challenges did rulers face?

In theory, the caliph and his central administration governed the whole empire, but in practice, the many parts of the empire enjoyed considerable local independence. At the same time, the enormous distance between many provinces and the imperial capital made it difficult for the caliph to prevent provinces from breaking away. Consequently, regional dynasties emerged in much of the Islamic world, including Spain, Persia, Central Asia, northern India, and Egypt. None of these states repudiated Islam, but they did stop sending tax revenues to Baghdad. Moreover, states frequently fought costly wars against their neighbors in their attempts to expand. Sometimes these conflicts were worsened by Sunni-Shi'a antagonisms. All these developments, as well as invasions by Turks and Mongols, posed challenges to central Muslim authority.

Breakaway Territories and Shi'a Gains

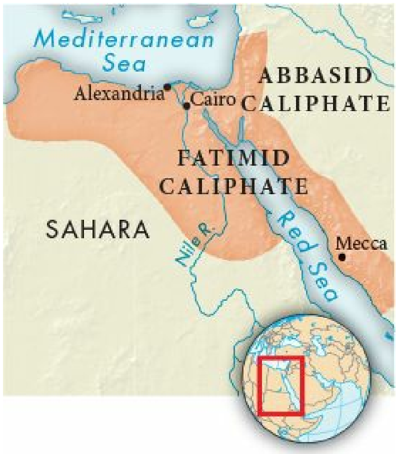
One of the first territories to break away from the Baghdad-centered caliphate was Spain. In 755 an Umayyad prince who had escaped death at the hands of the Abbasids and fled to Spain set up an independent regime at Córdoba (see Map 9.1). Other territories soon followed. In 800 the emir in Tunisia in North Africa set himself up as an independent ruler and refused to place the caliph's name on the local coinage. And in 820 Tahir, the son of a slave, was rewarded with the governorship of Khurasan because he had supported the caliphate. Once he took office, Tahir ruled independently of Baghdad.



George Holton/Science Source

The Patio of the Lions at Alhambra, Fourteenth Century
The fortress that the Moorish rulers of Spain built at Granada is considered one of the masterpieces of Andalusian art, notable for the fine carving of geometrical designs and Arabic calligraphy.

In 946 a Shi’a Iranian clan overran Iraq and occupied Baghdad. The caliph was forced to recognize the clan’s leader as commander in chief and to allow the celebration of Shi’a festivals — though the caliph and most of the people were Sunnis. A year later the caliph was accused of plotting against his new masters, snatched from his throne, dragged through the streets, and blinded. Blinding was a practice adopted from the Byzantines as a way of rendering a ruler incapable of carrying out his duties. This incident marked the practical collapse of the Abbasid caliphate. Abbasid caliphs, however, remained as puppets of a series of military commanders and symbols of Muslim unity until the Mongols killed the last Abbasid caliph in 1258 (see “The Mongol Invasions”).



Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

The Fatimid Caliphate, 909–1171

In another Shi'a advance, the Fatimids, a Shi'a dynasty that claimed descent from Muhammad's daughter Fatima, conquered North Africa and then expanded into the Abbasid province of Egypt, founding the city of Cairo as their capital in 969. For the next century or so, Shi'a were in ascendancy in much of the western Islamic world.

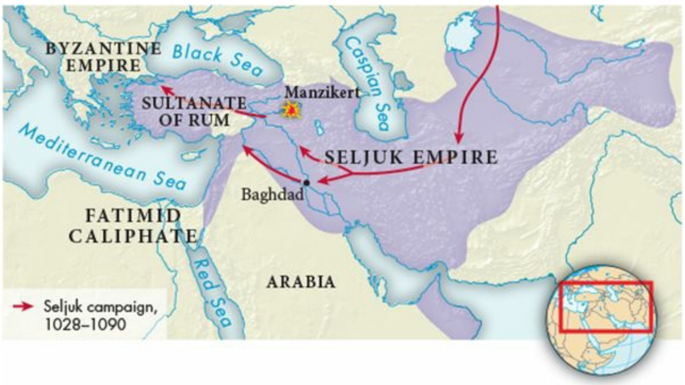
The Ascendancy of the Turks

In the mid-tenth century the Turks began to enter the Islamic world in large numbers. First appearing in Mongolia in the sixth century, groups of Turks, such as the Seljuks, gradually appeared across the grasslands of Eurasia. Skilled horsemen, they became prime targets for Muslim slave raids, as they made good slave soldiers. Once the Turks understood that Muslims could not be captured for slaves, more and more of them converted to Sunni Islam and often became *ghazi*, frontier raiders, who attacked unconverted Turks to capture slaves.

In the 1020s and 1030s Seljuk Turks overran Persia and then pushed into Iraq and Syria. Baghdad fell to them on December 18, 1055, and the caliph became a puppet of the Turkish sultan. The Turkish elite rapidly gave up pastoralism and took up the sedentary lifestyle of the people they governed.

The Turks brought badly needed military strength to the Islamic world. They played a major part in recovering Jerusalem after it was held for nearly a century, from 1099 to 1187, by the European Crusaders (who had fought to take Christian holy lands back from the Muslims; see "The Course of the Crusades" in Chapter 14). The influx of Turks from 950 to

1100 also helped provide a new expansive dynamic. At the Battle of Manzikert in 1071, Seljuk Turks broke through Byzantine border defenses, opening Anatolia to Turkish migration. Over the next couple of centuries, perhaps a million Turks entered the area — including bands of ghazis and dervishes (Sufi brotherhoods; see “The Mystical Tradition of Sufism”).



Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin’s

The Seljuk Empire in 1000

The Mongol Invasions

In the early thirteenth century the Mongols arrived in the Middle East. Originally from the grasslands of Mongolia, in 1206 they proclaimed Chinggis Khan (ca. 1162–1227) as their leader, and he welded Mongol, Tartar, and Turkish tribes into a strong confederation that rapidly subdued neighboring settled societies (see “Chinggis Khan and the Mongol Empire” in Chapter 12).

In 1219–1221, when the Mongols first reached the Islamic lands, the areas from Persia through the Central Asian cities of Herat and Samarkand were part of the kingdom of Khwarizm. The ruler — the son of a Turkish slave who had risen to governor of a province — had the audacity to execute Chinggis’s envoy, and Chinggis retaliated with a force of a hundred thousand soldiers that sacked city after city, often slaughtering the residents or enslaving them and sending them to Mongolia. Millions are said to have died. The irrigation systems that were needed for agriculture in this dry region had been neglected for some time, and with the Mongol invasions they suffered a fatal blow.

Not many Mongol forces were left in Persia after the campaign of 1219–1221, and another army, sent in 1237, captured the Persian city of Isfahan. In 1251 the decision was taken to push farther west, taking Baghdad in 1258 and killing the last Abbasid caliph. Mamluk soldiers from Egypt, however, were able to withstand the Mongols and prevent them from taking Egypt and the Islamic lands in North Africa. The desert ecology of the region did not provide suitable support for the Mongol armies, which required five horses for each soldier.

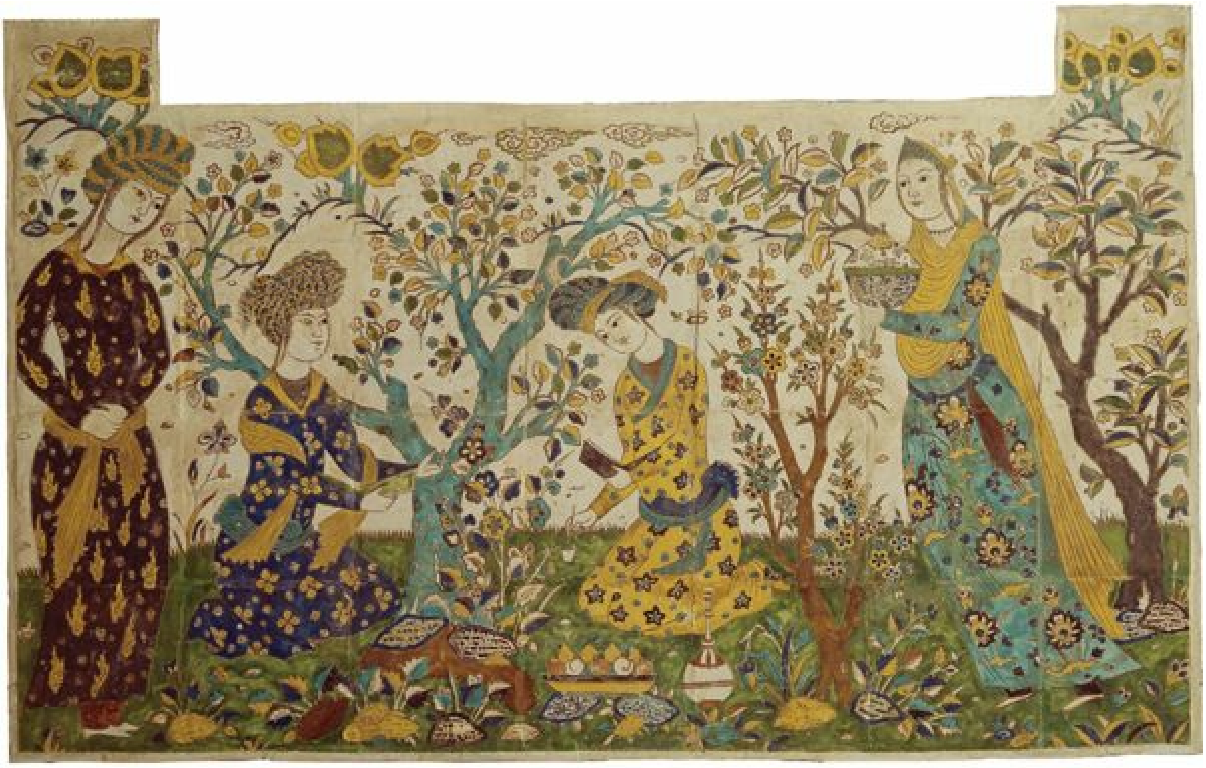
The Mongols ruled the central Muslim lands (referred to as the Il-khanate) for eighty years. In 1295 the Mongol ruler Ghazan embraced Islam and worked for the revival of Muslim culture. As the Turks had done earlier, the Mongols, once converted, injected new vigor into the faith and spirit of Islam. In the Il-khanate the Mongols governed through Persian viziers and native financial officials.

Muslim Society: The Life of the People

What social distinctions were important in Muslim society?

When the Prophet appeared, Arab society consisted of independent Bedouin tribal groups loosely held together by loyalty to a strong leader and by the belief that all members of a tribe were descended from a common ancestor. Heads of families elected the sheik, or tribal chief. He was usually chosen from among elite warrior families who believed their bloodlines made them superior. According to the Qur'an, however, birth counted for nothing; piety was the only criterion for honor.

When Muhammad defined social equality, he was thinking about equality among Muslims alone. But even among Muslims, a sense of pride in ancestry could not be instantly eradicated. Claims based on birth remained strong among the first Muslims, and after Islam spread outside of Arabia, full-blooded Arab tribesmen regarded themselves as superior to foreign converts.



Louvre, Paris, France/akg-images

Women in a Persian Garden These twelfth-century wall tiles depict four women amid trees in a garden. They come from Isfahan, which was then the leading city in Persia.

The Social Hierarchy

In the Umayyad period, Muslim society was distinctly hierarchical. At the top of the hierarchy were the caliph’s household and the ruling Arab Muslims who constituted the ruling elite. It was a relatively small group, greatly outnumbered by Muslim villagers and country people.

Converts constituted the second class in Islamic society, one that grew slowly over time. Converts to Islam had to attach themselves to one of the Arab tribes in a subordinate capacity. From the Muslim converts eventually came the members of the commercial and learned professions — merchants, traders, teachers, doctors, artists, and interpreters of the shari’a. Over the centuries, Berber, Copt, Persian, Aramaean, and other converts to Islam intermarried with their Muslim conquerors. Gradually, assimilation united peoples of various ethnic backgrounds.

Dhimmis (zih-MEEZ) — including Jews, Christians, and Zoroastrians — formed the third stratum. Considered “protected peoples” because they worshipped only one God, they were allowed to practice their religions, maintain their houses of worship, and conduct their business affairs as long as they gave unequivocal recognition to Muslim political supremacy and paid a small tax. Because many Jews and Christians were well educated, they were often appointed to high positions in provincial capitals as well as in Damascus and Baghdad. However, their social position deteriorated during the Crusades and the Mongol invasions, when there was a general rise of religious loyalties. At those times, Muslims suspected the dhimmis, often rightly, of collaborating with the enemies of Islam.

dhimmis A term meaning “protected peoples”; they included Jews, Christians, and Zoroastrians.

How did the experience of Jews under Islam compare with that of Jews living in Christian Europe? Recent scholarship shows that in Europe Jews were first marginalized in the Christian social order and then completely expelled from it. In Islam Jews, though marginalized, participated fully in commercial and professional activities, some attaining economic equality with their Muslim counterparts. Islamic culture was urban and commercial and gave merchants considerable respect.

Slavery

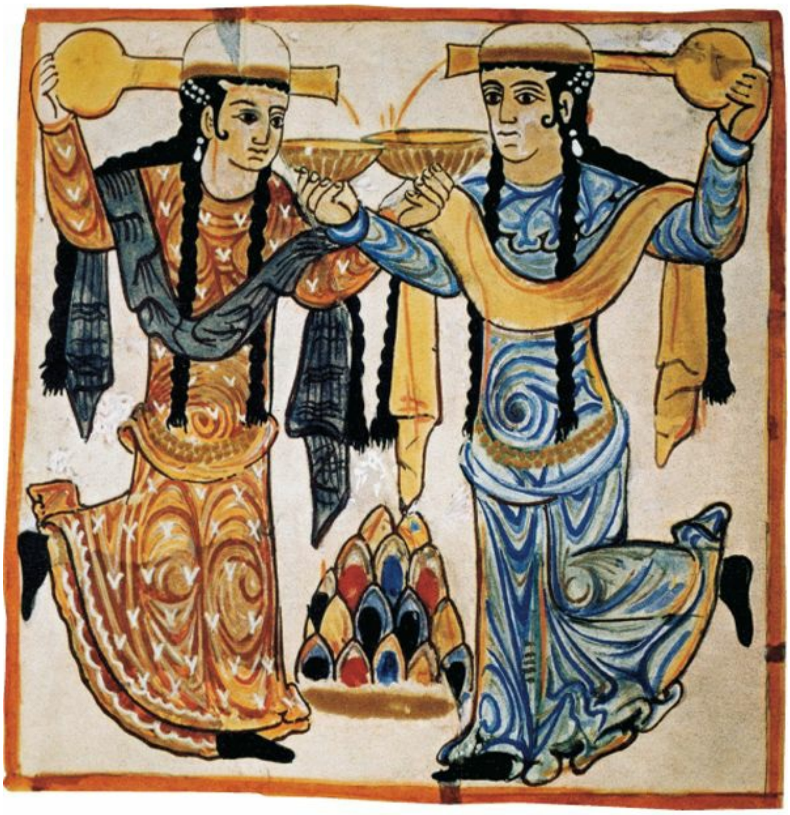
Slavery had long existed in the ancient Middle East, and Muslim expansion ensured a steady flow of slaves captured in war. The Qur’an accepted slavery much the way the Old and New Testaments did. But the

Qur’an prescribes just and humane treatment of slaves, explicitly encourages the freeing of slaves, and urges owners whose slaves ask for their freedom to give them the opportunity to buy it. In fact, the freeing of slaves was thought to pave the way to paradise.

Women slaves worked as cooks, cleaners, laundresses, and nursemaids. A few performed as singers, musicians, dancers, and reciters of poetry. Many female slaves also served as concubines. Not only rulers but also high officials and rich merchants owned many concubines. Down the economic ladder, artisans and tradesmen often had concubines who assumed domestic as well as sexual duties.

According to tradition, the seclusion of women in a harem protected their virtue, and when men had the means the harem was secured by eunuch (castrated) guards. Muslims also employed eunuchs as secretaries, tutors, and commercial agents, possibly because eunuchs were said to be more manageable and dependable than men with ordinary desires. Male slaves, eunuchs or not, were also set to work as longshoremen on the docks, as oarsmen on ships, in construction crews, in workshops, and in gold and silver mines. Male slaves also fought as soldiers.

Slavery in the Islamic world differed in at least two fundamental ways from the slavery later practiced in the Americas. First, race had no particular connection to slavery among Muslims, who were as ready to take slaves from Europe as from Africa. Second, slavery in the Islamic world was not the basis for plantation agriculture, as it was in the southern United States, the Caribbean, and Brazil in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Slavery was rarely hereditary in the Islamic world. Most slaves who were taken from non-Muslim peoples later converted, which often led to emancipation. To give Muslim slavery the most positive possible interpretation, one could say that it provided a means to fill certain socioeconomic and military needs and that it assimilated rather than segregated outsiders.



bpk, Berlin/Art Resource, NY

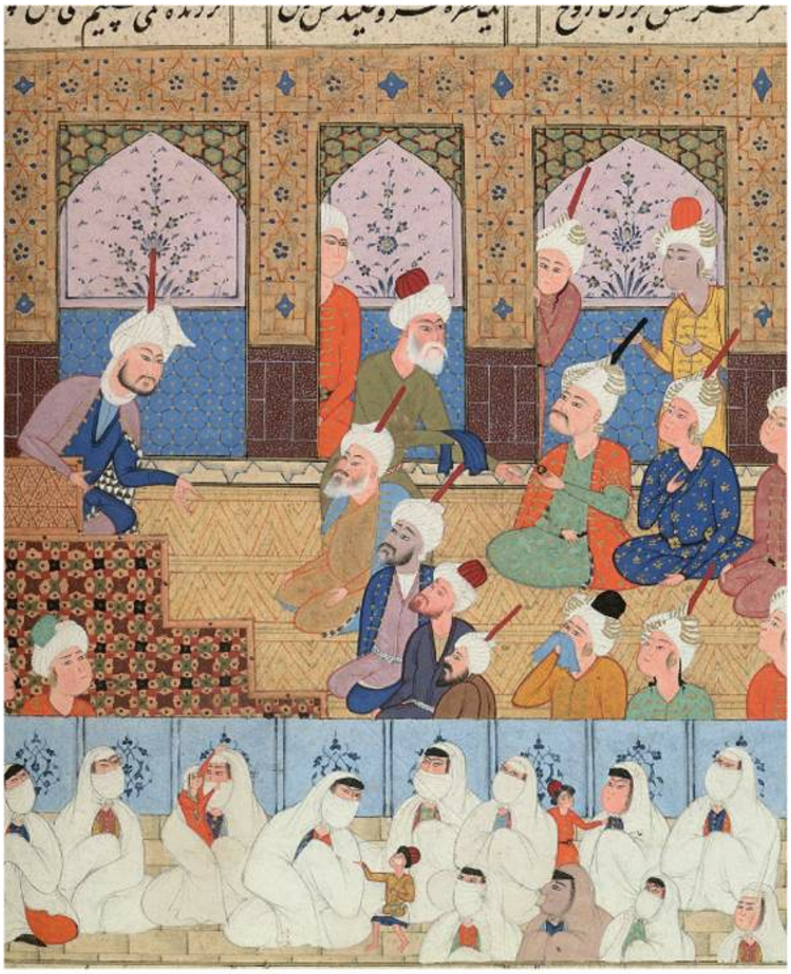
Slaves Dancing A few women slaves performed as dancers, singers, and musicians, usually before an elite audience of rulers, officials, and wealthy merchants. This reconstructed wall painting from the ninth century adorned a harem in a royal palace in Samarra.

Women in Classical Islamic Society

Before Islam, Arab tribal law gave women virtually no legal powers. Parents accepted payments for their daughters, and their husbands could terminate the union at will. Also, women had virtually no property or succession rights. Seen from this perspective, the Qur’an sought to improve the social position of women.

The Qur’an, like the religious scriptures of other traditions, emphasizes moral precepts, not descriptions of social practice, and the text is open to different interpretations. Modern scholars tend to agree that the Islamic sacred book intended women to be the spiritual equals of men and gave them considerable economic rights. In the early Umayyad period, moreover, women played active roles in the religious, economic, and political life of the community. They owned property, traveled widely, and participated with men in public religious rituals and observances.

The Islamic ideal of women and men having equal value to the community did not last. In the Abbasid period the practices of the Byzantine and Persian lands that had been conquered, including seclusion of women, were absorbed. The supply of slave women increased substantially. Some scholars speculate that as wealth replaced ancestry as the main criterion of social status, men more and more viewed women as possessions, as a form of wealth. As society changed, the precepts of the Qur’an were interpreted in more patriarchal ways. (See “Analyzing the Evidence: Abu Hamid al-Ghazali on the Etiquette of Marriage,” page 241.)



© Bodleian Libraries 2017, Ouseley Add 24 folio 55v/The University of Oxford, UK/Art Resource, NY

Separating Men and Women in a Mosque In this mid-sixteenth-century illustration of the interior of a mosque, a screen separates the women, who are wearing veils and tending children, from the men. The women can hear what is being said, but the men cannot see them.

Men were also seen as dominant in their marriages. The Qur’an states that “men are in charge of women because Allah hath made the one to excel the other, and because they (men) spend of their property (for the support of women). So good women are obedient, guarding in secret that which Allah hath guarded.”[1] A thirteenth-century commentator on this passage argued from it that women are incapable of and unfit for any public duties, such as participating in religious rites, giving evidence in the law courts, or being involved in any public political decisions.

The practices of veiling and seclusion of women have their roots in pre-Islamic times, and they took firm hold in classical Islamic society. As Arab conquerors subjugated various peoples, they adopted some of the vanquished peoples’ customs. Veiling was probably of Byzantine or Persian origin. The practice of secluding women also derives from Arab contacts with Persia and other Eastern cultures. By 800 women in more prosperous households stayed out of sight. The harem became another symbol of male prestige and prosperity, as well as a way to distinguish upper-class from lower-class women.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

Abu Hamid al-Ghazali on the Etiquette of Marriage

Abu Hamid al-Ghazali (1058–1111) was a Persian philosopher, theologian, jurist, and Sufi, and a prolific author of more than seventy books. His magnum opus, *Revival of the Religious Sciences*, is divided into four parts: *Acts of Worship*, *Norms of Daily Life*, *The Ways to Perdition*, and *The Ways of Salvation*. The passages on marriage presented here are only a small part of *Norms of Daily Life*, a lengthy treatise full of quotations from the Qur’an and traditions about the words and actions of Muhammad. His writings reflect the trend toward more patriarchal readings of Muslim teachings.

■ Marriage confers five benefits: a) children; b) the stilling of passion; c) good housekeeping; d) extended family ties; e) spiritual training through coping with all the foregoing.

The begetting of children … is the essential basis upon which marriage was instituted, the purpose being continuance of procreation so that the world should never be devoid of humankind….

For the sake of inner tranquility, it is permissible to avert the danger of fornication by marrying a slave-girl — despite the consequence that any offspring will carry slave status, which is a kind of perdition. Because of this, such marriage is forbidden to anyone who can afford to marry a free woman.

Nevertheless, slavery for the children is less grave than the ruination of faith. The child suffers only temporary annoyance in this life, whereas the abominable sin of fornication causes loss of the Life Hereafter….

When a man’s nature is so dominated by sexual desire that one wife alone would not suffice to keep him chaste, it is recommended that he take more than one (up to a maximum of four). All is then well, provided he enjoys the love and mercy of Allah and feels inwardly content with these wives. Otherwise, substitution is recommended….

[The fourth advantage of marriage is] freedom from concern with running the household (and all the chores of cooking, making beds, cleaning dishes and preparing meals)….

Ali used to say: “Three vices in a man are virtues in a woman: stinginess, vanity and timidity.”

(If a woman is stingy, she will safeguard her own property and that of her husband. If she is vain, she will not condescend to engage in suspiciously tender conversation with just anybody. If she is timid, she will be scared of everything; she will not venture out of her house, and will avoid dubious places from fear of her husband.) …

Certain very pious men would only give their daughters in marriage if they had first been seen by their prospective husbands, as a precaution against illusion. Al-A'mash said: "Every marriage that takes place without sight of the bride ends in sorrow and grief." Of course, everyone knows that visual inspection tells nothing about character, religion, or wealth, but serves only to distinguish beauty from ugliness….

As Allah's Messenger once said: "The best of wives are those with the prettiest faces, and whose dowers [dowries] are least expensive." He even forbade the giving of excessive dower….

The marriage guardian also has a duty to consider the qualities of the prospective husband. He should look to the interest of his precious one, and not give her in marriage to a man of poor physique or bad character, or who will fail to give her all her due, or who is not her equal in lineage. The Prophet said: "Marriage is a kind of servitude, so let each of you look to where he is placing his precious daughter." …

Allah's blessed Messenger asked his daughter Fatima: "What is best for a woman?" — "That she should not see a man, nor any man see her," she replied, whereupon he hugged her and said: "That's my daughter!" Thus did he show approval of her words….

If a man has several wives, he must treat them equally and not favor any of them. If he is going away on a journey and wants to take one of them along for company, he should draw lots among them. That is what Allah's Messenger used to do. If he robs a wife of her night, he should make it up to her, as a religious duty….

The husband should begin with gentle coaxing and kissing. The Prophet once said: "Let none of you fall upon his wife as an animal would do. Let there be an envoy between them." When they asked: "What is this envoy, O Messenger of Allah?" he replied: "Kisses and sweet words." …

A man should not be too overjoyed at getting a boy, nor unduly sad at getting a girl, for he is not to know which of them will prove the greater blessing to him. How many fathers of sons wish they had none at all, or girls instead! Indeed, girls give more peace, and the reward they bring is more bountiful….

Divorce is permissible, but it is the most hateful to Allah.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Describe al-Ghazali's assessment of the benefits of marriage.
2. In what ways are the views toward marriage and gender expressed by al-Ghazali similar to those seen in other traditions?

Source: Abu Hamid al-Ghazali, *The Proper Conduct of Marriage in Islam,* trans. Muhtar Holland

(Hollywood, Fla.: Al-Baz Publishing, 1998), pp. 14, 25, 26, 29, 50, 51, 53, 57, 67, 71, 74, 81, 84. Used by permission of the publisher.

Marriage, the Family, and Sexuality

As in medieval Europe and traditional India and China, marriage in Muslim society was considered too important an undertaking to be left to the romantic emotions of the young. Families or guardians, not the prospective bride and groom, identified suitable partners and finalized the contract. Because it was absolutely essential that the bride be a virgin, marriages were arranged shortly after puberty. Husbands were commonly ten to fifteen years older. Youthful marriages ensured a long period of fertility.

A wife's responsibilities depended on the wealth and occupation of her husband. A farmer's wife helped in the fields, ground the corn, carried water, prepared food, and did the myriad tasks necessary in rural life. Shopkeepers' wives in the cities sometimes helped in business. In an upper-class household, the wife supervised servants, looked after all domestic arrangements, and did whatever was needed for her husband's comfort.

In every case, children were the wife's special domain. A mother exercised authority over her children and enjoyed their respect. A Muslim tradition asserts that "paradise is at the mother's feet." Thus, as in Chinese culture, the prestige of the young wife depended on the production of children — especially sons — as rapidly as possible. A wife's failure to have children was one of the main reasons for a man to divorce his wife or take a second wife.

Like the Jewish tradition, Muslim law permits divorce. Although divorce is allowed, it is not encouraged. One commentator cited the Prophet as saying, "The lawful thing which God hates most is divorce."[2]

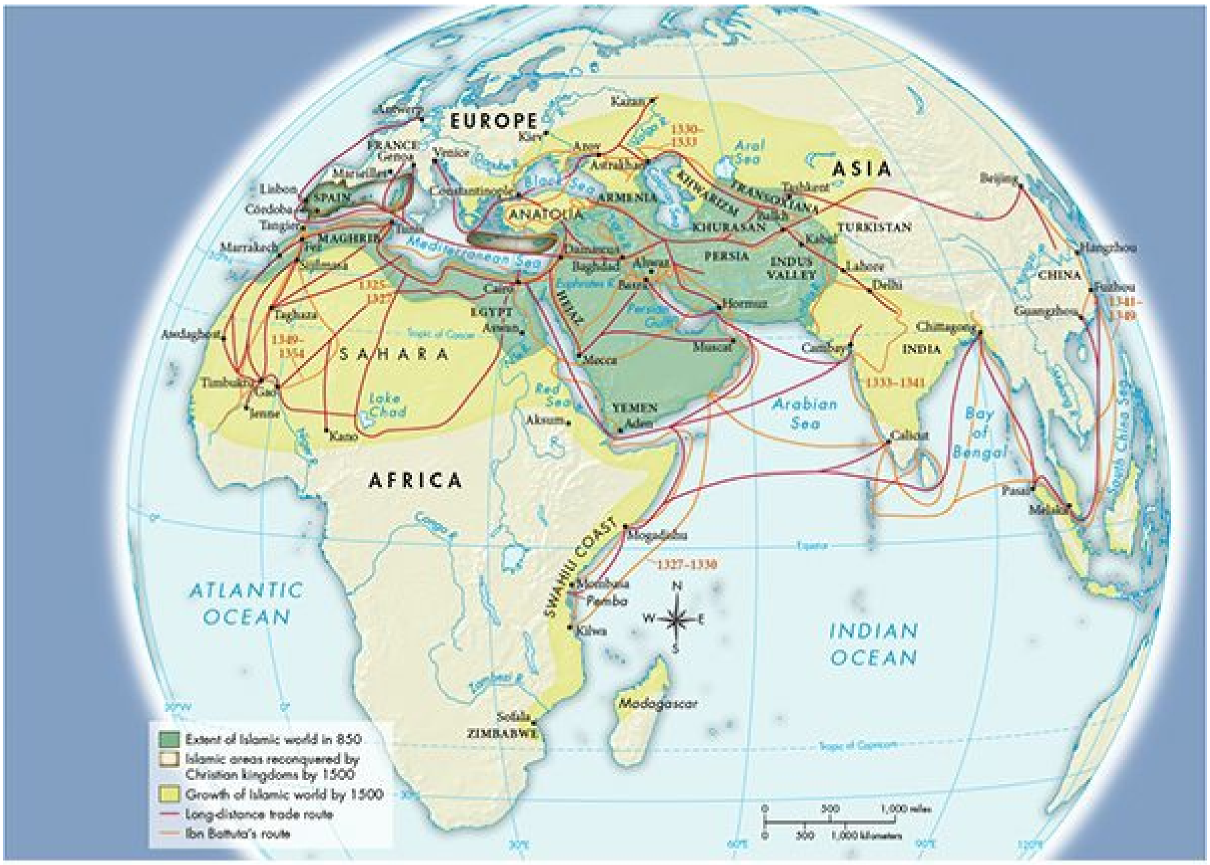
In contrast to the traditional Christian view of sexual activity as inherently shameful and only a cure for lust even within marriage, Islam maintains a healthy acceptance of sexual pleasure for both males and females. The Qur'an permits a man to have four wives, provided that all are treated justly. Still, the vast majority of Muslim males were monogamous because only the wealthy could afford to support more than one wife.

Trade and Commerce

Why did trade thrive in Islamic lands?

Unlike the Christian West or the Confucian East, the Islamic world looked favorably on profit-making enterprises. According to the sayings of the Prophet: “The honest, truthful Muslim merchant will stand with the martyrs on the Day of Judgment. I commend the merchants to you, for they are the couriers of the horizons and God’s trusted servants on earth.”[3] The Qur’an, moreover, has no prohibition against trade with Christians or other unbelievers. In fact, non-Muslims, including the Jews of Cairo and the Armenians in the central Islamic lands, were prominent in mercantile networks.

Waterways served as the main commercial routes of the Islamic world (Map 9.2). They included the Mediterranean and Black Seas; the Caspian Sea and the Volga River, which gave access deep into Russia; the Aral Sea, from which caravans departed for China; the Gulf of Aden; and the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean, which linked the Persian Gulf region with eastern Africa, the Indian subcontinent, and eventually Indonesia and the Philippines. (See “Thinking Like a Historian: The Risks and Rewards of Indian Ocean Seaborne Trade,” page 244.)


EUROPE
ASIA
AFRICA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
SAHARA
Arabian Sea
Bay of Bengal
Mediterranean Sea
Black Sea
Red Sea
Persian Gulf
Aral Sea
South China Sea
Lake Chad
Madagascar
SWAHILI COAST
Antwerp
FRANCE
Genoa
Venice
Marseilles
Lisbon
SPAIN
Córdoba
Tangier
Tunis
Marrakech
Fez
MAGHRIB
Sijilmasa
Taghaza
Awdaghost
Timbuktu
Gao
Jenne
Kano
Kiev
Kazan
Azov
Astrakhan
Constantinople
ANATOLIA
ARMENIA
KHWARIZM
TRANSOXIANA
Tashkent
Balkh
KHURASAN
Kabul
TURKISTAN
PERSIA
INDUS VALLEY
Lahore
Delhi
Damascus
Baghdad
Ahwaz
Basra
Hormuz
Muscat
Cairo
EGYPT
Aswan
HIJAZ
Mecca
YEMEN
Aden
Aksum
Cambay
INDIA
Chittagong
Calicut
Pasai
Melaka
Beijing
Hangzhou
CHINA
Fuzhou
Guangzhou
Mogadishu
Mombasa
Pemba
Kilwa
Sofala
ZIMBABWE
1325–1327
1349–1354
1330–1333
1333–1341
1341–1349
1327–1330
Tropic of Cancer
Equator
Tropic of Capricorn
N
S
W
E
🟩 Extent of Islamic world in 850
☐ Islamic areas reconquered by Christian kingdoms by 1500
🟨 Growth of Islamic world by 1500
— Long-distance trade route
— Ibn Battuta's route
0 500 1,000 miles
0 500 1,000 kilometers

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 9.2 The Expansion of Islam and Its Trading Networks in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries By 1500 Islam had spread extensively in North and East Africa, and into the Balkans, the Caucasus, Central Asia, India, and the islands of Southeast Asia. Muslim merchants played a major role in bringing their religion as they extended their trade networks. They were active in the Indian Ocean long before the arrival of Europeans.

Cairo was a major Mediterranean entrepôt for intercontinental trade. Foreign merchants sailed up the Nile to the Aswan region, traveled east from Aswan by caravan to the Red Sea, and then sailed down the Red Sea to Aden, where they entered the Indian Ocean on their way to India. They exchanged textiles, glass, gold, silver, and copper for Asian spices, dyes, and drugs and for Chinese silks and porcelains. Muslim and Jewish merchants dominated the trade with India, and all spoke and wrote Arabic. Their commercial practices included the *sakk* (the Arabic word is the root of the English *check*), an order to a banker to pay money held on account to a third party. Muslims also developed other business innovations, such as the bill of exchange, a written order from one person to another to pay a specified sum of money to a designated person or party, and the idea of the joint stock company, an arrangement that lets a group of people invest in a venture and share its profits (and losses) in proportion to the amount each has invested.

Trade also benefited from improvements in technology. The adoption from the Chinese of the magnetic compass, an instrument for determining directions at sea by means of a magnetic needle turning on a pivot, greatly helped navigation of the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean. The construction of larger ships led to a shift in long-distance cargoes from luxury goods such as pepper, spices, and drugs to bulk goods such as sugar, rice, and timber. The teak forests of western India supplied the wood for Arab ships.

Beginning in the late twelfth century Persian and Arab seamen sailed down the east coast of Africa and established trading towns between Somalia and Sofala (see “The East African City-States” in Chapter 10). These thirty to fifty urban centers controlled by merchants linked Zimbabwe in southern Africa with the Indian Ocean trade and the Middle Eastern trade.

A private ninth-century list mentions a great variety of commodities transported into and through the Islamic world by land and by sea:

> Imported from India: tigers, leopards, elephants, leopard skins, red rubies, white sandal-wood, ebony, and coconuts
> From China: aromatics, silk, porcelain, paper, ink, peacocks, fiery horses, saddles, felts, cinnamon
> From the Byzantines: silver and gold vessels, embroidered cloths, fiery horses, slave girls, rare articles in red copper, strong locks, lyres, water engineers, specialists in plowing and cultivation, marble workers, and eunuchs
> From Egypt: ambling donkeys, fine cloths, papyrus, balsam oil, and, from its mines, high-quality topaz
> From the Khazars [a people living on the northern shore of the Black Sea]: slaves, slave women, armor, helmets, and hoods of mail
> From Ahwaz [a city in southwestern Persia]: sugar, silk brocades, castanet players and dancing girls, kinds of dates, grape molasses, and candy.[4]

One byproduct of the extensive trade through Islamic lands was the spread of useful plants. Cotton, sugarcane, and rice spread from India to other places with suitable climates. Citrus fruits made their way to Muslim Spain from Southeast Asia and India. The value of this trade contributed to the prosperity of the Abbasid era.

THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN

The Risks and Rewards of Indian Ocean Seaborne Trade

During the centuries when Islam spread, Arab and Persian merchants were very active as traders in the Indian Ocean. Wares and products from India and China were in high demand, and they were shipped in stages through a series of exchanges at intermediary ports. Traveler accounts and shipwreck discoveries illuminate this trade.

1 **Sulayman the Merchant on travel to India and China, 851.** The man known as Sulayman the Merchant made numerous voyages to India and China from the coast of Persia. He wrote about his many daring voyages, describing the piracy and extreme weather en route to China and the life of foreign traders there.

■ The goods of China are rare; and among the causes of their rarity is the frequent outbreak of fires at Khanfu [Guangzhou], the port for ships and the entrepôt [trading center] for merchandise of the Arabs and the Chinese…. Another cause is that the ships are sometimes wrecked on the way out or on the way back, or plundered, or forced to make long stops and sell their goods in non-Arab countries. Sometimes, too, the wind throws them on to al-Yaman or other places and they sell their goods there; sometimes they make a long stop to repair their ships; and so on.

2 **Al-Muqaddasi, *Geography*, 986.** A native of Jerusalem, al-Muqaddasi was an Arab geographer who took many journeys to learn about distant regions while preparing his geographical treatise.

■ I, myself, have travelled a course of about two thousand leagues…. I was thus thrown into the company of men — shipmasters, pilots, agents and merchants — who, bred and born upon it, possessed the clearest and fullest knowledge of this sea, its anchorages, its winds and its islands. I plied them with questions concerning its position, physical peculiarities and its limits. I have also seen in their possession charts and sailing directories which they constantly study and follow with implicit confidence….

Suhar is … a flourishing and populous city, and a beautiful, pleasant and lovely place. It is also a city of wealthy and many merchants…. It contains excellent markets and is beautifully laid out along the shore of the sea. Its lofty and splendid houses are built of burned bricks and teak-wood…. Suhar is the gateway of China, and the emporium of the East and al-Iraq…. The Persians are masters in it.

3 **Reconstruction of the Belitung ship.** A ninth-century Arab or Persian ship that sank in Indonesian waters on its way from China to the Middle East was discovered in 1998. The Belitung ship was 70 feet long and 16 feet wide. Constructed in the Middle East,

the ship was made of mostly African hardwood and was sewn together with coconut fiber. This replica was created using the technology and materials of the time, including African timber and sails of woven palm leaves. Named *Jewel of Muscat,* when it was finally completed a crew sailed the ship from Oman to Singapore, taking five months and stopping several times.

Andrew Caballero-Reynolds/Reuters/Newscom

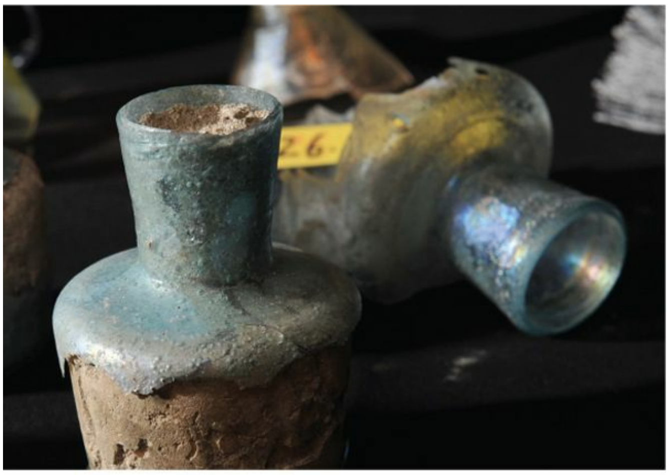
4 **Pottery recovered from the ninth-century Belitung shipwreck.** The bulk of the cargo consisted of mass-produced Chinese ceramics, including 40,000 bowls, 1,635 ewers, 763 inkpots, and 915 spice jars. The cargo also included exquisite silver boxes, silver ingots, star anise, and an octagonal gold cup decorated with Central Asian figures. A tiny sample of the recovered ceramics can be seen in this photo.

How Hwee Young/© epa european pressphoto/Alamy Stock Photo

5 **Marco Polo, *Description of the World,* ca. 1300.** Marco Polo's return trip from China to Italy in 1295 involved traveling by ship through Southeast Asia, with stops in India and other places. Here he discusses the situation on the west coast of India.

■ You must know that from Malabar, and from a neighbouring province called Gujarat, more than 100 ships cruise out every year as corsairs, seizing other ships and robbing the merchants. For they are pirates on a big scale…. But the merchants, who are quite familiar with the habits of these villainous corsairs and know that they are sure to encounter them, go so well armed and equipped that they are not afraid to face them after they have been detected. They defend themselves stoutly and inflict great damage on their attackers. But of course it is inevitable that one should be captured now and then. When the corsairs do capture a merchant ship, they help themselves to the ship and the cargo; but they do not hurt the men. They say to them: "Go and fetch another cargo. Then, with luck, you may give us some more."

6 **Tenth-century Middle Eastern glassware from the Cirebon wreck.** In 2003, not far from where the Belitung wreck was found, another ship was discovered, dating to about a century later and possibly constructed in Southeast Asia. Like the Belitung ship, it was constructed by lashing boards together. It carried ceramics from Thailand, Vietnam, Persia, and China as well as Chinese bronze mirrors, Indonesian bronze statues, Middle Eastern glass vessels, pearls, rubies, sapphires, garnets, gold jewelry, Fatimid rock crystal, Iranian glassware, and two tons of lapis lazuli. The glassware shown here came from Egypt, Iran, and Mesopotamia.



Romeo Gacad/AFP/Getty Images

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. Do the authors of the texts in Sources 1, 2, and 5 seem well informed? What is your evidence?
2. Given the dates of Sources 1, 2, and 5, do you think trade conditions changed much over these centuries?
3. Does the evidence concerning the shipwrecks in Sources 3, 4, and 6 tend to support or undermine the written evidence in Sources 1, 2, and 5?
4. Why might a ship, such as the one that held the glassware in Source 6, carry items

from many different places?

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

Using the sources above, along with what you have learned in class and in this chapter, write a short essay on maritime trade in the Indian Ocean between 800 and 1400 and its historical significance. What connections were there between the travels of Muslim merchants and the spread of Islam?

Sources: (1) Quoted in George F. Hourani, *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Early Medieval Times* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1951), p. 76; (2) *Ahsanu-t-taqasim fi ma'rifati-l-aqalim,* trans. G. S. A. Ranking and R. F. Azoo, in *Bibliotheca Indica,* New Series, Nos. 899, 952, 1001 (Bengal Asiatic Society, 1897–1901), pp. 14, 142; (5) Marco Polo, *The Travels,* trans. Ronald Latham (London: Penguin, 1958), p. 290.

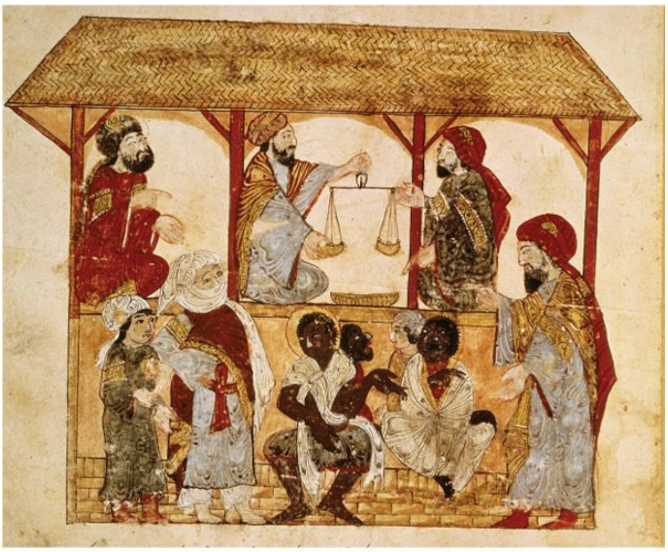
Cultural Developments

What new ideas and practices emerged in the arts, sciences, education, and religion?

Long-distance trade provided the wealth that made possible a gracious and sophisticated culture in the cities of the Islamic world. (See “Individuals in Society: Ibn Battuta,” at right.) Education helped foster achievements in the arts and sciences, and Sufism brought a new spiritual and intellectual tradition.

INDIVIDUALS IN SOCIETY

Ibn Battuta



Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, France/Art Resource, NY

Travelers to Baghdad would have seen slave markets like this one.

IN 1354 THE SULTAN OF MOROCCO APPOINTED A SCRIBE to write an account of the travels of Abu ’Abdallah Ibn Battuta (1304–1368), who between 1325 and 1354 had traveled through most of the Islamic world. The two men collaborated. The result was a travel book written in Arabic and later hailed as the richest eyewitness account of fourteenth-century Islamic culture.

Ibn Battuta was born in Tangiers to a family of legal scholars. As a youth, he studied Muslim law, gained fluency in Arabic, and acquired the qualities considered essential for a civilized Muslim gentleman: courtesy, manners, and the social polish that eases relations among people.

At age twenty-one he left Tangiers to make the hajj (pilgrimage) to Mecca. He crossed North Africa and visited Alexandria, Cairo, Damascus, and Medina. Reaching Mecca in October 1326, he immediately praised God for his safe journey, kissed the Holy Stone at the Ka’ba, and recited the ritual prayers. There he decided to see more of the world.

In the next four years Ibn Battuta traveled to Iraq and to Basra and Baghdad in Persia, then returned to Mecca before sailing down the coast of Africa as far as modern Tanzania. On the return voyage he visited

Oman and the Persian Gulf region, then traveled by land across central Arabia to Mecca. Strengthened by his stay in the holy city, he decided to go to India by way of Egypt, Syria, and Anatolia; across the Black Sea to the plains of western Central Asia, detouring to see Constantinople; back to the Asian steppe; east to Khurasan and Afghanistan; and down to Delhi in northern India.

For eight years Ibn Battuta served as a judge in the service of the sultan of Delhi. In 1341 the sultan chose him to lead a diplomatic mission to China. After the expedition was shipwrecked off the southeastern coast of India, Ibn Battuta traveled through southern India, Sri Lanka, and the Maldive Islands. Then he went to China, stopping in Bengal and Sumatra before reaching the southern coast of China, then under Mongol rule. Returning to Mecca in 1346, he set off for home, getting to Morocco in 1349. After a brief trip across the Strait of Gibraltar to Granada, he undertook his last journey, by camel caravan across the Sahara to Mali in the West African Sudan (see “The Kingdom of Mali, ca. 1200–1450” in Chapter 10), returning home in 1354. Scholars estimate that he had traveled about seventy-five thousand miles.

Ibn Battuta had a driving intellectual curiosity to see and understand the world. At every stop, he sought the learned jurists and pious men at the mosques and madrasas. He marveled at the Lighthouse of Alexandria, then in ruins; at the vast harbor at Kaffa (in southern Ukraine on the Black Sea), whose two hundred Genoese ships were loaded with silks and slaves for the markets at Venice, Cairo, and Damascus; and at the elephants in the sultan’s procession in Delhi, which carried machines that tossed gold and silver coins to the crowds.

Ibn Battuta must have had an iron constitution. He endured fevers, dysentery, malaria, the scorching heat of the Sahara, and the freezing cold of the steppe. His thirst for adventure was stronger than his fear of nomadic warriors and bandits on land and the dangers of storms and pirates at sea.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Trace the routes of Ibn Battuta’s travels on Map 9.2.
2. How did a common Muslim culture facilitate Ibn Battuta’s travels?

Source: R. E. Dunn, *The Adventures of Ibn Battuta: A Muslim Traveler of the Fourteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).

The Cultural Centers of Baghdad and Córdoba

Although cities and mercantile centers dotted the entire Islamic world, the cities of Baghdad and Córdoba, at their peak in the tenth century, stand out as the finest examples of cosmopolitan Muslim civilization. On Baghdad's streets thronged a kaleidoscope of races, creeds, costumes, and cultures. Shops and marketplaces offered a dazzling and exotic array of goods from all over the world.

The caliph Harun al-Rashid presided over a glamorous court. He invited writers, dancers, musicians, poets, and artists to live in Baghdad, and he is reputed to have rewarded one singer with one hundred thousand silver pieces for a single song. This brilliant era provided the background for the tales that appear in *The Thousand and One Nights*.

The central story of this fictional collection concerns the attempt of a new bride, Scheherazade, to keep her husband, Shahyar, legendary king of Samarkand, from killing her out of certainty that she will be unfaithful like his first wife. In efforts to delay her execution, she entertains him with one tale a night for 1,001 nights. In the end, Scheherazade's efforts succeed, and her husband pardons her. Among the tales she tells him are such famous ones as "Aladdin and His Lamp," "Sinbad the Sailor," and "Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves." Though filled with folklore, the *Arabian Nights* (as it is also called) has provided many of the images through which Europeans have understood the Islamic world.

Córdoba in southern Spain competed with Baghdad for the cultural leadership of the Islamic world. With a population of about 1 million, Córdoba contained 1,600 mosques, 900 public baths, 213,177 houses for ordinary people, and 60,000 mansions for generals, officials, and the wealthy. In its 80,455 shops, 13,000 weavers produced silks, woolens, and brocades that were internationally famous. Córdoba was also a great educational center with 27 free schools and a library containing 400,000 volumes. (By contrast, the renowned Benedictine abbey of Saint-Gall in Switzerland had about 600 books.) Moreover, Córdoba's scholars made contributions in chemistry, medicine and surgery, music, philosophy, and mathematics. It was through Córdoba and Persia that the Indian game of chess entered western Europe. The contemporary Saxon nun Hrosthwita of Gandersheim (d. 1000) described Córdoba as the "ornament of the world."[5]

Education and Intellectual Life

Muslim culture valued learning, especially religious learning, because knowledge provided the guidelines by which men and women should live. From the eighth century onward, formal education for young men involved reading, writing, and the study of the Qur'an, believed essential for its religious message and for its training in proper grammar and syntax.

Islam is a religion of the law, taught at **madrasas** (muh-DRA-suhs), schools for the study of Muslim law and religion. Schools were urban phenomena. Wealthy merchants endowed them, providing salaries for teachers, stipends for students, and living accommodations for both. All Islamic higher education rested on a close relationship between teacher and students, so in selecting a teacher, the student (or his father) considered the character and intellectual reputation of the teacher, not that of the institution. Students built their subsequent careers on the reputation of their teachers.

madrasa A school for the study of Muslim law and religion.

Learning depended heavily on memorization. In primary school a boy began his education by memorizing the entire Qur'an. In adolescence a student learned by heart an introductory work in one of the branches of knowledge, such as jurisprudence or grammar. Later he analyzed the texts in detail. Every class day, the teacher examined the student on the previous day's learning and determined whether the student fully understood what he had memorized. Students, of course, learned to write, for they had to record the teacher's commentary on a particular text. But the overwhelming emphasis was on the oral transmission of knowledge.

Because Islamic education focused on particular books, when the student had mastered a text to his teacher's satisfaction, the teacher issued the student a certificate stating that he had studied the book or collection of traditions with his teacher. The certificate allowed the student to transmit a text to the next generation on the authority of his teacher.

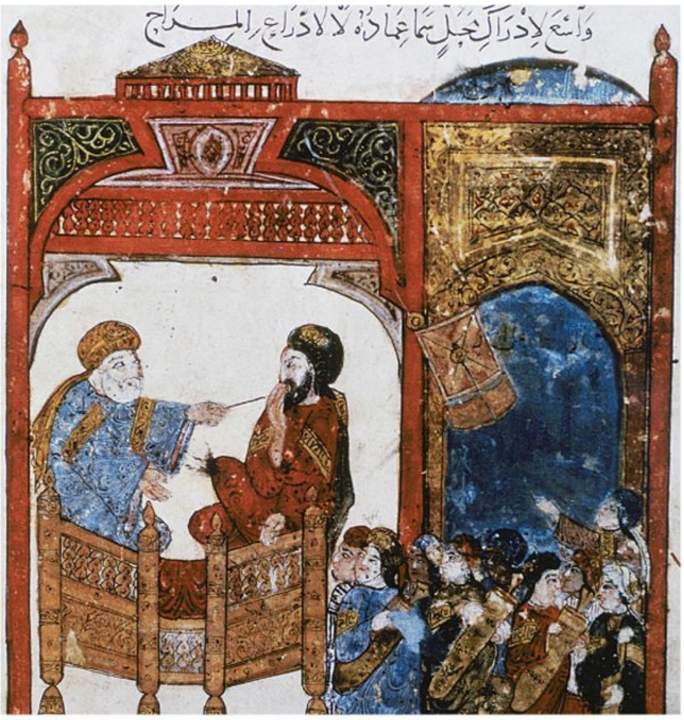
As the importance of books suggests, the Muslim transmission and improvement of papermaking techniques had special significance to education. After Chinese papermaking techniques spread westward, Muslim papermakers improved on them by adding starch to fill the pores in the surfaces of the sheets. Even before the invention of printing, papermaking had a revolutionary impact on the collection and diffusion of knowledge.

Muslim higher education, apart from its fundamental goal of preparing men to live wisely and in accordance with God's law, aimed at preparing them to perform religious and legal functions as Qur'an — or hadith — readers; as preachers in the mosques; as professors, educators, or copyists; and especially as judges. Judges issued fatwas, or legal opinions, in the public courts; their training was in the Qur'an, hadith, or some text forming part of the shari'a.

On the issue of female education, Islamic culture was ambivalent. Tradition holds that Muhammad said, "The seeking of knowledge is a duty of every Muslim," but, because of the basic Islamic principle that "men are the guardians of women, because God has set the one over the other," the law excluded women from participating in the legal, religious, or civic occupations for which the madrasa prepared young men. Moreover, educational theorists insisted that men should study in a sexually isolated environment. Nevertheless, many young women were educated at home. According to one biographical dictionary covering the lives of 1,075 women, 411 of them had memorized the Qur'an, studied with a particular teacher, and received a certificate.

In comparing Islamic higher education during the twelfth through fourteenth centuries with that available in Europe or China at the same time (see "The Scholar-Officials and Neo-Confucianism" in Chapter 13 and "Universities and Scholasticism" in Chapter 14), there are some striking similarities and some major differences. In both Europe and the Islamic countries religious authorities ran most schools, while in China the government, local villages, and lineages ran schools, and private tutoring was very common. In the Islamic world, as in China, the personal relationship of teacher and student was seen as key to education. In Europe the reward for satisfactorily completing a course of study was a degree granted by the university. In China, at the very highest levels, the state ran a civil service examination system that rewarded achievement with appointments in the state bureaucracy. In Muslim culture, by contrast, it was not the school or the state but the individual teacher whose evaluation mattered and who granted certificates.

Still, there were also some striking similarities in the practice of education. Students in all three cultures had to master a sacred language (Latin, Arabic, or classical Chinese). In all three cultures education rested heavily on the study of basic religious, legal, or philosophical texts. Also, in all three cultures memorization played a large role in the acquisition and transmission of learning. Furthermore, teachers in all three societies lectured on particular passages, and leading teachers might disagree fiercely about the correct interpretations of a particular text, forcing students to question, to think critically, and to choose among divergent opinions. In all three societies these educational practices contributed to cultural cohesion and ties among the educated living in scattered localities.


وَاشْعِ لِإِدْرَاكِ نَجِلَ تَمَاعَادَةٌ لَا لِأَدْرَاعِ الْمَسَّاجِ

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, France/Roland and Sabrina Michaud/akg-images

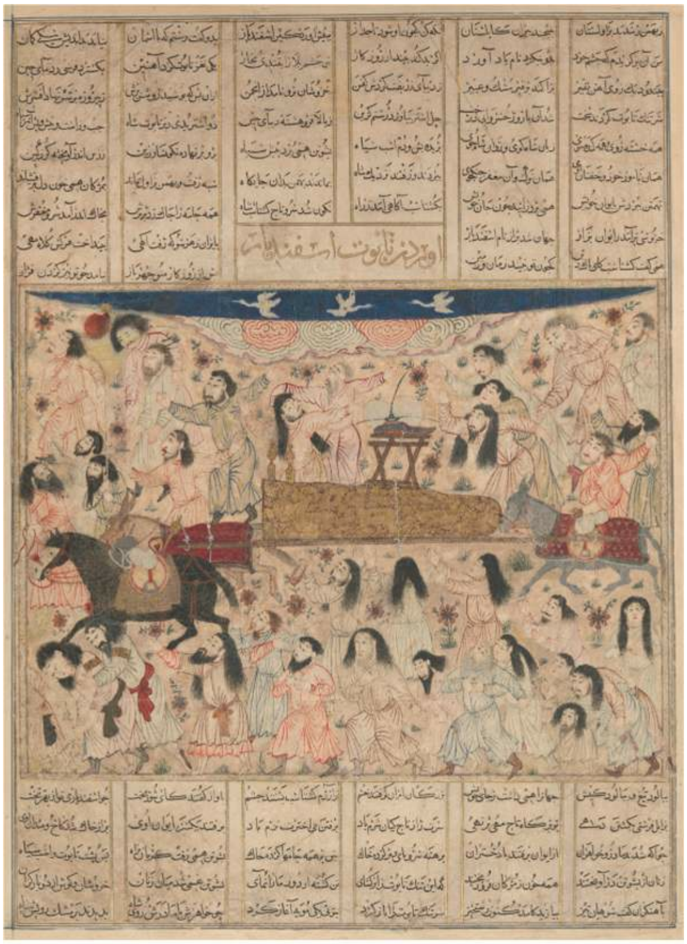
Teachers Disputing in a Madrasa Although Islamic education relied heavily on memorization of the Qur’an, religious scholars frequently debated the correct interpretation of a particular text. Listening to this lively disputation, the students illustrated in this 1222 book are learning to think critically and creatively.

In the Islamic world the spread of the Arabic language, not only among the educated classes but also among all the people, was the decisive element in the creation of a common culture. Recent scholarship demonstrates that after the establishment of the Islamic empire, the spread of the Arabic language was more important than religion in fostering cultural change. Whereas conversion to Islam was gradual, linguistic conversion occurred much faster. Arabic became the official language of the state and its bureaucracies in former Byzantine and Sassanid territories. Islamic rulers required tribute from monotheistic peoples — the Persians and Greeks — but they did not force them to change their religions. Conquered peoples were, however, compelled to adopt the Arabic language. In time Arabic produced a cohesive and “international” culture over a large part of the Eurasian world. Among those who wrote in Arabic was the erudite Gregory Bar-Hebraeus (1226–1286), a bishop of the Syrian Orthodox Church. He wrote widely on philosophy, poetry, language, history, and theology, sometimes in Syriac, sometimes in

Arabic. (See “Global Viewpoints: Amusing Animal Stories by Syrian and Greek Authors,” page 250).

As a result of Muslim creativity and vitality, modern scholars consider the years from 800 to 1300 to be one of the most brilliant periods in the world’s history. Near the beginning of this period the Persian scholar al-Khwarizmi (d. ca. 850) harmonized Greek and Indian findings to produce astronomical tables that formed the basis for later Eastern and Western research. Al-Khwarizmi also studied mathematics, and his textbook on algebra (from the Arabic *al-jabr*) was the first work in which the word *algebra* is used to mean the “transposing of negative terms in an equation to the opposite side.”

Muslim medical knowledge far surpassed that of the West in this era. The Baghdad physician al-Razi (865–925), the first physician to make the clinical distinction between measles and smallpox, produced an encyclopedic treatise on medicine that was translated into Latin and circulated widely in the West. In Córdoba the great surgeon al-Zahrawi (d. 1013) produced an important work in which he discussed the cauterization of wounds (searing them with a branding iron) and the crushing of stones in the bladder. Muslim science reached its peak in the work of Ibn Sina of Bukhara (980–1037), known in the West as Avicenna. His *al-Qanun* codified all Greco-Arab medical thought, described the contagious nature of tuberculosis and the spreading of diseases, and listed 760 drugs.



“The Funeral of Isfandyar” folio from a Shahnama [Book of Kings]. Author: Abu’l Qasim Firdausi. Ink, opaque and gold on paper. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York/Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1933 [33.70]/Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Image source: Art Resource, NY

Funeral of Isfandyar This page from a fourteenth-century Persian manuscript depicts the funeral procession of the hero Isfandyar. The mourners are wailing and pulling at their hair, which is worn loose as a sign of mourning. The book is the *Shahnama*, or Book of Kings, a sixty-thousand-verse epic telling the story of the Persian empire up to the Islamic conquest in the seventh century. It was completed in 1010 by the poet Ferdowsi.

Muslim scholars also wrote works on geography, jurisprudence, and philosophy. Al-Kindi (d. ca. 870) was the first Muslim thinker to try to harmonize the principles of ethical and social conduct discussed by Plato and Aristotle and the religious precepts of the Qur’an. Inspired by Plato’s *Republic* and Aristotle’s *Politics*, the distinguished philosopher al-Farabi (d. 950) wrote a political treatise describing an ideal city whose ruler is morally and intellectually perfect and who has as his goal the citizens’ complete happiness. Ibn Rushid, or Averroës (1126–1198), of Córdoba, a judge in Seville and later the royal court physician, paraphrased and commented on the works of Aristotle. He insisted on the right to subject all knowledge, except the dogmas of faith, to the test of reason and on the essential harmony of religion and philosophy.

GLOBAL VIEWPOINTS

Amusing Animal Stories by Syrian and Greek Authors

In thirteenth-century Syria, Gregory Bar-Hebraeus wrote not only on serious subjects such as religion and philosophy but also on more playful subjects, and his works include a large collection of amusing stories. Persian, Hebrew, Indian, and Christian wise men appear in these tales, as do animals, clowns, and thieves. The stories that feature talking animals are reminiscent of Aesop's *Fables*, an older set of stories in which animals have distinct humanlike character traits. Aesop's *Fables* can be traced back to Greek and Latin versions, but tales were added over time, so all cannot have been written by the Greek storyteller Aesop. Two of his fables are included here for comparison with Bar-Hebraeus's tales.

Bar-Hebraeus's *Laughable Stories*

■ A wolf, a fox, and a lion having banded themselves together snared a goat, a stag, and a hare. And the lion said to the wolf, "Divide these among us." The wolf said, "The goat is for you, the stag is for me, and the hare is for the fox." When the lion heard these words he became furious and leaped upon the wolf and choked him. Then he said to the fox, "You divide them." The fox said to him, "The goat is for your breakfast, the hare for your lunch, and the stag for your supper." The lion then asked him, "Where have you learned to make such an equitable division?" The fox replied, "From this wolf which lies before you, O my lord the king."

A wolf, a fox, and a hare found a lamb, and they said to each other, "He who is the oldest among us shall eat him." The hare said, "I was born before God created the heavens and the earth," and the fox said, "You are right indeed, for I was present when you were born," and the wolf, at the same time seizing the lamb, said, "My stature and capacity are witnesses that I am older than you both," so he ate the lamb.

Aesop's *Fables*

■ The Birds waged war with the Beasts, and each were by turns the conquerors. A Bat, fearing the uncertain issues of the fight, always fought on the side which he felt was the strongest. When peace was proclaimed, his deceitful conduct was apparent to both combatants. Therefore being condemned by each for his treachery, he was driven forth from the light of day, and henceforth concealed himself in dark hiding-places, flying always alone and at night.

A Wolf, having stolen a lamb from a fold, was carrying him off to his lair. A Lion met him in the path, and seizing the lamb, took it from him.

Standing at a safe distance, the Wolf exclaimed, “You have unrighteously taken that which was mine from me!” To which the Lion jeeringly replied, “It was righteously yours, eh? The gift of a friend?”

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What makes stories with animal characters interesting?
2. Could Bar-Hebraeus have been inspired by Aesop’s *Fables*? What is your evidence?
3. What are the moral messages in each of these stories, and what can you learn about each culture from these messages?

Sources: Gregory Bar Hebraeus, *The Laughable Stories*, trans. E. A. W. Budge (London: Luzac, 1897), pp. 90–91, slightly modified; *Aesop’s Fables*, trans. G. F. Townsend (London: G. Routledge and Sons, 1882), pp. 45, 73.

The Mystical Tradition of Sufism

Like the world's other major religions — Buddhism, Hinduism, Judaism, and Christianity — Islam also developed a mystical tradition: Sufism (SOO-fih-zuhm). It arose in the ninth and tenth centuries as a popular reaction to the materialism and worldliness of the later Umayyad regime. Sufis sought a personal union with God — divine love and knowledge through intuition rather than through rational deduction and study of the shari'a. The earliest of the Sufis followed an ascetic routine (denial of physical desires to achieve a spiritual goal), dedicating themselves to fasting, prayer, meditation on the Qur'an, and the avoidance of sin.

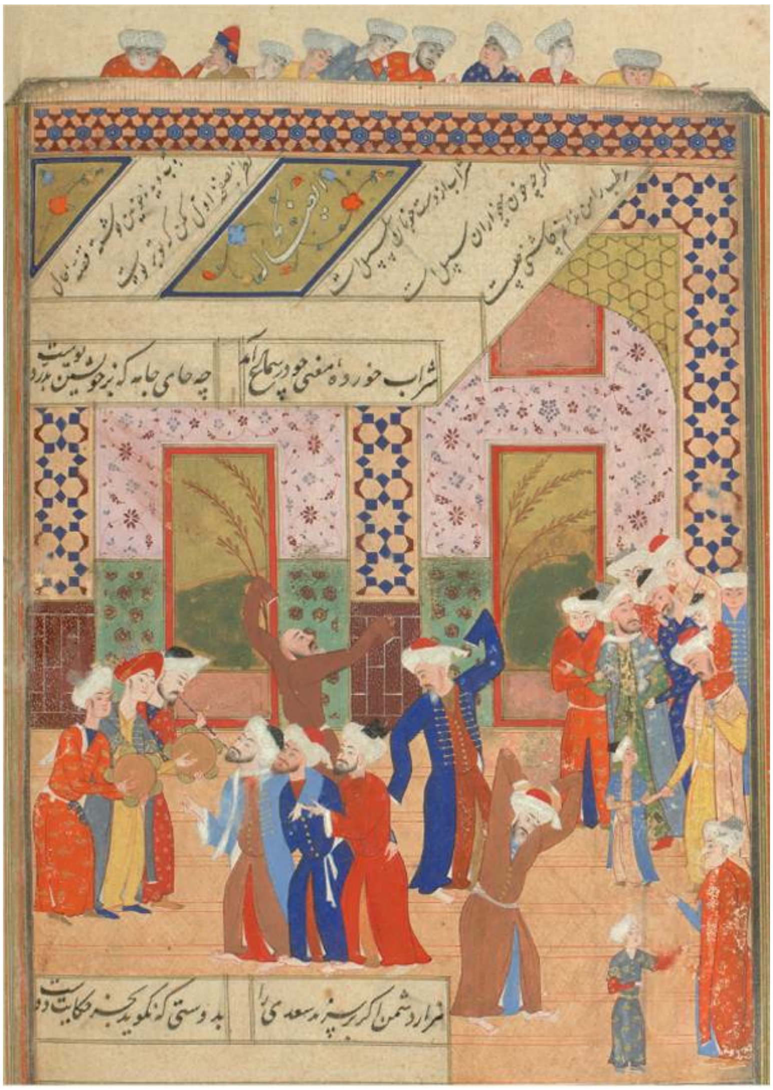
The woman mystic Rabi'a (717–801) epitomized this combination of renunciation and devotion. An attractive woman who refused marriage so that nothing would distract her from a total commitment to God, Rabi'a attracted followers, for whom she served as a spiritual guide. One of her poems captures her deep devotion: "O my lord, if I worship thee from fear of hell, and if I worship thee in hope of paradise, exclude me thence, but if I worship thee for thine own sake, then withhold not from me thine eternal beauty."[6]

Between the tenth and the thirteenth centuries groups of Sufis gathered around prominent leaders called *shaykhs*; members of these groups were called *dervishes*. Dervishes entered hypnotic or ecstatic trances, either through the constant repetition of certain prayers or through physical exertions such as whirling or dancing (hence the English phrase "whirling dervish" for one who dances with abandonment). (See "Analyzing the Evidence: Sufi Collective Ritual," page 252.)

Some Sufis acquired reputations as charismatic holy men to whom ordinary Muslims came seeking healing, charity, spiritual consolation, or political mediation between tribal and factional rivals. Other Sufis became known for their writings. Probably the most famous medieval Sufi was the Spanish mystic-philosopher Ibn al'Arabi (1165–1240). He traveled widely in Spain, North Africa, and Arabia seeking masters of Sufism. In Mecca he received a "divine commandment" to begin his major work, *The Meccan Revelation*, which evolved into a personal encyclopedia of 560 chapters. Also at Mecca, the wisdom of a beautiful young girl inspired him to write a collection of love poems, *The Interpreter of Desires*, for which he composed a mystical commentary. In 1223, after visits to Egypt, Anatolia, Baghdad, and Aleppo, Ibn al'Arabi concluded his pilgrimage through the Islamic world at Damascus, where he produced *The Bezels [Edges] of Wisdom*, considered one of the greatest works of Sufism.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

Sufi Collective Ritual



Edinburgh University Library, Scotland/With kind permission of the Edinburgh University/Bridgeman Images

The collective rituals in which Sufis try through ecstatic experiences to come closer to God have always fascinated outsiders, including non-Sufi Muslims. The work of art shown here has connections both to religion and to literature: it is a sixteenth-century Persian miniature painting illustrating the work of a fourteenth-century Persian poet whose poems had a place in Sufi rituals.

The Sufi movement originally emerged in response to the increasing worldliness of the expanding Muslim community and flourished in Safavid Persia. As a way to draw closer to God, Sufis engaged in ascetic practices and performed group rituals, which could involve music, singing, dancing, and recitation of prayers. While performing the rituals, Sufis experienced sensations of happiness, fear, hope, longing, and bliss. Because it is difficult to convey ecstatic or mystical experiences in normal language, writers commonly employed the language of love poetry to articulate these feelings.

The fourteenth-century poet Hafiz (1325–1389), whose work is illustrated here, is one of the most influential poets in the Persian language. He wrote tributes to the joys of love and wine, as well as satires on court politics of the period. His lyric poetry excels at conveying the intoxication of love and mystical experience.

More than a century after Hafiz's death, the painter Sultan Muhammad (active 1500–1550) employed the conventions of Persian miniature painting to illustrate Sufis inspired by Hafiz's poetry. Persian miniatures were first developed as an art form to illustrate luxury books and are generally the size of a page. The colors are bright and pure because the artists used mineral pigments that do not fade. Faces are often shown in three-quarters view, and the lighting is even, with no shadows or shading shown. Viewers of these works look down on the scene as though they were situated at a higher spot. The paintings often combine interior elements with exterior elements, which are visible through windows. Despite the small size of the paintings, numerous figures are often depicted, with those farther away shown higher on the page. The clothing of the figures, the patterns on the floor and wall tiles, and even the plants seen through the windows are commonly rendered in fine detail.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Which features of this painting conform to the conventions of Persian miniature painting?
2. How are people dressed? Are distinctions among people expressed through their dress?
3. What musical instruments do you see?
4. What sort of ritual activity is depicted? Are any of the people mere observers, or are they all participating in one way or another?

Muslim-Christian Encounters

How did Muslims and Christians come into contact with each other, and how did they view each other?

During the early centuries of its development, Islam came into contact with the other major religions of Eurasia — Hinduism in India, Buddhism in Central Asia, Zoroastrianism in Persia, and Judaism and Christianity in western Asia and Europe. However, the relationship that did the most to define Muslim identity was the one with Christianity. To put this another way, the most significant "other" to Muslims in the heartland of Islam was Christendom. The close physical proximity and the long history of military encounters undoubtedly contributed to making the Christian-Muslim encounter so important to both sides.

European Christians and Middle Eastern Muslims shared a common Judeo-Christian heritage. In the classical period of Islam, Muslims learned about Christianity from the Christians they met in conquered territories; from the Old and New Testaments; from Jews; and from Jews and Christians who converted to Islam. Before 1400 there was a wide spectrum of Muslim opinion about Jesus and Christians. At the time of the Crusades and the Christian reconquest of Muslim Spain (the *reconquista*, 722–1492), polemical anti-Christian writings appeared. In other periods, Muslim views were more positive.

In the Middle Ages, Christians and Muslims met frequently in business and trade. Commercial contacts, especially when European merchants resided for a long time in the Muslim East, gave them familiarity with Muslim art and architecture. Also, Christians very likely borrowed aspects of their higher education system from Islam.

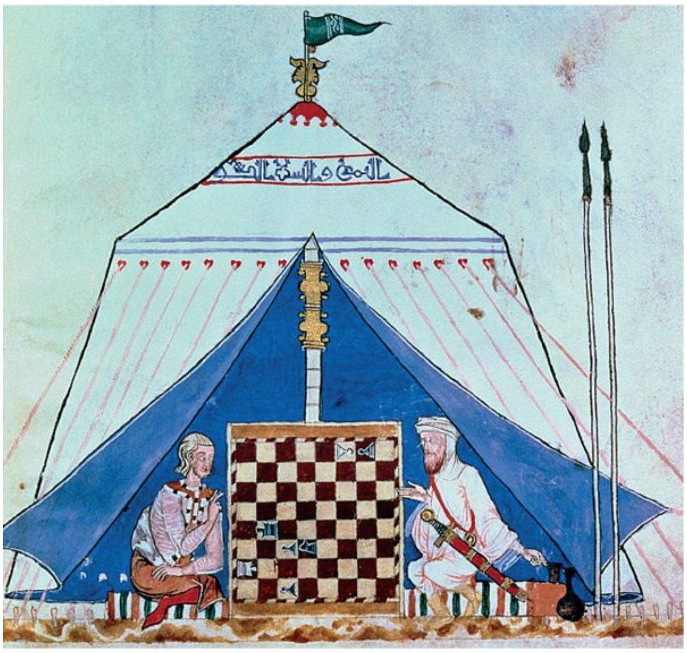
In the Christian West, Islam had the greatest cultural impact in Andalusia in southern Spain. Between roughly the eighth and twelfth centuries Muslims, Christians, and Jews lived in close proximity in Andalusia, and some scholars believe the period represents a remarkable era of interfaith harmony. Many Christians adopted Arab patterns of speech and dress, gave up the practice of eating pork, and developed a special appreciation for Arab music and poetry. Some Christian women of elite status chose the Muslim practice of going out in public with their faces veiled. These assimilated Christians, called **Mozarabs** (moh-ZAR-uhbz), did not attach much importance to the doctrinal differences between the two religions.

Mozarabs Christians who adopted some Arab customs but did not convert.

However, Mozarabs soon faced the strong criticism of both Muslim scholars and Christian clerics. Muslim teachers feared that close contact between people of the two religions would lead to Muslim contamination and become a threat to the Islamic faith. Christian bishops worried that a knowledge of Islam would lead to confusion about essential Christian doctrines. Both Muslim scholars and Christian theologians argued that assimilation led to moral decline.

Thus, beginning in the late tenth century Muslim regulations closely defined what Christians and Muslims could do. A Christian, however much assimilated, remained an unbeliever, a word that carried a pejorative connotation. Mozarabs had to live in special sections of cities; could not learn the Qur’an, employ Muslim workers or servants, or build new churches; and had to be buried in their own cemeteries. A Muslim who converted to Christianity was sentenced to death. By about 1250 the Christian reconquest of Muslim Spain had brought most of the Iberian Peninsula under Christian control. With their new authority, Christian kings set up schools that taught both Arabic and Latin to train missionaries.

Beyond Andalusian Spain, mutual animosity limited contact between people of the two religions. The Muslim assault on Christian Europe in the eighth and ninth centuries — with villages burned, monasteries sacked, and Christians sold into slavery — left a legacy of bitter hostility. Christians felt threatened by a faith that acknowledged God as creator of the universe but denied the Trinity and that accepted Jesus as a prophet but denied his divinity. Europeans’ perception of Islam as a menace helped inspire the Crusades of the eleventh through thirteenth centuries (see “The Crusades” in Chapter 14).



Biblioteca Monasterio del Escorial, Madrid, Spain/Index/Bridgeman Images

Playing Chess This page from a thirteenth-century book on chess and other games depicts a Moor and a Christian playing chess together.

Despite the conflicts between the two religions, Muslim scholars often wrote sympathetically about Jesus. For example, Ikhwan al-Safa, an eleventh-century Islamic brotherhood, held that in his preaching Jesus deliberately rejected the harsh punishments reflected in the Jewish Torah and tried to be the healing physician, teaching by parables and trying to touch people's hearts by peace and love. The prominent theologian and qadi (judge) of Teheran, Abd al-Jabbar (d. 1024), though not critical of Jesus, argued that Christians had rejected Jesus's teachings: they failed to observe the ritual purity of prayer, substituting poems by Christian scholars for scriptural prayers; they gave up circumcision, the sign of their covenant with God and Abraham; they moved the Sabbath from Saturday to Sunday; they allowed the eating of pork and shellfish; and they adopted a Greek idea, the Trinity, defending it by quoting Aristotle. Thus, al-Jabbar maintained, Christians failed to observe the laws of Moses and Jesus and distorted Jesus's message.

In the Christian West, both positive and negative views of Islam appeared in literature. The Bavarian knight Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival* and the Englishman William Langland's *Piers the Plowman* — two medieval poems that survive in scores of manuscripts, suggesting that they circulated widely — reveal broad-mindedness and tolerance toward Muslims. Some travelers in the Middle East were impressed by the kindness and generosity of Muslims and with the strictness and devotion with which Muslims observed their faith. Frequently, however, Christian literature portrayed Muslims as the most dreadful of Europe’s enemies, guilty of every kind of crime. In his *Inferno*, for example, the great Florentine poet Dante (1265–1321) placed the Muslim philosophers Avicenna and Averroës with other virtuous “heathens,” among them Socrates and Aristotle, in the first circle of Hell, where they endured only moderate punishment. Muhammad, however, Dante consigned to the ninth circle, near Satan himself, where he was condemned as a spreader of discord and scandal and suffered perpetual torture.

Even when they rejected each other most forcefully, the Christian and Islamic worlds had a significant impact on each other. Art styles, technology, and even institutional practices spread in both directions. During the Crusades Muslims adopted Frankish weapons and methods of fortification. Christians in contact with Muslim scholars recovered ancient Greek philosophical texts that survived only in Arabic translation.

Chapter Summary

Muhammad, born in the Arabian peninsula, experienced a religious vision, after which he preached to the people to give up their idols and submit to the one indivisible God. He believed in the same God as the Christians and Jews and taught strict monotheism. Islam, the religion based on Muhammad’s teachings, appropriated much of the Old and New Testaments of the Bible. After Muhammad’s death, his followers gathered his revelations, eventually producing the Qur’an.

Within the span of a century, Muslims carried their faith from the Arabian peninsula through the Middle East, to North Africa and Spain, and to the borders of India. Successors to Muhammad established the caliphate, which through two successive dynasties coordinated rule over Islamic lands. A key challenge faced by the caliphate was a fundamental division in Muslim theology between the Sunnis and the Shi’a.

Over time, many parts of the Muslim empire gained considerable local independence. Far-flung territories such as Spain began to break away from the Baghdad-centered caliphate. By the tenth century Turks played a more important role in the armies and came to be the effective rulers in much of the Middle East. They were succeeded by the Mongols, who invaded the Middle East in the thirteenth century and ruled the central Islamic lands for eighty years.

Muslim society was distinctly hierarchical. In addition to a structure that privileged the ruling Arab Muslims over converts to Islam, then over Jews, Christians, and Zoroastrians, there were also a substantial number of slaves, generally war captives. Slaves normally were converted to Islam and might come to hold important positions, especially in the army. Distinctions between men’s and women’s roles in Islamic society were strict. Over time, the seclusion and veiling of women became common practices, especially among the well-to-do.

Islam did not discourage trade and profitmaking. By land and sea Muslim merchants transported a rich variety of goods across Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and western Europe. As trade thrived, innovations such as money orders, bills of exchange, and joint stock companies aided the conduct of business.

Wealth from trade made possible a gracious and sophisticated culture in the cities of the Islamic world, especially Baghdad and Córdoba. During this period Muslim scholars produced important work in many disciplines, especially mathematics, medicine, and philosophy. A new spiritual and intellectual tradition arose in the mystical practices of Sufism. Muslims, Christians, and Jews interacted in many ways during this period. At the time of the Crusades and of the Christian reconquest of Islamic Spain, polemical anti-Christian writings appeared, but in other periods Islamic views were more positive. Many Christians converted in the early centuries of the spread of Islam. Others such as the Mozarabs assimilated into Muslim culture while retaining their religion.

CONNECTIONS

During the five centuries that followed Muhammad’s death, his teachings came to be revered in large parts of the world, from Spain to Afghanistan. Although in some ways similar to the earlier spread of Buddhism out of India and Christianity out of Palestine, the spread of Islam occurred largely through military conquests that extended Islamic lands. Still, conversion was never complete; both Christians and Jews maintained substantial communities within Islamic lands. Moreover, cultural contact among Christians, Jews, and Muslims was an important element in the development of each culture.

Muslim civilization in these centuries drew from many sources, including Persia and Byzantium, and in turn had broad impact beyond its borders. Muslim scholars preserved much of early Greek philosophy and science through translation into Arabic. Trade connected the Muslim lands both to Europe and to India and China.

During the first and second centuries after Muhammad, Islam spread along the Mediterranean coast of North Africa, which had been part of the Roman world. The next chapter explores other developments in the enormous and diverse continent of Africa during this time. Many of the written sources that tell us about the African societies of these centuries were written in Arabic by visitors from elsewhere in the Islamic world. Muslim traders traveled through many of the societies in Africa north of the Congo, aiding the spread of Islam to the elites of many of these societies. Ethiopia was an exception, as Christianity spread there from Egypt before the time of Muhammad and retained its hold in subsequent centuries. Africa’s history is introduced in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 9 Review and Explore

Identify Key Terms

Identify and explain the significance of each item below.

Qur'an (p. 230)
hadith (p. 230)
Sunna (p. 230)
Five Pillars of Islam (p. 231)
umma (p. 232)
diwān (p. 234)
imam (p. 234)
Shi'a (p. 234)
Sunnis (p. 235)
ulama (p. 235)
shari'a (p. 236)
emirs (p. 236)
dhimmis (p. 238)
madrasa (p. 246)
Mozarabs (p. 251)

Review the Main Ideas

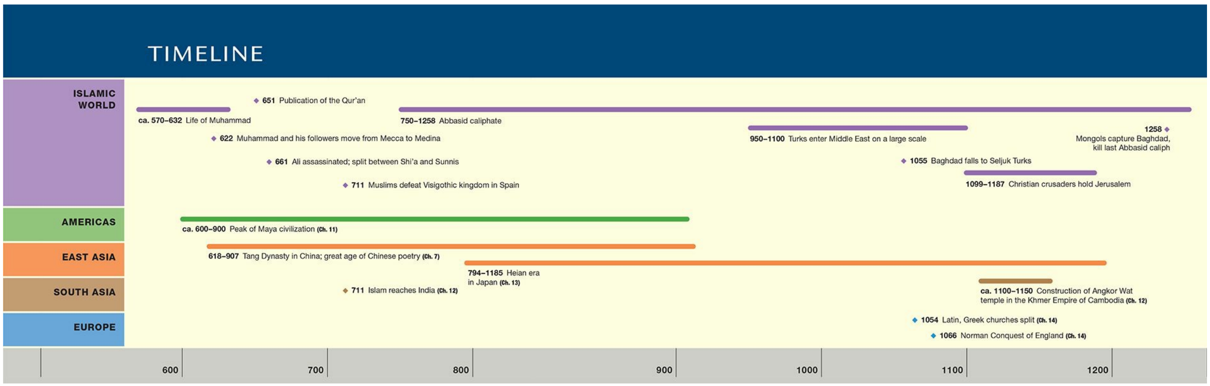
Answer the focus questions from each section of the chapter.

1. From what kind of social and economic environment did Muhammad arise, and what did he teach? (p. 230)
2. What made possible the spread of Islam, and what forms of government were established to rule Islamic lands? (p. 232)
3. How were the Islamic lands governed from 900 to 1400, and what new challenges did rulers face? (p. 236)
4. What social distinctions were important in Muslim society? (p. 238)
5. Why did trade thrive in Islamic lands? (p. 242)
6. What new ideas and practices emerged in the arts, sciences, education, and religion? (p. 246)
7. How did Muslims and Christians come into contact with each other, and how did they view each other? (p. 251)

Make Comparisons and Connections

Analyze the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters.

1. How does the spread of Islam compare to the spread of earlier universal religions, such as Buddhism (Chapter 7) and Christianity (Chapters 6, 8)?
2. In what ways was the development of culture in the Islamic lands shaped by trade and thriving cities?
3. What are the similarities in the role of teachers and holy books in Islamic lands, Europe (Chapter 8), and China (Chapter 7)? What are the differences?



Suggested Resources

Books

Ahmed, Leila. *Women and Gender in Islam.* 1993. Links modern issues to their historical roots.

Allen, Roger. *An Introduction to Arabic Literature.* 2000. Excellent treatment of literature from the Qur'an to the *Arabian Nights.*

Berkey, Jonathan P. *The Formation of Islam: Religion and Society in the Near East, 600 – 1800.* 2003. A compact but broad-ranging overview.

Bulliet, Richard W. *Cotton, Climate, and Camels in Early Islamic Iran.* 2009. Links a cooling of the climate to a decline in the Iranian cotton industry and crossbreeding of one- and two-humped camels.

Cohen, Mark R. *Under Crescent and Cross: The Jews in the Medieval Ages.* 1994. Argues that Jews were less marginalized and persecuted under Islamic states than under Christian states.

Constable, Olivia Remie. *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain: The Commercial Realignment of the Iberian Peninsula, 900 – 1500.* 1994. An excellent study of Muslim trade and commerce, drawing on a wide range of both Western and Arab sources.

Ettinghausen, Richard, Oleg Grabar, and Marilyn Jenkins-Madina. *The Art and Architecture of Islam, 650 – 1250.* 2001. A stunningly illustrated overview of Islamic art.

Fletcher, Richard. *The Cross and the Crescent.* 2003. A balanced, fascinating, and lucidly written short account of the earliest contacts between Christians and Muslims.

Hourani, Albert, and Malise Ruthven. *A History of the Arab Peoples,* 2d ed. 2003. An important synthesis.

Lewis, Bernard, ed. and trans. *Islam from the Prophet Muhammad to the Capture of Constantinople: Religion and Society*. 1987. A collection of original sources on many topics.

Long, Pamela O. *Technology and Society in the Medieval Centuries: Byzantium, Islam, and the West, 500 – 1300.* 2003. A useful survey of Arab scientific and military developments.

Peters, F. E. *The Hajj: The Muslim Pilgrimage to Mecca and the Holy Places.* 1994. Covers the social, commercial, and political significance of the obligatory Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca.

Sells, Michael. *Approaching the Qur'an.* 2007. Includes selected translations set in historical and cultural context.

Stowasser, Barbara Freyer. *Women in the Qur'an: Traditions and Interpretation.* 1994. A fine analysis of the Qur'an's statement on women.

Turner, Howard R. *Science in Medieval Islam: An Illustrated Introduction.* 1995. A fascinating exploration of Islamic science with chapters on astronomy, medicine, geography, alchemy, mathematics, and other topics.

Documentaries

Journey to Mecca (Vivendi, 2011). The story of Ibn Battuta and his extensive travels.

The Life of Muhammad (PBS, 2013). A three-part series on Muhammad's life and philosophy.

Muhammad: Legacy of a Prophet (KQED, 2002). A two-hour documentary with extensive footage from the Middle East and interviews with present-day followers.

Feature Films

Destiny (Youssef Chahine, 1997). A historical story centered on the political struggles of the philosopher Averroës in twelfth-century Andalusia.

El Naser Salah el Dine (Youssef Chahine, 1963). An Arabic fictionalization of the Crusades.

Muhammad: The Messenger of God (Majid Majidi, 2015). An Iranian film about Muhammad's childhood, filmed without directly showing Muhammad.

Websites

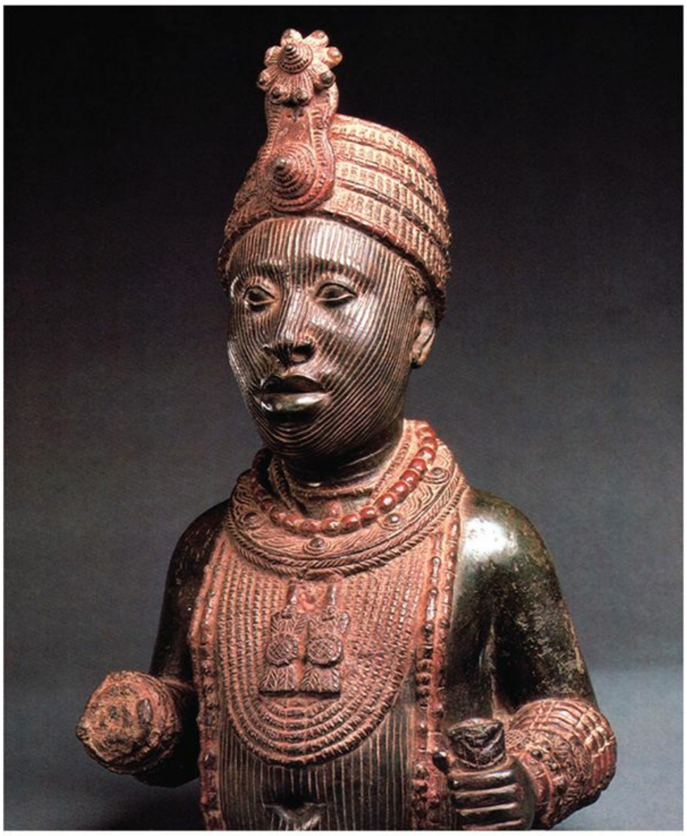
Archnet. A rich collection of photos and videos on the architecture of Islamic societies, with a useful timeline. **archnet.org**

Jewel of Muscat. Detailed information on the design, construction, and voyage of the *Jewel of Muscat*, the ship built to replicate the ninth-century Middle Eastern ship that was wrecked at Belitung. The site includes links to films made about the reconstructed ship. **jewelofmuscat.tv/home/**

10

African Societies and Kingdoms

1000 B.C.E.–1500 C.E.



Pictures from History/Bridgeman Images

Ife Ruler

West African rulers, such as the one shown in this bronze head of a Yoruban king, or *oni*, from the thirteenth or fourteenth century, were usually male.

ntil fairly recently, much of the outside world knew little about the African

U

continent, its history, or its people. The continent’s sheer size, along with tropical diseases and the difficulty of navigating Africa’s rivers inland, limited travel to a few intrepid Muslim adventurers such as Ibn Battuta. (See “Individuals in Society: Ibn Battuta” in Chapter 9.) Ethnocentrism and racism became critical factors with the beginning of the Atlantic slave trade in the 1500s, followed in the nineteenth century by European colonialism, which distorted and demeaned knowledge and information about Africa. More recent scholarship has allowed us to learn more about early African civilizations and to appreciate the richness, diversity, and dynamism of those cultures. We know now that between about 400 and 1,500 civilizations, some highly centralized, bureaucratized, and socially stratified, developed in Africa alongside communities with looser forms of social organization often held together through common kinship bonds.

In West Africa several large empires closely linked to the trans-Saharan trade in salt, gold, cloth, ironware, ivory, and other goods arose during this period. After 700 this trade connected West Africa with Muslim societies in North Africa and the Middle East. Vast stores of new information, contained in books and carried by visiting scholars, arrived from an Islamic world that was experiencing a golden age.

Meanwhile, Bantu-speaking peoples spread ironworking and domesticated crops and animals from modern Cameroon to Africa’s southern tip. They established kingdoms, such as Great Zimbabwe, in the interior. At the same time, the Swahili established large and prosperous city-states along the Indian Ocean coast.

CHAPTER PREVIEW

THE LAND AND PEOPLES OF AFRICA

How did Africa’s geography shape its history and contribute to its diverse population?

EARLY AFRICAN SOCIETIES

How did agriculture affect life among the early societies in the western Sudan and among the Bantu-speaking societies of central and southern Africa?

THE TRANS-SAHARAN TRADE

What characterized trans-Saharan trade, and how did it affect West African society?

AFRICAN KINGDOMS AND EMPIRES, CA. 800–1500

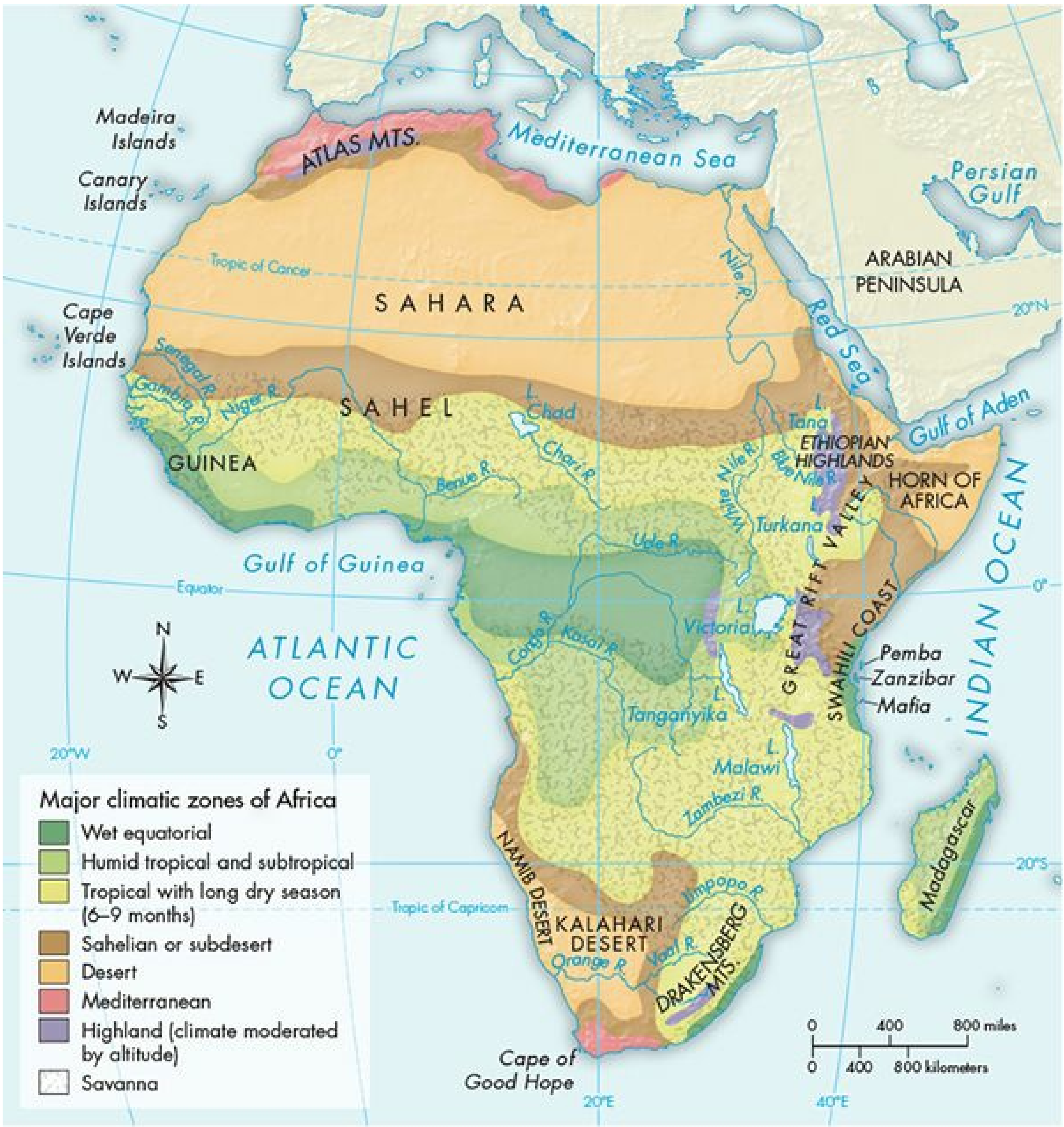
How were the East African city-states, Aksum, and Great Zimbabwe different from and similar to the kingdoms of the western Sudan?

The Land and Peoples of Africa

How did Africa’s geography shape its history and contribute to its diverse population?

The world’s second-largest continent after Asia, Africa covers 20 percent of the earth’s land surface, and African cultures are enormously diverse both within and across regions. It is difficult and mistaken to make broad generalizations about African life — statements that begin “African culture is …” or “African people are …” are virtually meaningless. African peoples are not and never have been homogeneous, and this rich diversity makes the study of African history both exciting and challenging.

Five main climatic zones roughly divide the African continent (Map 10.1). Fertile land with unpredictable rainfall borders parts of the Mediterranean in the north and the southwestern coast of the Cape of Good Hope in the south. Inland from these areas are dry steppes with little plant life. These steppes gradually give way to Africa’s great deserts: the vast Sahara in the north — 3.5 million square miles — and the Namib (NAH-mihb) and Kalahari in the south. The Sahara’s southern sub-desert fringe is called the Sahel (SA-hihl), from the Arabic word for “shore.” The savannas (flat grasslands) extend in a swath across the continent’s widest part — parts of south-central Africa and along the eastern coast — and account for some 55 percent of the African continent. Dense, humid tropical rain forests stretch along coastal West Africa and on both sides of the equator in central Africa. Africa’s climate is mostly tropical, with subtropical climates limited to the northern and southern coasts and the regions of high elevation. Rainfall is seasonal on most of the continent and is very sparse in desert and semidesert areas.

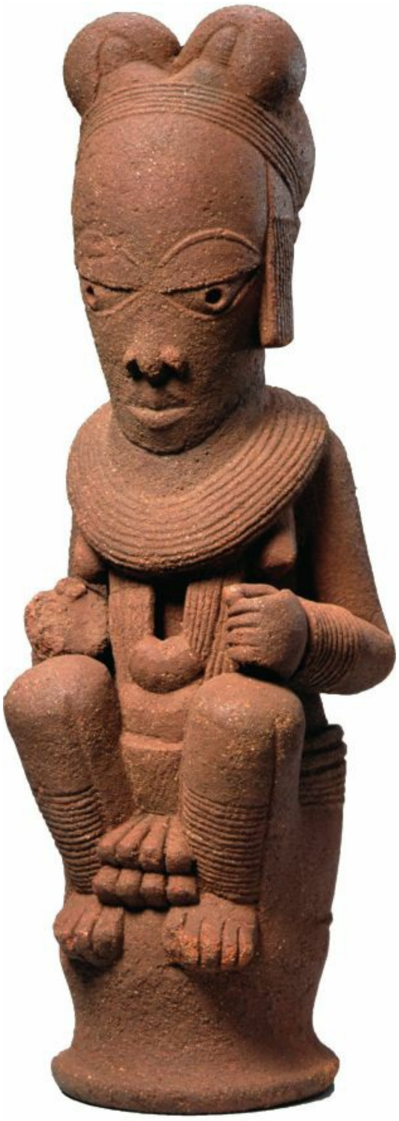

Madeira Islands
Canary Islands
Cape Verde Islands
ATLAS MTS.
Mediterranean Sea
Persian Gulf
ARABIAN PENINSULA
Tropic of Cancer
SAHARA
Nile R.
Red Sea
20°N
Senegal R.
Gambia R.
Niger R.
SAHEL
L. Chad
L. Tana
ETHIOPIAN HIGHLANDS
Gulf of Aden
GUINEA
Chari R.
Benue R.
White Nile R.
Blue Nile R.
HORN OF AFRICA
L. Turkana
GREAT RIFT VALLEY
Gulf of Guinea
Ubangi R.
Equator
0°
L. Victoria
SWAHILI COAST
Pemba
Zanzibar
Mafia
INDIAN OCEAN
N
W
E
S
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Congo R.
Kasai R.
L. Tanganyika
20°W
0°
L. Malawi
Zambezi R.
Madagascar
Major climatic zones of Africa
Wet equatorial
Humid tropical and subtropical
Tropical with long dry season (6–9 months)
Sahelian or subdesert
Desert
Mediterranean
Highland (climate moderated by altitude)
Savanna
20°S
Tropic of Capricorn
NAMIB DESERT
KALAHARI DESERT
Limpopo R.
Vaal R.
Orange R.
DRAKENSBERG MTS.
0
400
800 miles
0
400
800 kilometers
Cape of Good Hope
20°E
40°E

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 10.1 The Geography of Africa Africa's climate zones have always played a critical role in the history of the continent and its peoples. These zones mirror each other north and south of the equator: tropical forest, savanna, sub-desert, desert, and Mediterranean climate.

Geography and climate have significantly shaped African economic development. In the eastern African plains, the earliest humans hunted wild animals. The drier steppe regions favored herding. Wetter savanna regions, like the Nile Valley, encouraged grain-based agriculture. Tropical forests favored hunting and gathering and, later, root-based agriculture. Rivers and lakes supported economies based on fishing.

Africa's peoples are as diverse as the continent's topography. In North Africa contacts with Asian and European civilizations date back to the ancient Phoenicians (fi-NEE-shuhns), Greeks, and Romans (see “Building a Hellenized Society” in Chapter 5 and “Overseas Conquests and the Punic Wars, 264–133 B.C.E.” in Chapter 6). Groups living on the coast or along trade routes had the greatest degree of contact with outside groups. The Berbers of North Africa, living along the Mediterranean, intermingled with many different peoples — with Muslim Arabs, who first conquered North Africa in the seventh and eighth centuries C.E. (see “Trade and Commerce” in Chapter 9); with Spanish Muslims and Jews, many of whom settled in North Africa following their expulsion from Spain in 1492 (see “Politics and the State in the Renaissance” in Chapter 15); and with sub-Saharan peoples, with whom they traded across the Sahara Desert. The Swahili (swah-HEE-lee) peoples along the East African coast developed a maritime civilization and had rich commercial contacts with southern Arabia, the Persian Gulf, India, China, and the Malay Archipelago (ahr-kuh-PEL-uh-goh).



Private Collection/Photo © Heini Schneebeli/ Bridgeman Images

Nok Woman Hundreds of terra-cotta sculptures such as the figure of this woman survive from the Nok culture, which originated in the central plateau of northern Nigeria in the first millennium B.C.E.

The ancient Greeks called the peoples who lived south of the Sahara *Ethiopians*, which means “people with burnt faces.” The Berbers also described this region based on its inhabitants, coining the term *Akal-n-Iquinawen*, which survives today as *Guinea* (GIN-ee). The Arabs used the term *Bilad al-Sudan*, which survives as *Sudan*. The Berber and Arab terms both mean “land of the blacks.” South of the Sahara, short-statured peoples, sometimes inaccurately referred to as Pygmies, inhabited the equatorial rain forests. South of those forests, in the continent’s southern third, lived the Khoisan (KOI-sahn), people who were primarily hunters but also had domesticated livestock.

Ancient Egypt, at the crossroads of three continents, was a melting pot of different cultures, peoples, and languages. This diverse and cosmopolitan population contributed to the great achievements of Egyptian culture. Many scholars believe that Africans originating in the sub-Sahara resided in ancient Egypt, primarily in Upper Egypt (south of what is now Cairo), but that other ethnic groups constituted the majority of the population. Merchants based in the capital, Alexandria, carried on trade with East Asia, India, Arabia, East Africa, and across the Mediterranean Sea. (See “Global Viewpoints: Early Descriptions of Africa from Egypt,” page 262.)

GLOBAL VIEWPOINTS

Early Descriptions of Africa from Egypt

The Rosetta Stone is a stone slab engraved with three sets of inscriptions: one in ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics; one in a demotic, or common, Egyptian script used in everyday writing; and one in Greek as used by the Ptolemaic rulers (see “Building a Hellenized Society” in Chapter 5). The identical texts contain a Ptolemaic decree honoring Ptolemy V. By comparing the Greek and demotic texts against the hieroglyphics, scholars for the first time could decipher the hieroglyphs. The first excerpt comes from these texts.

The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* is the earliest known document describing the East African coast and the Indian Ocean trade. Written in Greek around 50 C.E., probably by an Egyptian merchant from Alexandria, the *Periplus* provides a detailed account of the author’s sea voyage for use by future travelers. The excerpt here describes the East African coast.

The Rosetta Stone

■ With good fortune! It has seemed fitting to the priests of all the temples of Egypt, as to the honours which are due to King Ptolemy, living forever, the Manifest God …, and those … due to the Father-loving Gods, who brought him into being, and those … due to the Beneficent Gods, … and those … due to the Brother-and-Sister Gods, … and those … due to the Saviour Gods, the ancestors of his ancestors, to increase them; and that a statue should be set up for King Ptolemy, … which should be called “Ptolemy who has protected the Bright Land,” the meaning of which is “Ptolemy who has preserved Egypt.” …

And there should be produced a cult image for King Ptolemy, … son of Ptolemy and Queen Arsinoe, the Father-loving Gods, … and a procession festival should be held in the temples and the whole of Egypt for King Ptolemy, … each year, … for five days, with garlands being worn, burnt offerings and libations being performed … ; and the priests … in each of the temples of Egypt should be called “The Priests of the Manifest God.” …

And the decree should be written on a stela of hard stone, in sacred writing, document writing, and Greek writing, and … set up in the first-class temples, the second-class temples and the third-class temples, next to the statue of the King, living forever.

Periplus of the Erythraean Sea

■ 15. After two courses of a day and night along the Ausanitic coast [coast of modern Zanzibar], is the island Menuthias, about three hundred stadia from the mainland, low and wooded, in which there are rivers and many kinds of birds and the mountain-tortoise. There are no wild beasts except the crocodiles; but there they do not attack men. In this place there are sewed boats, and canoes hollowed from single logs, which they use for fishing and catching tortoise. In this island they also catch them in a peculiar way, in wicker baskets, which they fasten across the channel-opening between the breakers.

16. Two days' sail beyond, there lies the very last market-town of the continent of Azania, which is called Rhapta…. Along this coast live men of piratical habits, very great in stature, and under separate chiefs for each place. The … chief governs … under some ancient right…. And the people of Muza now … send thither many large ships; using Arab captains and agents, who are familiar with the natives and intermarry with them, and who know the whole coast and understand the language.

17. There are imported into these markets the lances made at Muza especially for this trade, and hatchets and daggers and awls, and various kinds of glass; and at some places a little wine, and wheat, not for trade, but to serve for getting the good-will of the savages. There are exported from these places a great quantity of ivory, but inferior to that of Adulis, and rhinoceros-horn and tortoise-shell (which is in best demand after that from India), and a little palm-oil.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What information about Ptolemaic Egypt is contained in the Rosetta Stone texts?
2. Who are the various gods, besides the manifest god, Ptolemy, in the Rosetta Stone texts?
3. What aspects of the East African coast did the author of the *Periplus* write about, and how might these details benefit future travelers to the region?

Sources: Richard Parkinson, *Cracking Codes: The Rosetta Stone and Decipherment* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), pp. 199–200; W. H. Schoff, trans. and ed., *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea: Travel and Trade in the Indian Ocean by a Merchant of the First Century* (London, 1912), pp. 27–29.

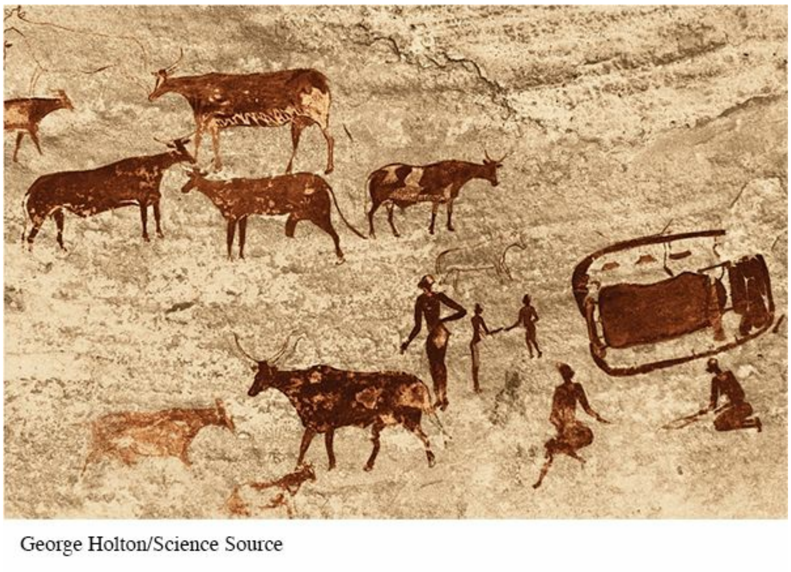
Early African Societies

How did agriculture affect life among the early societies in the western Sudan and among the Bantu-speaking societies of central and southern Africa?

The introduction of new crops from Asia and the establishment of settled agriculture profoundly changed many African societies, although the range of possibilities largely depended on local variations in climate and geography. Bantu-speakers took the knowledge of domesticated livestock and agriculture, along with the ironworking skills that had developed in northern and western Africa, and spread them south across central and southern Africa. The most prominent feature of early West African society was a strong sense of community based on blood relationships and religion.

Agriculture and Its Impact

Agriculture began very early in Africa. Knowledge of plant cultivation moved west from the Levant (leh-VANT) (modern Israel and Lebanon), arriving in the Nile Delta in Egypt about the fifth millennium B.C.E. Settled agriculture then traveled down the Nile Valley and moved west across the Sahel to the central and western Sudan. West Africans were living in agricultural communities by the first century B.C.E. From there plant cultivation spread to the equatorial forests. African farmers learned to domesticate plants. Cereal-growing people probably taught forest people to plant grains on plots of land cleared by a method known as "slash and burn." Gradually most Africans evolved a sedentary way of life: living in villages, clearing fields, relying on root crops, and fishing. Hunting-and-gathering societies survived only in scattered parts of Africa, particularly in the central rain forest region and in southern Africa.



George Holton/Science Source

Rock Painting at Tassili, Algeria This scene of cattle grazing while a man stands guard over them was found on a rock face in Tassili n'Ajjer, a mountainous region in the Sahara where over fifteen thousand of these paintings have been catalogued. The oldest date back 9,000–12,000 years. Behind the man are perhaps his two children at play and his two wives working together in the compound. A cow stands in the enclosure to the right.

Between 1500 B.C.E. and 1000 B.C.E.. agriculture also spread southward from Ethiopia along the Great Rift Valley of present-day Kenya and Tanzania. Archaeological evidence reveals that the peoples of East Africa grew cereals, raised cattle, and used wooden and stone tools. Cattle raising spread more quickly than did planting, the herds prospering on the open savannas that are free of tsetse (SEHT-see) flies, which are devastating to cattle. Early East African peoples prized cattle highly. Many trading agreements, marriage alliances, political compacts, and treaties were negotiated in terms of cattle.

Cereals such as millet and sorghum are indigenous to Africa. Scholars speculate that traders brought bananas, plantains, taros (a type of yam), sugarcane, and coconut palms to Africa from Southeast Asia between 900 and 1100 C.E. Because tropical forest conditions were ideal for banana plants, their cultivation spread rapidly. Throughout sub-Saharan Africa native peoples also domesticated donkeys, pigs, chickens, geese, and ducks, although all these came from outside Africa. The guinea fowl appears to be the only animal native to Africa that was domesticated, despite the wide varieties of animal species in Africa. All the other large animals — elephants, hippopotamuses, giraffes, rhinoceros, and zebras — were simply too temperamental to domesticate. The evolution from a hunter-gatherer life to a settled life had profound effects. In contrast to nomadic societies, settled societies made shared or common needs more apparent, and those needs strengthened ties among extended families. Agricultural and pastoral populations also increased, though scholars speculate that this increase did not remain steady, but rather fluctuated over time. Nor is it clear that population growth was accompanied by a commensurate increase in agricultural output.

Early African societies were similarly influenced by the spread of ironworking, though scholars dispute the route by which this technology spread to sub-Saharan Africa. Some believe the Phoenicians brought the iron-smelting technique to northwestern Africa, from which it spread southward. Others insist it spread westward from the Meroë (MEHR-oh-ee) region of the Nile. The great trans-Saharan trade routes may have carried ironworking south from the Mediterranean coast. In any case, ancient iron tools found at the village of Nok on the Jos Plateau in present-day Nigeria seem to prove that ironworking industries existed in West Africa by at least 700 B.C.E. The Nok culture, which enjoys enduring fame for its fine terra-cotta sculptures, flourished from about 800 B.C.E. to 200 C.E.

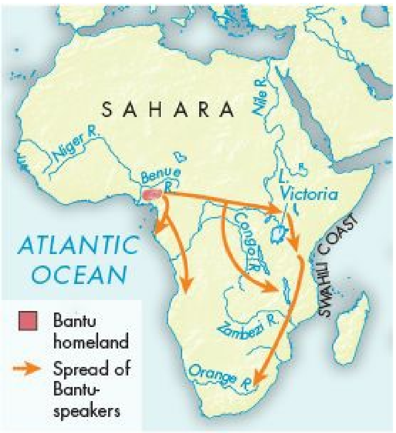
Bantu Migrations

The spread of ironworking is linked to the migrations of Bantu-speaking peoples. Today the overwhelming majority of the 70 million people living south and east of the Congo River speak a **Bantu** language. Lacking written sources, modern scholars have tried to reconstruct the history of Bantu-speakers on the basis of linguistics, oral traditions, archaeology, and anthropology. Botanists and zoologists have played particularly critical roles in providing information about early diets and environments. The word *Bantu* is a linguistic classification, and linguistics (the study of the nature, structure, and modification of human speech) has helped scholars explain the migratory patterns of African peoples east and south of the equatorial forest.

Bantu Speakers of a Bantu language living south and east of the Congo River.

Bantu-speaking peoples originated in the Benue (BEY-nwey) region, the borderlands of modern Cameroon and Nigeria. Between the first and second millennium B.C.E. they began to spread south and east into the equatorial forest zone. Historians still debate why they began this movement. Some hold that rapid population growth sent people in search of land. Others believe that the evolution of centralized kingdoms allowed rulers to expand their authority, while causing newly subjugated peoples to flee in the hope of regaining their independence.

Because the earliest Bantu-speakers lacked words for grains and cattle herding, they probably were not initially involved in grain cultivation or livestock domestication. During the next fifteen hundred years, Bantu-speakers migrated throughout the savanna, adopted mixed agriculture, and learned ironworking. Mixed agriculture (cultivating cereals and raising livestock) and ironworking were practiced in western East Africa (the region of modern Burundi) in the first century B.C.E. In the first millennium C.E. Bantu-speakers migrated into eastern and southern Africa. Here the Bantu-speakers, with their iron weapons, either killed, drove off, or assimilated the hunting-gathering peoples they met. Some of the assimilated inhabitants gradually adopted a Bantu language, contributing to the spread of Bantu culture.



Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Bantu Migrations, ca. 1000 B.C.E.–1500 C.E.

The settled cultivation of cereals, the keeping of livestock, and the introduction of new crops such as the banana — together with Bantu-speakers' intermarriage with indigenous peoples — led over a long period to considerable population increases and the need to migrate farther. The so-called Bantu migrations should not be seen as a single movement sweeping across Africa from west to east to south and displacing all peoples in its path. Rather, those migrations were an extended series of group interactions between Bantu-speakers and pre-existing peoples in which bits of culture, languages, economies, and technologies were shared and exchanged to produce a wide range of cultural variation across central and southern Africa.[1]

The Bantu-speakers' expansion and subsequent land settlement that dominated eastern and southern African history in the first fifteen hundred years of the Common Era were uneven. Significant environmental differences determined settlement patterns. Some regions had plenty of water, while others were very arid. These differences resulted in very uneven population distribution. The greatest population density seems to have been in the region bounded on the west by the Congo River and on the north, south, and east by Lakes Edward and Victoria and Mount Kilimanjaro (kil-uh-muhn-JAHR-oh). The rapid growth of the Bantu-speaking population led to further migration southward and eastward. By the eighth century the Bantu-speaking people had crossed the Zambezi River and had begun settling in the region of present-day Zimbabwe (zim-BAHB-wey). By the fifteenth century they had reached Africa's southeastern coast.

Life in the Kingdoms of the Western Sudan, ca. 1000 B.C.E.–800 C.E.

The **Sudan** (soo-DAN) is the region bounded by the Sahara to the north, the Gulf of Guinea to the south, the Atlantic Ocean to the west, and the mountains of Ethiopia to the east (see Map 10.1). In the western Sudan savanna a series of dynamic kingdoms emerged in the millennium before European intrusion began in the 1400s and 1500s.

Sudan The African region surrounded by the Sahara, the Gulf of Guinea, the Atlantic Ocean, and the mountains of Ethiopia

Between 1000 B.C.E. and 200 C.E. the peoples of the western Sudan made the momentous shift from nomadic hunting to settled agriculture. The rich savanna proved ideally suited to cereal production, especially rice, millet, and sorghum. People situated near the Senegal River and Lake Chad supplemented their diet with fish. Food supply affects population, and the region's inhabitants increased dramatically in number. By 400 C.E. the entire savanna, particularly around Lake Chad, the Niger (NIGH-juhr) River bend, and present-day central Nigeria, had a large population.

Families and clans affiliated by blood kinship lived together in villages or small city-states. The extended family formed the basic social unit. A chief, in consultation with a council of elders, governed a village. Some villages seem to have formed kingdoms. In this case, village chiefs were responsible to regional heads, who answered to provincial governors, who in turn were responsible to a king. The kings and their families formed an aristocracy.

Kingship in the Sudan may have emerged from the priesthood. African kings always had religious sanction or support for their authority, as they had the ability to negotiate with the gods, and were often considered divine. In this respect, early African kingship bears a strong resemblance to Germanic kingship of the same period (see “Political Developments” in Chapter 14).

Although the Mende (MEN-dee) in modern Sierra Leone was one of the few African societies to be led by female rulers, women exercised significant power and autonomy in many African societies. Among the Asante (uh-SAN-tee) in modern-day Ghana, one of the most prominent West African peoples, the king was considered divine but shared some royal power with the Queen Mother. She was a full member of the governing council and enjoyed full voting power in various matters of state. The Queen Mother initially chose the future king from eligible royal candidates. He then had to be approved by both his elders and the commoners. Among the Yoruba in modern Nigeria, the Queen Mother held the royal insignia and could refuse it if the future king did not please her. The institutions of female chiefs, known as *iyalode* among the Yoruba (YOHR-uh-buh) and *omu* among the Igbo (IG-boh) in modern Nigeria, were established to represent women in the political process. The *omu* was even considered a female co-ruler with the male chief.

Western Sudanese religions, like African religions elsewhere, were animistic and polytheistic. Most people believed that a supreme being had created the universe and was the source of all life. Nearly all African religions also recognized ancestral spirits, which might seek God’s blessings for families’ and communities’ prosperity and security as long as these groups behaved appropriately. If not, the ancestral spirits might not protect them from harm, and illness and misfortune could result. Some African religions believed as well that nature spirits lived in such things as the sky, forests, rocks, and rivers. These spirits controlled natural forces and had to be appeased. Because special ceremonies were necessary to satisfy the spirits, special priests with the knowledge and power to communicate with them through sacred rituals were needed. Family and village heads were often priests. Each family head was responsible for ceremonies honoring the family’s dead and living members.[2]

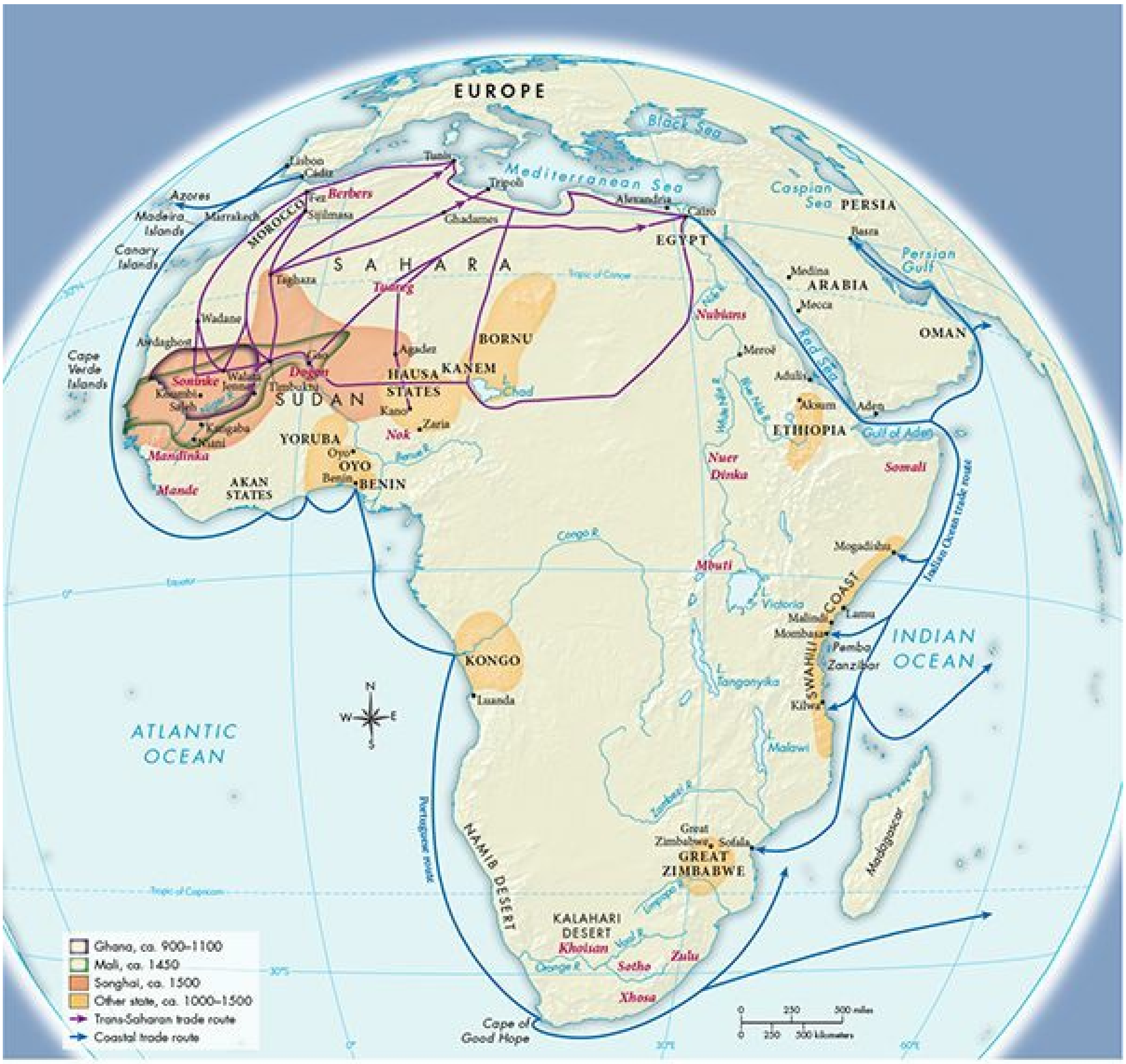
In some West African societies, oracles who spoke for the gods were particularly important. Some of the most famous were the Igbo oracles in modern Nigeria. These were female priestesses who were connected with a particular local deity that resided in a sacred cave or other site. Inhabitants of surrounding villages would come to the priestess to seek advice about such matters as crops and harvests, war, marriage, legal issues, and religion. Clearly, these priestesses held much power and authority, even over the local male rulers.

Kinship patterns and shared religious practices helped bind together the early western Sudan kingdoms. Islam’s spread across the Sahara by at least the ninth century C.E., however, created a north-south religious and cultural divide in the western Sudan. Islam advanced across the Sahel but halted when it reached the West African savanna and forest zones. Societies in these southern zones maintained their traditional animistic religious practices. Muslim empires along the Niger River’s great northern bend evolved into formidable powers ruling over sizable territory as they seized control of the southern termini of the trans-Saharan trade. What made this long-distance trade possible was the “ship of the desert,” the camel.

The Trans-Saharan Trade

What characterized trans-Saharan trade, and how did it affect West African society?

“Trans-Saharan trade” refers to the north-south trade across the Sahara (Map 10.2). The camel had an impact on this trade comparable to the very important impact of horses and oxen on European agriculture. Although scholars dispute exactly when the camel was introduced from Central Asia — first into North Africa, then into the Sahara and the Sudan — they agree that it was before 200 C.E. The trans-Saharan trade brought lasting economic and social change to Africa, facilitating the spread of Islam via Muslim Arab traders, and affected the development of world commerce.


EUROPE
Black Sea
Mediterranean Sea
Caspian Sea
PERSIA
Lisbon
Cádiz
Tunis
Tripoli
Alexandria
Cairo
Azores
Madeira Islands
Marrakech
Fez
Berbers
Sijilmasa
MOROCCO
Ghadames
EGYPT
Basra
Persian Gulf
Canary Islands
S A H A R A
Taghaza
Tuareg
Tropic of Cancer
Medina
ARABIA
Mecca
Nile R.
Nubians
OMAN
Wadane
Awdaghost
Agades
BORNU
Meroë
Red Sea
Cape Verde Islands
Soninke
Walata
Jenne
Koumbi
Saleh
Niger R.
Timbuktu
Gao
Dogon
HAUSA STATES
KANEM
L. Chad
SUDAN
Kano
Zaria
Nok
Adulis
Aksum
Aden
ETHIOPIA
Gulf of Aden
White Nile R.
Blue Nile R.
Kangaba
Niani
Mandinka
YORUBA
Oyo
OYO
Benue R.
Nuer
Dinka
Somali
Mande
AKAN STATES
Benin
BENIN
Indian Ocean trade route
Congo R.
Mogadishu
Mbuti
Equator
0°
L. Victoria
SWAHILI COAST
Malindi
Lamu
Mombasa
Pemba
Zanzibar
INDIAN OCEAN
KONGO
Luanda
L. Tanganyika
Kilwa
N
W
E
S
ATLANTIC OCEAN
L. Malawi
Portuguese route
NAMIB DESERT
Zambezi R.
Great Zimbabwe
Sofala
GREAT ZIMBABWE
Madagascar
Tropic of Capricorn
Limpopo R.
KALAHARI DESERT
Khoisan
Vaal R.
Orange R.
Sotho
Zulu
Xhosa
30°S
30°N
Cape of Good Hope
0
250
500 miles
0
250
500 kilometers
0°
30°E
60°E
▢ Ghana, ca. 900–1100
▢ Mali, ca. 1450
🟧 Songhai, ca. 1500
🟨 Other state, ca. 1000–1500
→ Trans-Saharan trade route
→ Coastal trade route

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin’s

Mapping the Past

MAP 10.2 African Kingdoms and Trade, ca. 800–1500 Throughout world history powerful kingdoms have generally been closely connected to far-flung trade networks.

ANALYZING THE MAP Which kingdoms, empires, and city-states were linked to the trans-Saharan trade network? Which were connected to the Indian Ocean trade network? To the Portuguese route?

CONNECTIONS How were the kingdoms, empires, and city-states shown on this map shaped by their proximity to trade routes?

The Berbers of North Africa

Sometime in the fifth century C.E. the North African **Berbers** (BUHR-buhrs) fashioned a saddle for use on the camel. The saddle gave the Berbers and later the region’s Arabian inhabitants maneuverability on the animal and thus a powerful political and military advantage: they came to dominate the desert and to create lucrative routes across it. The Berbers determined who could enter the desert, and they extracted large sums of protection money from merchant caravans in exchange for a safe trip.

Berbers North African peoples who controlled the caravan trade between the Mediterranean and the Sudan

Between 700 C.E. and 900 C.E. the Berbers developed a network of caravan routes between the Mediterranean coast and the Sudan (see Map 10.2). The long expedition across the Sahara testifies to the traders’ spirit and to their passion for wealth. Ibn Battuta, an Arab traveler in the fourteenth century, when the trade was at its height, left one of the best descriptions of the trans-Saharan traffic. (See “Individuals in Society: Ibn Battuta” in Chapter 9.)

Nomadic raiders, the Tuareg (TWAH-rehg), posed a serious threat to trans-Saharan traders. The Tuareg were Berbers who lived in the desert uplands and preyed on Nthe caravans as a way of life. To avoid being victimized, merchants made safe-conduct agreements with them and selected guides from among them. Large numbers of merchants crossed the desert together to discourage attack; caravans of twelve thousand camels were reported in the fourteenth century.

© A. Van Zandbergen/Africa Imagery/Africa Media Online/The Image Works

Tuareg Berber Camel Rider Berbers such as this man on his camel near Timbuktu in Mali have crossed the Sahara Desert for hundreds of years, transporting primarily salt from the north and returning with gold and other items from West Africa. The Tuareg are often referred to as the “Blue Men of the Sahara” because of their distinctive deeply dyed blue robes and turbans, which they still wear today.

Berber merchants from North Africa controlled the caravan trade that carried dates, salt (essential in tropical climates to replace the loss from perspiration) from the Saharan salt mines, and some manufactured goods

— silk and cotton cloth, beads, mirrors — to the Sudan. These products were exchanged for the much-coveted commodities of the West African savanna — gold, ivory, gum, kola nuts (eaten as a stimulant), and enslaved West African men and women who were sold to Muslim slave markets in Morocco, Algiers, Tripoli, and Cairo.

Effects of Trade on West African Society

The steady growth of trans-Saharan trade (Table 10.1) had three important effects on West African society. First, trade stimulated gold mining. Parts of modern-day Senegal, Nigeria, and Ghana contained rich veins of gold, and scholars estimate that by the eleventh century nine tons of gold were exported to the Mediterranean coast and Europe annually — a prodigious amount for the time, since even with modern machinery and sophisticated techniques, total gold exports from the same region in 1937 amounted to only twenty-one tons. Some of this metal went to Egypt. From there it was transported down the Red Sea and eventually to India (see Map 9.2) to pay for the spices and silks demanded by Mediterranean commerce. In this way, African gold linked the entire world, exclusive of the Western Hemisphere.

Second, trade in gold and other goods created a desire for slaves. Slaves were West Africa's second-most-valuable export (after gold). Slaves worked the gold and salt mines, and in Muslim North Africa, southern Europe, and southwestern Asia there was a high demand for household slaves among the elite. African slaves, like their early European and Asian counterparts, seem to have been peoples captured in war. Recent research suggests, moreover, that large numbers of black slaves were also recruited for Muslim military service through the trans-Saharan trade. Table 10.1 shows the scope of the trans-Saharan slave trade. The total number of blacks enslaved over an 850-year period between 650 and 1500 C.E. may be tentatively estimated at more than 4 million.[3]

TABLE 10.1 **Estimated Magnitude of Trans-Saharan Slave Trade, 650–1500**

YEARS	ANNUAL AVERAGE OF SLAVES TRADED	TOTAL
650–800	1,000	150,000
800–900	3,000	300,000
900–1100	8,700	1,740,000
1100–1400	5,500	1,650,000
1400–1500	4,300	430,000

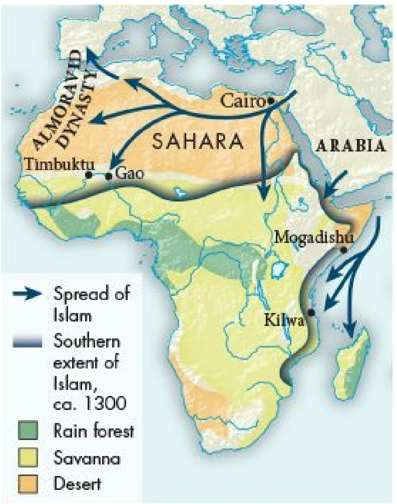
Source: R. A. Austen, “The Trans-Saharan Slave Trade: A Tentative Census,” in *The Uncommon Market: Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic Slave Trade*, ed. H. A. Gemery and J. S. Hogendorn (New York: Academic Press, 1979).

Slavery in Muslim societies, as in European and Asian countries before the fifteenth century, was not based on skin color. Muslims also enslaved Caucasians who had been purchased, seized in war, or kidnapped from Europe. Wealthy Muslim households in Córdoba, Alexandria, and Tunis often included slaves of a number of races, all of whom had been completely cut off from their cultural roots. Likewise, West African kings who sold blacks to northern traders also bought a few white slaves — Slavic, British, and Turkish — for their own domestic needs. Race had little to do with the phenomenon of slavery.

The third important effect of trans-Saharan trade on West African society was its role in stimulating the development of urban centers. Scholars date the growth of African cities from around the early ninth century. Families that had profited from trade tended to congregate in the border zones between the savanna and the Sahara. They acted as middlemen between the miners to the south and the Muslim merchants from the north. By the early thirteenth century these families had become powerful merchant dynasties. Muslim traders from the Mediterranean settled permanently in the trading depots, from which they organized the trans-Saharan caravans. The concentration of people stimulated agriculture and the craft industries. Gradually cities of sizable population emerged. Jenne (JENN-ay), Gao (GAH-oh), and Timbuktu (tim-buhk-TOO), which enjoyed commanding positions on the Niger River bend, became centers of the export-import trade. Sijilmasa (sih-jil-MAS-suh) grew into a thriving market center. Koumbi Saleh, with between fifteen thousand and twenty thousand inhabitants, was probably the largest city in the western Sudan in the twelfth century. (By European standards, Koumbi Saleh was a metropolis; London and Paris achieved this size only in the late thirteenth century.) Between 1100 and 1400 these cities played a dynamic role in West Africa’s commercial life and became centers of intellectual creativity.

The Spread of Islam in Africa

Perhaps the most influential consequence of the trans-Saharan trade was the introduction of Islam to West Africa. In the eighth century Arab invaders overran all of coastal North Africa. They introduced the Berbers living there to Islam (see “Trade and Commerce” in Chapter 9), and gradually the Berbers became Muslims. As traders, these Berbers carried Islam to sub-Saharan West Africa. From the eleventh century onward militant Almoravids (al-MAWR-uh-vids), a coalition of fundamentalist western Saharan Berbers, preached Islam to the rulers of Ghana, Mali, Songhai, and Kanem-Bornu. These rulers, admiring Muslim administrative techniques and wanting to protect their kingdoms from Muslim Berber attacks, converted to Islam. Some merchants also sought to preserve their elite mercantile status with the Berbers by adopting Islam. Muslims quickly became integral to West African government and society. Hence, from roughly 1000 to 1400, Islam in West Africa was a class-based religion with conversion inspired by political or economic motives. Rural people in the Sahel region and the savanna and forest peoples farther south, however, largely retained their traditional animism.



Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

The Spread of Islam in Africa

Conversion to Islam introduced West Africans to a rich and sophisticated culture. By the late eleventh century Muslims were guiding the ruler of Ghana in the operation of his administrative machinery. Because efficient government depends on keeping and preserving records, Islam's arrival in West Africa marked the advent of written documents there. Arab Muslims also taught Ghana's rulers how to manufacture bricks, and royal palaces and mosques began to be built of brick. African rulers corresponded with Arab and North African Muslim architects, theologians, and other intellectuals, who advised them on statecraft and religion. Islam accelerated the development of the West African empires of the ninth through fifteenth centuries.

After the Muslim conquest of Alexandria, Egypt, in 641 (see "Islamic States and Their Expansion" in Chapter 9), Islam spread southward from

Egypt up the Nile Valley and west to Darfur (dahr-FOOR) and Wadai (wah-digh). This Muslim penetration came not suddenly by military force but, as in the trans-Saharan trade routes in West Africa, gradually through commercial networks.

Muslim expansion from the Arabian peninsula across the Red Sea to the Horn of Africa, then southward along the coast of East Africa, represents a third direction of Islam's growth in Africa. From ports on the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden (AHD-en), maritime trade carried Islam to East Africa and the Indian Ocean. Between the eighth and tenth centuries Muslims founded the port city of **Mogadishu** (maw-gah-DEE-shoo), today Somalia's capital. In the twelfth century Mogadishu developed into a Muslim sultanate. Archaeological evidence, confirmed by Arabic sources, reveals a rapid Islamic expansion along Africa's east coast in the thirteenth century as far south as Kilwa (KILL-wa), where Ibn Battuta visited a center for Islamic law in 1331.

Mogadishu A Muslim port city in East Africa founded between the eighth and tenth centuries; today it is the capital of Somalia

African Kingdoms and Empires, ca. 800–1500

How were the East African city-states, Aksum, and Great Zimbabwe different from and similar to the kingdoms of the western Sudan?

All African societies shared one basic feature: a close relationship between political and social organization. Ethnic or blood ties bound clan members together. What scholars call **stateless societies** were culturally homogeneous ethnic societies, generally organized around kinship groups. The smallest ones numbered fewer than a hundred people and were nomadic hunting groups. Larger stateless, or decentralized, societies, such as the Tiv in modern central Nigeria, consisted of perhaps several thousand people who lived a settled and often agricultural and/or herding life. These societies lacked a central authority figure, such as a king, capital city, or military. A village or group of villages might recognize a chief who held very limited powers and whose position was not hereditary, but more commonly they were governed by local councils, whose members were either elders or persons of merit. Although stateless societies functioned successfully, their weakness lay in their inability to organize and defend themselves against attack by the powerful armies of neighboring kingdoms or by the European powers of the colonial era.

stateless societies African societies bound together by ethnic or blood ties rather than by being political states

While stateless societies were relatively common in Africa, the period from about 800 to 1500 is best known as the age of Africa's great empires (see Map 10.2). This period witnessed the flowering of several powerful African states. In the western Sudan the large empires of Ghana, Mali (MAH-lee), and Songhai (song-GAH-ee) developed, complete with sizable royal bureaucracies. On the east coast emerged thriving city-states based on sophisticated mercantile activities and, like the western Sudan, heavily influenced by Islam. In Ethiopia, in central East Africa, kings relied on their peoples' Christian faith to strengthen political authority. In southern Africa the empire of Great Zimbabwe, built on the gold trade with the east coast, flourished.

The Kingdom of Ghana, ca. 900–1100

So remarkable was the kingdom of **Ghana** (GAH-nuh) during the age of

Africa's great empires that Arab and North African visitors praised it as a model for other rulers. Even in modern times, ancient Ghana holds a central place in Africa's historical consciousness. When the British Gold Coast colony gained its independence in 1957, its new leaders paid tribute to their heritage by naming their new country Ghana. Although modern Ghana lies far from the site of the old kingdom, the name was selected to signify the rebirth of ancient Ghana's illustrious past.

Ghana From the word for "war chief," the name of a large and influential African kingdom inhabited by the Soninke people

The Soninke (so-NING-kee) people inhabited the nucleus of the territory that became the Ghanaian kingdom. They called their ruler *ghana*, or war chief. By the late eighth century Muslim traders and other foreigners applied the king's title to the region where the Soninke lived, the kingdom south of the Sahara. The Soninke themselves called their land Wagadou (WAH-guh-doo). Only the southern part of Wagadou received enough rainfall to be agriculturally productive, and it was here that the civilization of Ghana developed (see Map 10.2). Skillful farming and efficient irrigation systems led to abundant crop production, which eventually supported a population of as many as two hundred thousand.

In 992 Ghana captured the Berber town of Awdaghost (OW-duh-gost), strategically situated on the trans-Saharan trade route. Thereafter Ghana controlled the southern portion of a major caravan route. Before the year 1000 Ghana's rulers had extended their influence almost to the Atlantic coast and had captured a number of small kingdoms in the south and east. By the early eleventh century the Ghanaian king exercised sway over a territory approximately the size of Texas. No other power in the western Sudan could successfully challenge him.

Throughout this vast West African territory, all authority sprang from the king. Religious ceremonies and court rituals emphasized the king's sacredness and were intended to strengthen his authority. The king's position was hereditary in the matrilineal line — that is, the ruling king's heir was one of the king's sister's sons (presumably the eldest or fittest for battle). According to the eleventh-century Spanish Muslim geographer al-Bakri (1040?–1094), "This is their custom … the kingdom is inherited only by the son of the king's sister. He the king has no doubt that his successor is a son of his sister, while he is not certain that his son is in fact his own."[4] A council of ministers assisted the king in the work of government, and from the ninth century on most of these ministers were Muslims. The royal administration was well served by ideas, skills, and especially literacy brought from the North African and Arab Muslim worlds. The king and his people, however, clung to their ancestral religion and basic cultural institutions.

The Ghanaian king held court in the large and vibrant city of **Koumbi Saleh** (KOOM-bi SA-lah), which was actually two towns, one inhabited by the king and his royal court and the other by Muslims. Al-Bakri provides a valuable description of the Muslim part of the town in the eleventh century:

Koumbi Saleh The city in which the king of Ghana held his court

> The city of Ghana consists of two towns lying on a plain, one of which is inhabited by Muslims and is large, possessing twelve mosques — one of which is a congregational mosque for Friday prayer; each has its imam, its muezzin and paid reciters of the Quran. The town possesses a large number of jurisconsults and learned men.[5]

Either to protect themselves or to preserve their special identity, the Muslims of Koumbi Saleh lived separately from the African artisans and tradespeople. Ghana’s Muslim community was large and prosperous, and Muslim religious leaders exercised civil authority over their fellow Muslims. The presence of religious leaders and other learned Muslims suggests that Koumbi Saleh was a city of vigorous intellectual activity.

Al-Bakri also described the royal court:

> The town inhabited by the king is six miles from the Muslim one and is called Al Ghana…. The residence of the king consists of a palace and a number of dome-shaped dwellings, all of them surrounded by a strong enclosure, like a city wall. In the town … is a mosque, where Muslims who come on diplomatic missions to the king pray.[6]
>
> The king adorns himself, as do the women here, with necklaces and bracelets; on their heads they wear caps decorated with gold, sewn on material of fine cotton stuffing. When he holds court in order to hear the people’s complaints and to do justice, he sits in a pavilion around which stand ten horses wearing golden trappings; behind him ten pages stand, holding shields and swords decorated with gold; at his right are the sons of the chiefs of the country, splendidly dressed and with their hair sprinkled with gold…. When the king’s coreligionists appear before him, they fall on their knees and toss dust on their heads — this is their way of greeting their sovereign. Muslims

> show respect by clapping their hands.[7]

Justice derived from the king, who heard cases at court or on his travels throughout his kingdom. As al-Bakri recounts:

> When a man is accused of denying a debt or of having shed blood or some other crime, a headman (village chief) takes a thin piece of wood, which is sour and bitter to taste, and pours upon it some water which he then gives to the defendant to drink. If the man vomits, his innocence is recognized and he is congratulated. If he does not vomit and the drink remains in his stomach, the accusation is accepted as justified.[8]

This appeal to the supernatural for judgment was similar to the justice by ordeal that prevailed among the Germanic peoples of western Europe at the same time (see “Law and Justice” in Chapter 14).

The king’s elaborate court, the administrative machinery he built, and the extensive territories he governed were all expensive. To support the kingdom, the royal estates — some hereditary, others conquered in war — produced annual revenue, mostly in the form of foodstuffs for the royal household. The king also received tribute annually from subordinate chieftains. Customs duties on goods entering and leaving the country generated revenues as well. Salt was the largest import. Berber merchants paid a tax to the king on the cloth, metalwork, weapons, and other goods they brought into the country from North Africa; in return these traders received royal protection from bandits. African traders bringing gold into Ghana from the south also paid the customs duty.

Finally, the royal treasury held a monopoly on the export of gold. The gold industry was undoubtedly the king’s largest source of income. Medieval Ghana’s fame rested on gold. The ninth-century Persian geographer al-Ya-qubi wrote, “Its king is mighty, and in his lands are gold mines. Under his authority are various other kingdoms — and in all this region there is gold.”[9] The governing aristocracy — the king, his court, and Muslim administrators — occupied the highest rung on the Ghanaian social ladder. On the next rung stood the merchant class. Considerably below the merchants stood the farmers, cattle breeders, gold mine supervisors, and skilled craftsmen and weavers — what today might be called the middle class. Some merchants and miners must have enjoyed great wealth, but, as in all aristocratic societies, money alone did not grant prestige. High status was based on blood and royal service. On the social ladder’s lowest rung were slaves, who worked in households, on farms, and in the mines. As in Asian and European societies of the time, slaves accounted for only a small percentage of the population.

Apart from these social classes stood the army. Ghana’s king maintained at his palace a standing force of a thousand men, comparable to the bodyguards of the Roman emperors. These thoroughly disciplined, well-armed, totally loyal troops protected the king and the royal court. They lived in special compounds, enjoyed the king’s favor, and sometimes acted as his personal ambassadors to subordinate rulers. In wartime this regular army was augmented by levies of soldiers from conquered peoples and by the use of slaves and free reserves.

The reasons for ancient Ghana’s decline are still a matter of much debate. The most commonly accepted theory for Ghana’s rapid decline is that the Berber Almoravid dynasty of North Africa invaded and conquered Ghana around 1100 and forced its rulers and people to convert to Islam. Some historians examining this issue have concluded that while Almoravid and Islamic pressures certainly disrupted the empire, weakening it enough for its incorporation into the rising Mali empire, there was no Almoravid military invasion and subsequent forced conversion to Islam.[10]

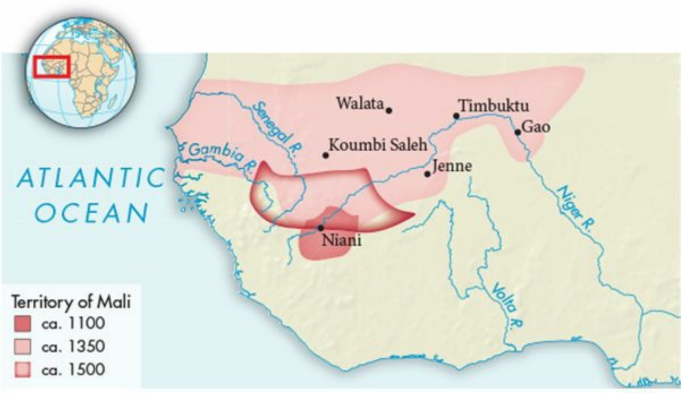
The Kingdom of Mali, ca. 1200–1450

Ghana and its capital of Koumbi Saleh were in decline between 1100 and 1200. The old empire split into several small kingdoms that feuded among themselves. One people, the Mandinka (man-DING-goh), from the kingdom of Kangaba on the upper Niger River, gradually asserted their dominance over these kingdoms. The Mandinka had long been part of the Ghanaian empire, and the Mandinka and Soninke belonged to the same language group. Kangaba formed the core of the new empire of Mali. Building on Ghanaian foundations, Mali developed into a better-organized and more powerful state than Ghana.

Mali owed its greatness to two fundamental assets. First, its strong agricultural and commercial base supported a large population and provided enormous wealth. Second, Mali had two rulers, Sundiata (soon-JAH-tuh) and Mansa Musa, who combined military success with exceptionally creative personalities.

The earliest surviving evidence about the Mandinka, dating from the early eleventh century, indicates that they were extremely successful at agriculture. Consistently large harvests throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries meant a plentiful food supply, which encouraged steady population growth. Kangaba’s geographical location also ideally positioned the Mandinka in the heart of the West African trade networks. Earlier, during the period of Ghanaian hegemony, the Mandinka had acted as middlemen in the gold and salt traffic flowing north and south. In the thirteenth century Mandinka traders formed companies, traveled widely, and gradually became a major force in the entire West African trade.

Mali’s founder, Sundiata (r. ca. 1230–1255), set up his capital at Niani, transforming the city into an important financial and trading center. He then embarked on a policy of imperial expansion. Through a series of military victories, Sundiata and his successors absorbed into Mali other territories of the former kingdom of Ghana and established hegemony over the trading cities of Gao, Jenne, and Walata.



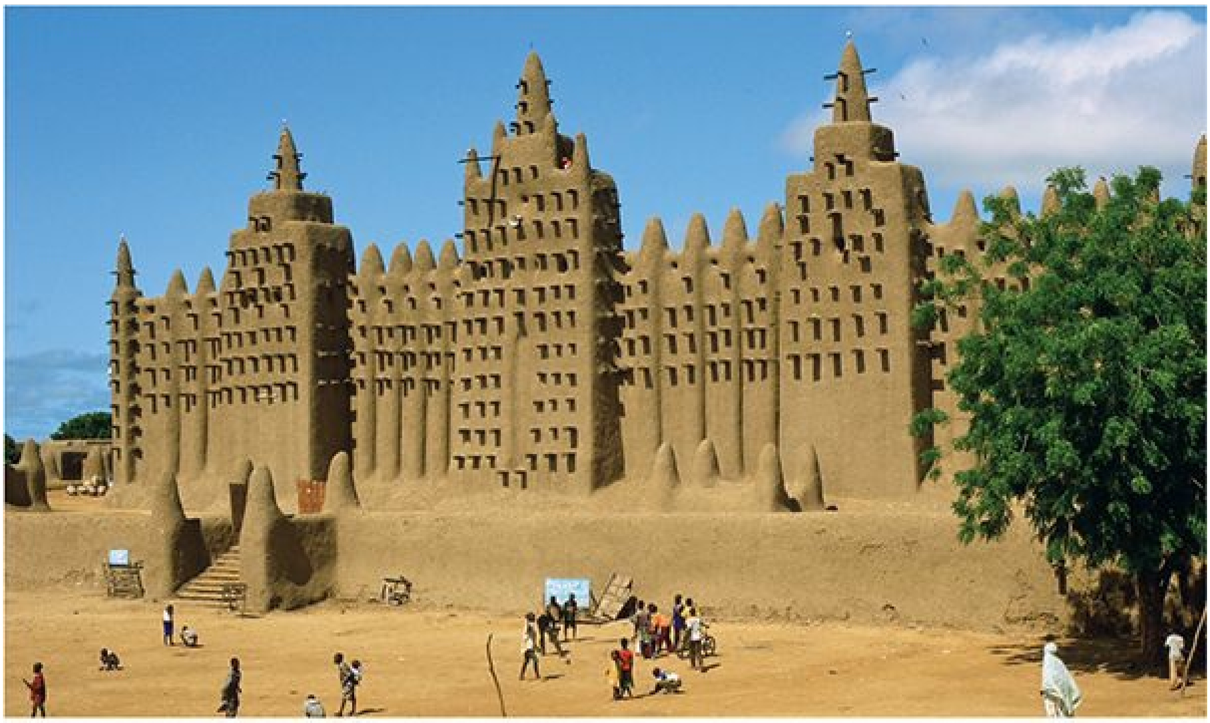
Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin’s

The Expansion of Mali, ca. 1200–1450

These expansionist policies were continued in the fourteenth century by Sundiata’s descendant Mansa Musa (MAHN-sa MOO-sa) (r. ca. 1312–1337), early Africa’s most famous ruler. In the language of the Mandinka, *mansa* means “emperor.” Ultimately Mansa Musa’s influence extended northward to several Berber cities in the Sahara, eastward to the trading cities of Timbuktu and Gao, and westward to the Atlantic Ocean. Throughout his territories, he maintained strict royal control over the flourishing trans-Saharan trade. Thus this empire, roughly twice the size of the Ghanaian kingdom and containing perhaps 8 million people, brought Mansa Musa fabulous wealth.

Mansa Musa built on the foundations of his predecessors. Malian society’s stratified aristocratic structure perpetuated the pattern set in Ghana, as did the system of provincial administration and annual tribute. The emperor took responsibility for the territories that formed the heart of the empire and appointed governors to rule the outlying provinces and dependent kingdoms. But Mansa Musa made a significant innovation: in a practice strikingly similar to a system used in both China and France at the time, he appointed royal family members as provincial governors.

In another aspect of administration, Mansa Musa also differed from his predecessors. He became a devout Muslim. Although most of the Mandinka remained animists, Islamic practices and influences in Mali multiplied.



Gerard Degeorge/akg-images

The Great Friday Mosque, Jenne The mosque at Jenne was built in the form of a parallelogram. Inside, nine long rows of adobe columns run along a north-south axis and support a flat roof of palm logs. A pointed arch links each column to the next in its row, forming nine east-west archways facing the *mihrab*, the niche in the wall of the mosque indicating the direction of Mecca, and from which the imam speaks. This mosque (rebuilt in 1907 based on the original thirteenth-century structure) testifies to the considerable wealth, geometrical knowledge, and manpower of Mali.

The most celebrated event of Mansa Musa’s reign was his pilgrimage to Mecca in 1324–1325, during which he paid a state visit to the Egyptian sultan. Mansa Musa’s entrance into Cairo was magnificent. Preceded by five hundred slaves, each carrying a six-pound staff of gold, he followed with a huge host of retainers, including one hundred elephants each bearing one hundred pounds of gold. The emperor lavished his wealth on the citizens of the Egyptian capital. Writing twelve years later, al-Omari, one of the sultan’s officials, recounts:

> This man Mansa Musa spread upon Cairo the flood of his generosity: there was no person, officer of the court, or holder of any office of the Sultanate who did not receive a sum of gold from him. The people of Cairo earned incalculable sums from him, whether by buying and selling or by gifts. So much gold was current in Cairo that it ruined the value of money.[11]

As a result of this pilgrimage, for the first time the Mediterranean world learned firsthand of Mali’s wealth and power, and the kingdom began to be known as one of the world’s great empires. Mali retained this international reputation into the fifteenth century. Musa’s pilgrimage also had significant consequences within Mali. He gained some understanding of the Mediterranean countries and opened diplomatic relations with the Muslim rulers of Morocco and Egypt. His zeal for the Muslim faith and Islamic culture increased. Musa brought back from Arabia the distinguished architect al-Saheli, whom he commissioned to build new mosques in Timbuktu and other cities. These mosques served as centers for African conversion to Islam.

Timbuktu began as a campsite for desert nomads, but under Mansa Musa it grew into a thriving entrepôt (trading center), attracting merchants and traders from North Africa and all parts of the Mediterranean world. They brought with them cosmopolitan attitudes and ideas. In the fifteenth century Timbuktu developed into a great center for scholarship and learning. Architects, astronomers, poets, lawyers, mathematicians, and theologians flocked there. One hundred fifty schools, for men only, were devoted to Qur’anic studies. The school of Islamic law enjoyed a distinction comparable to the prestige of the Cairo school (see “Education and Intellectual Life” in Chapter 9). The vigorous traffic in books that flourished in Timbuktu made them the most common items of trade. Timbuktu’s tradition and reputation for African scholarship lasted until the eighteenth century.

Timbuktu Originally a campsite for desert nomads, it grew into a thriving city under Mansa Musa, king of Mali and Africa’s most famous ruler

Moreover, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries many Arab and North African Muslim intellectuals and traders married native African women. The necessity of living together harmoniously, the traditional awareness of diverse cultures, and Timbuktu’s cosmopolitan atmosphere contributed to a rare degree of racial tolerance and understanding. After visiting the court of Mansa Musa’s successor in 1352–1353, Ibn Battuta observed:

> [T]he Negroes possess some admirable qualities. They are seldom unjust, and have a greater abhorrence of injustice than any other people. Their sultan shows no mercy to anyone who is guilty of the least act of it. There is complete security in their country. Neither traveler nor inhabitant in it has anything to fear from robbers.… They do not confiscate the property of any

> white man who dies in their country, even if it be uncounted wealth. On the contrary, they give it into the charge of some trustworthy person among the whites.[12]

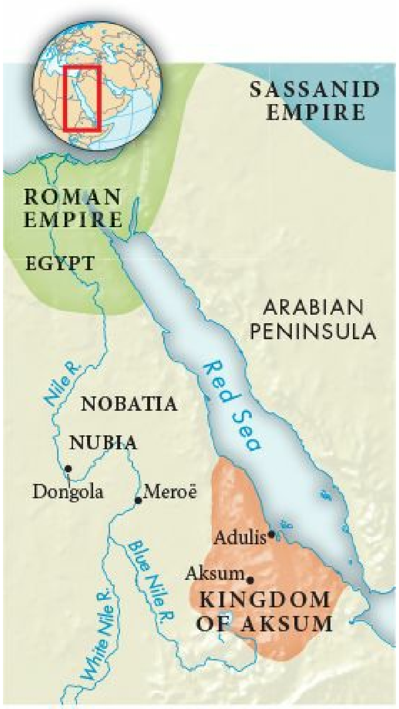
The third great West African empire, Songhai, succeeded Mali in the fifteenth century. It encompassed the old empires of Ghana and Mali and extended its territory farther north and east to become one of the largest African empires in history (see Map 10.2).

Ethiopia: The Christian Kingdom of Aksum

Just as the ancient West African empires were significantly affected by Islam and the Arab culture that accompanied it, the African kingdoms that arose in modern Sudan and Ethiopia in northeast Africa were heavily influenced by Egyptian culture, and they influenced it in return. This was particularly the case in ancient Nubia (NOO-bee-uh). Nubia's capital was at Meroë (see Map 10.2); thus the country is often referred to as the Nubian kingdom of Meroë.

As part of the Roman Empire, Egypt was subject to Hellenistic and Roman cultural forces, and it became an early center of Christianity. Nubia, however, was never part of the Roman Empire; its people retained ancient Egyptian religious ideas. Christian missionaries traveled to the Upper Nile region and successfully converted the Nubian rulers around 600 C.E. By that time, there were three separate Nubian states, of which the kingdom of Nobatia, centered at Dongola, was the strongest. The Christian rulers of Nobatia had close ties with the **Aksum** (AHK-soom) kingdom in Ethiopia, and through this relationship Egyptian culture spread to Ethiopia.

Aksum A kingdom in northwestern Ethiopia that was a sizable trading state and the center of Christian culture



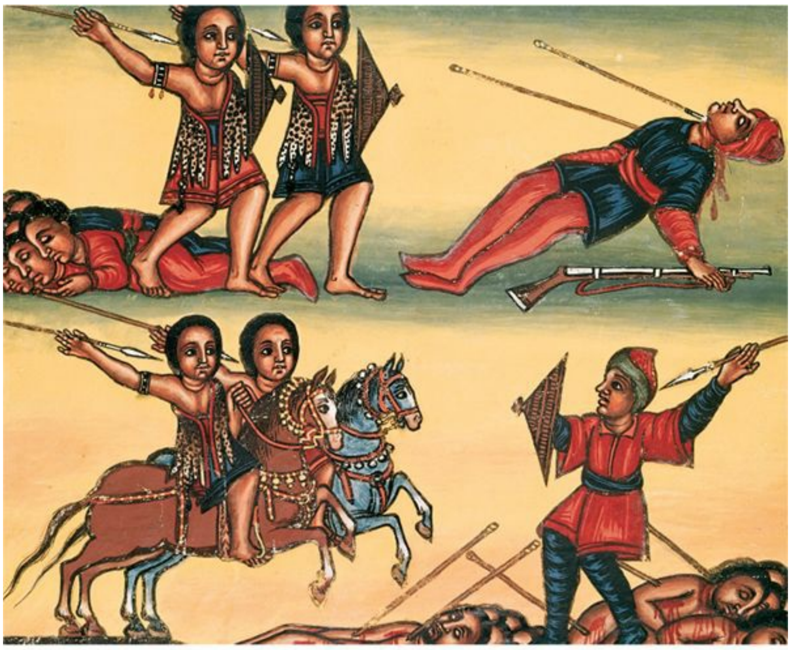
Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

The Kingdom of Aksum, ca. 600

Two-thirds of Ethiopia consists of the Ethiopian highlands, the rugged plateau region of East Africa. The Great Rift Valley divides this territory into two massifs (mountain masses), of which the Ethiopian Plateau is the larger. Sloping away from each side of the Great Rift Valley are a series of mountains and valleys. Together with this mountainous environment, the three Middle Eastern religions — Judaism, Christianity, and Islam — have all influenced Ethiopian society.

By the first century C.E. the Aksum kingdom in northwestern Ethiopia was a sizable trading state. Merchants at Adulis (ah-DUL-uhs), its main port on the Red Sea, sold ivory, gold, emeralds, rhinoceros horns, shells, and slaves to the Sudan, Arabia, Yemen, and various cities across the Indian Ocean in exchange for glass, ceramics, fabrics, sugar, oil, spices, and precious gems. Adulis contained temples, stone-built houses, and irrigated agriculture. Between the first and eighth centuries Aksum served as the capital of an empire extending over much of what is now northern Ethiopia. The empire's prosperity rested on trade.

Islam's expansion into northern Ethiopia in the eighth century weakened Aksum's commercial prosperity. The Arabs first ousted the Greek Byzantine merchants who traded on the Dahlak Archipelago (in the southern Red Sea) and converted the islands' inhabitants. Then Muslims attacked and destroyed Adulis. Some Aksumites converted to Islam; many others found refuge in the rugged mountains north of the kingdom, where they were isolated from outside contacts. Thus began the insularity that characterized later Ethiopian society.



© The British Library Board/The Image Works

Christianity and Islam in Ethiopia The prolonged contest between the two religions in Ethiopia was periodically taken to the battlefield. This drawing from the eighteenth century by an Ethiopian artist shows his countrymen (left) advancing victoriously and celebrates national military success.

Tradition ascribes to Frumentius (froo-MEN-shee-uhs) (ca. 300–380 C.E.), a Syrian Christian trader, the introduction of Coptic (KAHP-tik) Christianity, an Orthodox form of Christianity that originated in Egypt, into Ethiopia. Kidnapped as a young boy en route from India to Tyre (in southern Lebanon), Frumentius was taken to Aksum, given his freedom, and appointed tutor to the future king, Ezana (ee-ZAHN-ah). Upon Ezana's accession to the throne, Frumentius went to Alexandria, Egypt, where he was consecrated the first bishop of Aksum around 328 C.E. He then returned to Ethiopia with some priests to spread Christianity. Shortly after members of the royal court accepted Christianity in about 350 C.E., it became the Ethiopian state religion. Ethiopia's future was to be inextricably linked to Christianity, a unique situation in sub-Saharan Africa.

Ethiopia's acceptance of Christianity led to the production of ecclesiastical documents and royal chronicles, making Ethiopia the first sub-Saharan African society that can be studied from written records. The

Scriptures were translated into Ge'ez (gee-EHZ), an ancient language and script used in Ethiopia and Aksum. Pagan temples were dedicated to Christian saints, and, as in early medieval Ireland and in the Orthodox Church of the Byzantine world, monasteries were the Christian faith's main cultural institutions in Ethiopia. As the Ethiopian state expanded, vibrant monasteries provided inspiration for the establishment of convents for nuns, as in medieval Europe (see "Monastic Life" in Chapter 14).

Monastic records provide fascinating information about early Ethiopian society. Settlements were formed on the warm and moist plateau lands. Farmers used a scratch plow (unique in sub-Saharan Africa) to cultivate wheat and barley, and they regularly rotated these cereals. Plentiful rainfall seems to have helped produce abundant crops, which in turn led to population growth. Because of ecclesiastical opposition to polygyny (the practice of having multiple wives), monogamy was the norm, other than for kings and the very rich. An abundance of land meant that young couples could establish independent households. Widely scattered farms, with the parish church as the central social unit, seem to have been the usual pattern of existence.

Above the broad class of peasant farmers stood warrior-nobles. Their wealth and status derived from their fighting skills, which kings rewarded with grants of estates and with the right to collect tribute from the peasants. To acquire lands and to hold warriors' loyalty, Ethiopian kings pursued a policy of constant territorial expansion. (See "Individuals in Society: Amda Siyon," page 275.) Nobles maintained order in their regions, supplied kings with fighting men, and displayed their superior status by the size of their households and their generosity to the poor.

Sometime in the fourteenth century six scribes in the Tigrayan (tee-GREY-uhn) highlands of Ethiopia combined oral tradition, Jewish and Islamic commentaries, apocryphal (noncanonical) Christian texts, and the writings of the early Christian Church fathers to produce the *Kebra Nagast* (The Glory of Kings). This history served the authors' goals: it became an Ethiopian national epic, glorifying a line of rulers descended from the Hebrew king Solomon (see "The Hebrews" in Chapter 2), arousing patriotic feelings, and linking Ethiopia's identity to the Judeo-Christian tradition. The book deals mostly with the origins of Emperor Menilek I (MEN-uh-lik) of Ethiopia in the tenth century B.C.E.

The *Kebra Nagast* asserts that Queen Makeda (ma-KAY-da) of Ethiopia (called Sheba in the Jewish tradition) had little governmental experience when she came to the throne. So she sought the advice and wise counsel of King Solomon (r. ca. 965–925 B.C.E.) in Jerusalem. (See "Analyzing the Evidence: The Queen of Sheba and King Solomon," page

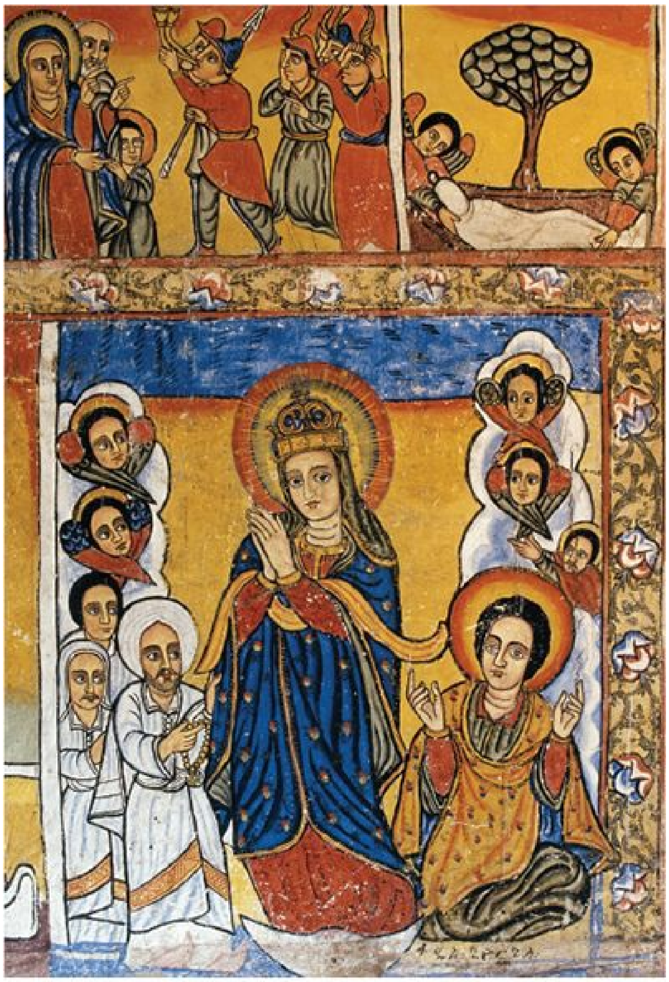
276.) Makeda learned Jewish statecraft, converted to Judaism, and expressed her gratitude to Solomon with rich gifts of spices, gems, and gold. During this visit, Solomon tricked Makeda into allowing him into her bed. Their son, Menilek, was born some months later. When Menilek reached maturity, he visited Solomon in Jerusalem. There Solomon anointed him crown prince of Ethiopia and sent a retinue of young Jewish nobles to accompany him home as courtiers. Unable to face life without the Hebrews' Ark of the Covenant, the courtiers stole the cherished wooden chest, which the Hebrews believed contained the Ten Commandments. God apparently approved the theft, for he lifted the youths, pursued by Solomon's army, across the Red Sea and into Ethiopia. Thus, according to the *Kebra Nagast*, Menilek avenged his mother's shame, and God gave his legal covenant to Ethiopia, Israel's successor.[13] Although written around twenty-three hundred years after the events, the myths and legends contained in the *Kebra Nagast* effectively served the purpose of building nationalistic fervor.

Based on this lineage, from the tenth to the sixteenth centuries, and even in the Ethiopian constitution of 1955, Ethiopia's rulers claimed they belonged to the Solomonic line of succession. Thus the church and state in Ethiopia were inextricably linked.

In the later thirteenth century the dynasty of the Solomonic kings witnessed a literary and artistic renaissance particularly notable for works of hagiography (biographies of saints), biblical exegesis (critical explanation or interpretation of the Bible), and manuscript illumination. The most striking feature of Ethiopian society from 500 to 1500 was the close relationship between the church and the state. Christianity inspired fierce devotion and equated doctrinal heresy with political rebellion, thus reinforcing central monarchical power.

INDIVIDUALS IN SOCIETY

Amda Siyon



De Agostini Picture Library/akg-images

Colorful biblical scenes adorn the interior of the Urai Kidane Miharet Church, one of the many monasteries established by Amda Siyon.

SCHOLARS CONSIDER AMDA SIYON (r. 1314–1344) THE greatest ruler of Ethiopia’s Solomonic dynasty. Yet we have no image or representation of him. We know nothing of his personal life, though if he followed the practice of most Ethiopian kings, he had many wives and children. Nor do we know anything about his youth and education. The evidence of what he did, however, suggests a tough military man who personified the heroic endurance and physical pain expected of warriors. According to a chronicle of Siyon’s campaign against the Muslim leader of Ifat,

> [Siyon] clove the ranks of the rebels and struck so hard that he transfixed two men as one with the blow of his spear, through the strength of God. Thereupon the rebels scattered and took to flight, being unable to hold their ground in his presence.

Amda Siyon reinforced control over his kingdom’s Christian areas. He then expanded into the neighboring regions of Shewa, Gojam, and Damot. Victorious there, he gradually absorbed the Muslim states of Ifat and Hedya to the east and southeast. These successes gave him effective control of the central highlands and also the Indian Ocean trade routes to the Red Sea (see Map 10.2). He governed in a quasi-feudal fashion. Theoretically the owner of all land, he assigned *gults*, or fiefs, to his ablest warriors. In return for nearly complete authority in their regions, these warrior-nobles conscripted soldiers for the king’s army, required agricultural services from the farmers working on their land, and collected taxes in kind.

Ethiopian rulers received imperial coronation at Aksum, but their kingdom had no permanent capital. Rather, the ruler and court were peripatetic. They constantly traveled around the country to crush revolts, to check the warrior-nobles’ management of the gults, and to impress ordinary people with royal dignity.

Territorial expansion had important economic and religious consequences. Amda Siyon concluded trade agreements with Muslims by which they were allowed to trade with his country in return for Muslim recognition of his authority and their promise to accept his administration and pay taxes. Economic growth followed. As a result of these agreements, the flow of Ethiopian gold, ivory, and slaves to Red Sea ports for export to the Islamic heartlands and to South Asia accelerated. Profits from commercial exchange improved people’s lives, or at least the lives of the upper classes.

Monk-missionaries from traditional Christian areas flooded newly conquered regions, stressing that Ethiopia was a new Zion, or a second Israel — a Judeo-Christian nation defined by religion. Ethiopian Christianity focused on the divinity of the Old Testament Yahweh, rather than on the humanity of the New Testament Jesus. Jewish dietary restrictions, such as the avoidance of pork and shellfish, shaped behavior, and the holy Ark of the Covenant had a prominent place in the liturgy. But the monks also taught New Testament values, especially the importance of charity and spiritual reform. Following the Byzantine pattern, the Ethiopian priest-king claimed the right to summon church councils and to issue doctrinal degrees. Christianity’s stress on monogamous marriage, however, proved hard to enforce. As in other parts of Africa (and in Islamic lands, China, and South Asia), polygyny remained common, at least among the upper classes.

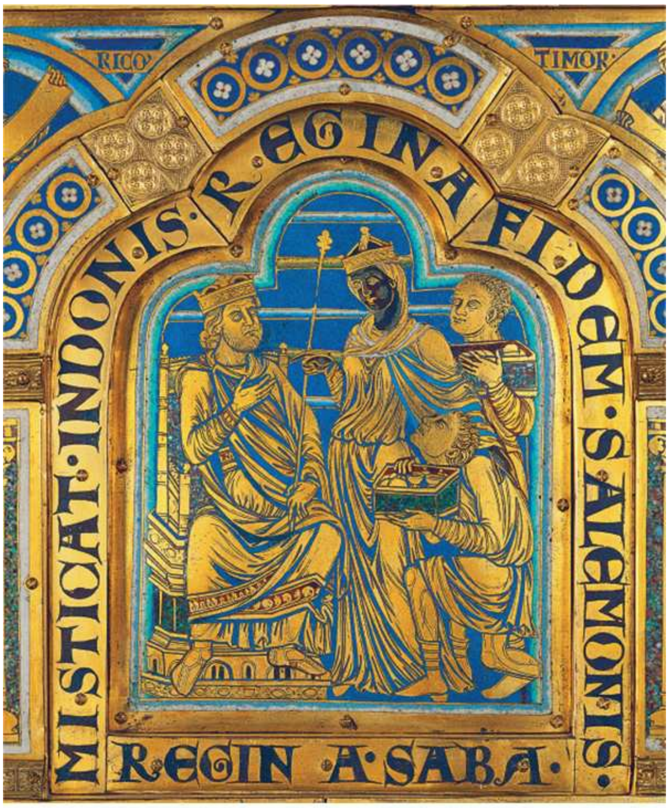
QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What features mark Ethiopian culture as unique and distinctive among early African societies?
2. Referring to Solomonic Ethiopia, assess the role of legend in history.

Sources: G. W. B. Huntingford, ed., *The Glorious Victories of Amda Seyon* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 89–90; H. G. Marcus, *A History of Ethiopia*, updated ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); J. Iliffe, *Africans: The History of a Continent*, 2d ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

The Queen of Sheba and King Solomon



Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY

Sheba, or Queen Makeda, figured prominently in European as well as Ethiopian art. Created in about 1180 by a French artist as part of a series of biblical scenes for an abbey in Austria, this image shows Solomon receiving gifts from Sheba's servants. The inscription surrounding the scene reads, "Solomon joins himself to the Queen of Sheba and introduces her to his faith."

Before the twelfth century Sheba was generally considered by Christian Europeans as a dark, mysterious, and even somewhat sinister figure. This view of her began to change in the twelfth century as the Old Testament story of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba took on new Christian symbolism in medieval Europe. Medieval Christian iconography often imagined Solomon as Jesus the Messiah, and also as Divine Wisdom. Sheba now entered into the Western Christian tradition in several guises. She is sometimes portrayed as the Gentile (non-Jewish) Church, coming from a distant land to hear the divine knowledge from Solomon. As the representative of the Gentile population she submits to Solomon the Messiah, and there follows a holy marriage of the two. Sheba's chastity is also commonly represented as foreshadowing that of the Virgin Mary. In addition, an analogy is frequently made between the three gifts (gems, spices, and gold, as shown in this image) Sheba brought to Solomon and the three gifts (gold, frankincense, and myrrh) that the Magi, or Three Wise Men, brought to the baby Jesus. During this period the new symbolism was incorporated into many artistic renditions of the story, including sculptures and stained-glass windows in the great Gothic cathedrals at Chartres, Reims, Canterbury, and

Strasbourg.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

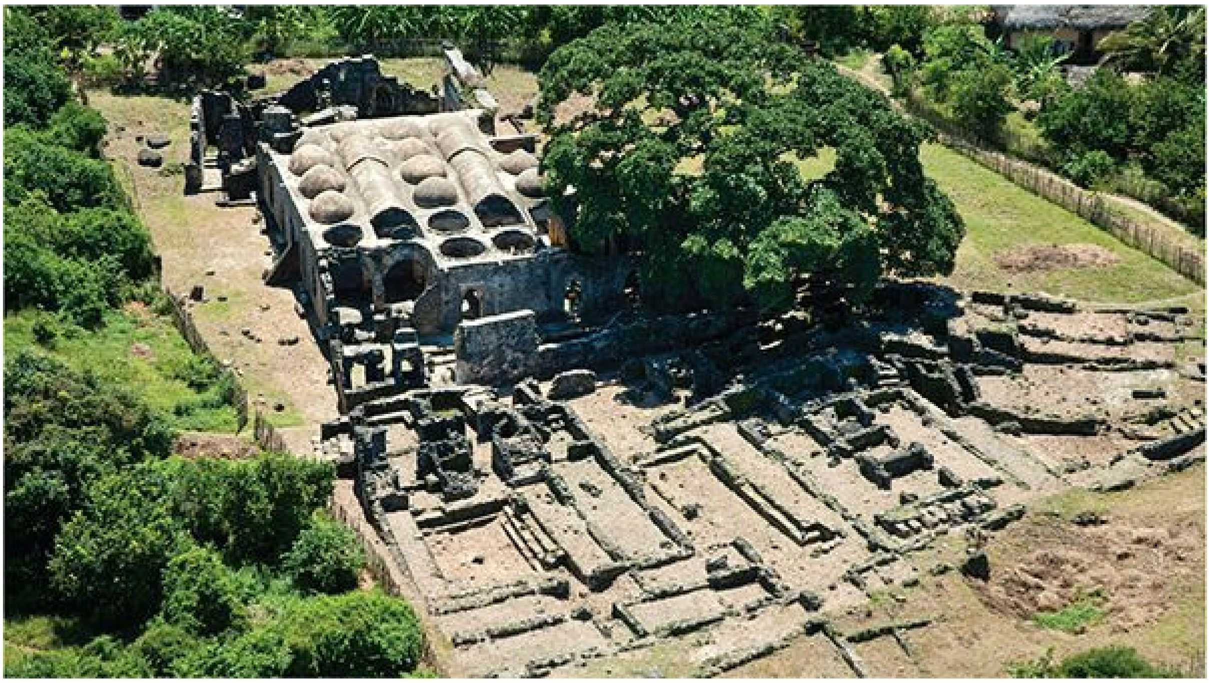
1. What are King Solomon and Queen Sheba wearing and holding? How are the other figures depicted, and what are they doing?
2. What does the style of this image suggest about the background of the artist and about the audience for whom the image was intended?

The East African City-States

Like Ethiopia, the East African city-states were shaped by their proximity to the trade routes of the Red Sea and Indian Ocean. In the first century C.E. a merchant seaman from Alexandria in Egypt sailed down the Red Sea and out into the Indian Ocean, where he stopped at seaports along the coasts of East Africa, Arabia, and India. He took careful notes on all he observed, and the result, the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (*erythraean* comes from the Greek word meaning "red," which was used to designate the Red Sea as well as the Indian Ocean), is the earliest surviving literary evidence of the city-states of the East African coast. (See "Global Viewpoints: Early Descriptions of Africa from Egypt," page 262.) Although primarily preoccupied with geography and navigation, the *Periplus* includes accounts of the local East African peoples and their commercial activities. Since the days of the Roman emperors, the *Periplus* testifies, the East African coast had strong commercial links with India and the Mediterranean.

Greco-Roman ships sailed from Adulis on the Red Sea around the tip of the Gulf of Aden and down the portion of the East African coast that the Greeks called Azania, in modern-day Kenya and Tanzania (see Map 10.2). These ships carried manufactured goods — cotton cloth, copper and brass, iron tools, and gold and silver plate. At the African coastal emporiums, Mediterranean merchants exchanged these goods for cinnamon, myrrh and frankincense, captive slaves, and animal byproducts such as ivory, rhinoceros horns, and tortoise shells. The ships then headed back north and, somewhere around Cape Guardafui (gwahr-duh-FWEE) on the Horn of Africa, caught the monsoon winds eastward to India, where ivory was in great demand. In the early centuries of the Common Era many merchants and seamen from the Mediterranean settled in East African coastal towns. Succeeding centuries saw the arrival of more traders. The great emigration from Arabia after the death of Muhammad accelerated Muslim penetration of the area, which the Arabs called the Zanj, "land of the blacks," a land inhabited by Bantu-speaking peoples whom they also called the Zanj. Along the coast, Arabic Muslims established small trading colonies whose local peoples were ruled by kings and practiced various animistic religions. Eventually — whether through Muslim political hegemony or gradual assimilation — the coastal peoples slowly converted to Islam. Indigenous African religions, however, remained strong in the continent's interior. (See "Analyzing the Evidence: A Tenth-Century Muslim Traveler Describes Parts of the East African Coast," above.)

Migrants from the Arabian peninsula and the Malay Archipelago had a profound influence on the lives of the East African coastal people. Beginning in the late twelfth century fresh waves of Arabs and of Persians from Shiraz poured down the coast, first settling at Mogadishu, then pressing southward to Kilwa. Everywhere they landed, they introduced Islamic culture to the indigenous population. Similarly, from the first to the fifteenth centuries Indonesians crossed the Indian Ocean and settled on the African coast and on the large island of Madagascar. All these immigrants intermarried with Africans, and the resulting society combined Asian, African, and especially Islamic traits. The East African coastal culture was called **Swahili**, after a Bantu language whose vocabulary and poetic forms exhibit a strong Arabic influence.



© Ulrich Doering/Alamy Stock Photo

Great Mosque at Kilwa Built between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries to serve the Muslim commercial aristocracy of Kilwa on the Indian Ocean, the mosque attests to the wealth and power of the East African city-states.

Swahili The East African coastal culture, named after a Bantu language whose vocabulary and poetic forms exhibit strong Arabic influences

By the late thirteenth century **Kilwa** had become the most powerful Swahili coastal city, exercising political hegemony as far north as Pemba and as far south as Sofala (see Map 10.2). In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the coastal cities were great commercial empires, comparable to the Italian city-state of Venice (see Chapter 14). Like Venice, Swahili cities such as Kilwa, Mombasa (mohm-BAHS-uh), and Pemba were situated on offshore islands. The tidal currents that isolated them from the mainland also protected them from landside attack.

Kilwa The most powerful city on the east coast of Africa by the late thirteenth century

Much current knowledge about life in the East African trading societies rests on the account of Ibn Battuta. He described Kilwa as "one of the finest and most substantially built towns; all the buildings are of wood, and the houses are roofed with al-dis [reeds]."[14] On the mainland were fields and orchards of rice, millet, oranges, mangoes, and bananas and pastures and yards for cattle, sheep, and poultry. Yields were apparently high; Ibn Battuta noted that the rich enjoyed three enormous meals a day and were very fat.

From among the rich mercantile families that controlled the coastal cities arose rulers who governed both the main city and surrounding territory. Such was the case with the island city of Kilwa and the nearby mainland. These rulers took various titles, including king, sultan, and sheik.

Approaching the East African coastal cities in the late fifteenth century, Portuguese traders were astounded at their enormous wealth and prosperity. This wealth rested on the ruler's monopolistic control of all trade in the area. Some coastal cities manufactured goods for export, such as cloth and iron tools. The bulk of the cities' exports, however, consisted of animal products — leopard skins, tortoise shell, ambergris, ivory — and gold. The gold originated in the Mutapa region south of the Zambezi River, where the Bantu mined it. As in tenth-century Ghana, gold was a royal monopoly in the fourteenth-century coastal city-states. Kilwa's prosperity rested on its traffic in gold.

© The Trustees of the British Museum/Art Resource, NY

Copper Coin from Mogadishu, Twelfth Century Islamic proscriptions against representation of the human form prevented the use of rulers' portraits on coinage, unlike the practice of the Romans, Byzantines, and Sassanids. Instead Islamic coins since the Umayyad period were decorated exclusively with writing. Sultan Haran Ibn Suleiman of Kilwa on the East African coast minted this coin, a symbol of the region's Muslim culture and of its rich maritime trade.

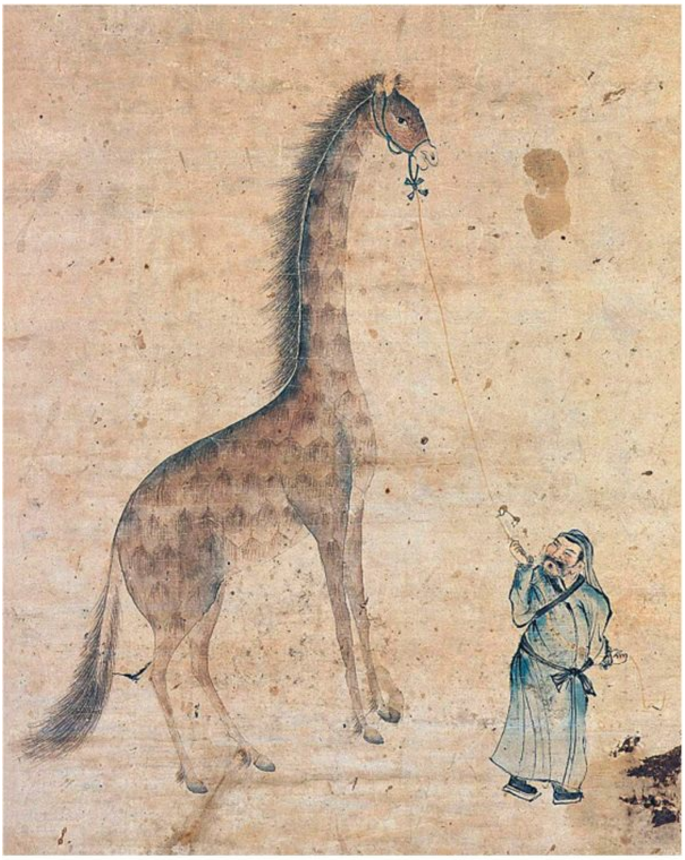
African goods satisfied the global aristocratic demand for luxury goods. In Arabia leopard skins were made into saddles, shells were made into combs, and ambergris was used in the manufacture of perfumes. Because African elephants' tusks were larger and more durable than those of Indian elephants, African ivory was in great demand in India for sword and dagger handles, carved decorative objects, and the ceremonial bangles used in Hindu marriage rituals. Wealthy Chinese also valued African ivory for use in sedan chair construction. In exchange for these natural products, the Swahili cities brought in, among many other items, incense, glassware, glass beads, and carpets from Arabia; textiles, spices, rice, and cotton from India; and grains, fine porcelain, silk, and jade from China.

Slaves were another export from the East African coast. Reports of East African slave trading began with the publication of the *Periplus*. The trade accelerated with the establishment of Muslim settlements in the eighth century and continued up through the arrival of the Portuguese in the late fifteenth century, which provided a market for African slaves in the New World (see Chapter 15). In fact, the global slave market fueled the East African coastal slave trade until at least the beginning of the twentieth century.

As in West Africa, traders obtained slaves primarily through raids and kidnapping. The Arabs called the northern Somalia coast *Ras Assir* (Cape of Slaves). From there, Arab traders transported slaves northward up the Red Sea to the markets of Arabia and Persia. Muslim dealers also shipped blacks from the Zanzibar (ZAN-zuh-bahr) region across the Indian Ocean to markets in India.

As early as the tenth century sources mention persons with “lacquer-black bodies” in the possession of wealthy families in Song China.[15] In 1178 a Chinese official noted in a memorial to the emperor that Arab traders were shipping thousands of blacks from East Africa to the Chinese port of Guangzhou (Canton) by way of the Malay Archipelago.

It appears, however, that in Indian, Chinese, and East African markets, slaves were never as valuable a commodity as ivory. Thus the volume of the Eastern slave trade did not approach that of the trans-Saharan slave trade.[4]



© Pictures from History/The Image Works

Giraffe Brought to China from East Africa In

1414 envoys from Chinese admiral Zheng He’s fleet visited the Swahili coastal city of Malindi (now in Kenya) and were presented with a giraffe as tribute. The giraffe was taken back to China, where it became a wondrous sensation, particularly because it was associated with the *qilin* (CHI-lin), a Chinese mythical figure that is a cross between a horse and a dragon. The qilin is said to have two or three horns, as does the giraffe (two), and scaly skin, which explains the artist’s rendering of the giraffe’s hide.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

A Tenth-Century Muslim Traveler Describes Parts of the East African Coast

Other than Ethiopia, early African societies left no written accounts, so modern scholars rely on the chronicles of travelers and merchants. These outsiders, however, come with their own preconceptions, attitudes, and biases. They tend to measure what they visit and see by the conditions and experiences with which they are familiar.

In the early tenth century the Muslim merchant-traveler Al Mas’udi (d. 945), in search of African ivory, visited Oman, the southeast coast of Africa, and Zanzibar. He referred to all the peoples he encountered as Zanj, a term that he also applied to the maritime Swahili culture of the area’s towns. Al Mas’udi’s report, excerpted here, offers historians a wealth of information about these peoples and places.

Omani seamen cross the strait [of Berbera, off northern Somalia] to reach Kanbalu island [perhaps modern Pemba], located in the Zanj sea. The island’s inhabitants are a mixed population of Muslims and idolatrous Zanj…. I have sailed many seas, the Chinese sea, the Rum sea [Mediterranean], the Khazar [Caspian Sea], the Kolzom [Red Sea], and the sea of Yemen. I have encountered dangers without number, but I know no sea more perilous than the Zanj. Here one encounters a fish called el-Owal [whale]…. The sailors fear its approach, and both day and night strike pieces of wood together or beat drums to drive it away…. Ambergris* is found in great quantities along the Zanj coast…. The best ambergris is found in the islands and on the shores of the Zanj sea: it is round, of a pale blue tint, sometimes the size of an ostrich egg. Lumps of it are swallowed by the whale…. When the sea becomes very rough the whale vomits up large rock size balls of ambergris. When it tries to gulp them down again it chokes to death and its body floats to the surface. Quickly the Zanj, … having waited for such a favorable moment, draw the fish near with harpoons and tackle, cut open its stomach, and extract the ambergris. The pieces found in its intestines emit a nauseating odor, … but the fragments found near the back are much purer as these have been longer inside the body….

The lands of the Zanj provide the people with wild leopard skins that they wear and that they export to Muslim countries. These are the largest leopard skins and make the most beautiful saddles. The Zanj also export tortoise-shell for making combs, and ivory … likewise…. The giraffe is the most common animal found in these lands…. They [the Zanj] settled in this country and spread south to Sofala, which marks the most distant frontier of this land…. Just as the China sea ends with Japan, the limits of the Zanj sea are Sofala and the Waqwaq, a region with a warm climate and fertile soil that produces gold in abundance and many other marvelous things. Here the Zanj built their capital and chose their king, whom they call *Mfalme,* the traditional title for their sovereigns. The *Mfalme* rules over all other Zanj kings and commands 300,000 cavalrymen. The Zanj employ the ox as a beast of burden, for their country contains no horses, mules, or camels, and they do not even know of these animals. Nor do they know of snow or hail…. The territory of the Zanj commences where a branch diverts from the upper Nile and continues to Sofala and the Waqwaq. Their villages extend for about 700 parasangs in length and breadth along the coast. The country is divided into valleys, mountains, and sandy deserts. Wild elephants abound, but you will not see a single tame one. The Zanj employ them neither for war nor for anything else…. When they want to catch them, they throw into the water the leaves, bark, and branches of a particular tree; then they hide in ambush until the elephants come to drink. The tainted water burns them and makes them drunk, causing them to fall down and be unable to get up. The Zanj then rush upon them, armed with very long spears, and kill them for their tusks. Indeed, the lands of the Zanj produce tusks each weighing fifty pounds and more. They generally go to Oman, and are then sent on to China and India. These are the two primary destinations, and if they were not, ivory would be abundant in Muslim lands.

In China the kings and military and civil officers ride in ivory palanquins:† no official or dignitary would dare to enter the royal presence in an iron palanquin. Thus they prefer straight tusks to curved…. They also burn ivory before their idols and incense their altars with its perfume, just as Christians use the Mary incense and other scents in their churches. The Chinese derive no other benefit from the elephant and believe it brings bad fortune when used for domestic purposes or war. In India ivory is much in demand. There dagger handles, as well as curved sword-scabbards, are fashioned from ivory. But ivory is chiefly used in the manufacture of chessmen and backgammon pieces….

Although the Zanj are always hunting the elephant and collecting its ivory, they still make no use of ivory for their own domestic needs. For their finery they use iron rather than gold and silver, and oxen, as we mentioned above, as beasts of burden or for war, as we use camels or horses. The oxen are harnessed like horses and run at the same speed.

To return to the Zanj and their kings, these are known as *Wfalme,* meaning son of the Great Lord. They refer thus to their king because he has been selected to govern them fairly. As soon as he exerts tyrannical power or strays from the rule of law they put him to death and exclude his descendants from accession to the throne. They claim that through his wrongful actions he ceases to be the son of the Master, that is, the King of Heaven and Earth. They give God the name *Maliknajlu*, meaning the Sovereign Master.

The Zanj express themselves eloquently and have preachers in their own language. Often a devout man will stand in the center of a large crowd and exhort his listeners to render themselves agreeable to God and to submit to his commands. He depicts for them the punishments their disobedience exposes them to, and recalls the example of their ancestors and former kings. These people possess no religious code: their kings follow custom and govern according to traditional political practices.

The Zanj eat bananas, as abundant here as they are in India; but their dietary staples are millet and a plant called *kalari*, which is pulled from the earth like truffles. It is similar to the cucumber of Egypt and Syria. They also eat honey and meat. Every man worships what he pleases, be it a plant, an animal or a mineral.‡ The coconut grows on many of the islands: its fruit is eaten by all the Zanj peoples. One of these islands, situated one or two days' sail off the coast, contains a Muslim population and a hereditary royal family. This is the island of Kanbalu, which we have already mentioned.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What does Al Mas'udi's report tell us about the Zanj peoples and their customs? How would you describe his attitude toward them?
2. What commodities were most sought after by Muslim traders? Why? Where were they sold?

Source: Al Mas'udi, *Les Prairies d'Or*, trans. Arab to French by C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille (Paris: Imperial Printers, 1861, 1864), vol. 1: pp. 231, 234, 333–335; vol. 3: pp. 2, 3, 5–9, 26–27, 29, 30–31. Trans. French to English by Roger B. Beck.

*A solid, waxy, flammable substance, produced in the digestive system of sperm whales, not swallowed as Mas'udi purports. Ambergris was principally used in perfumery and should not be confused with amber, the fossil resin used in the manufacture of ornamental objects such as beads and women's combs.

†An enclosed litter attached to poles that servants supported on their shoulders.

‡These are forms of animism.

Southern Africa and Great Zimbabwe

Southern Africa, bordered on the northwest by the Kalahari Desert and on the northeast by the Zambezi (zam-BEE-zee) River (see Map 10.2), enjoys a mild and temperate climate. Desert conditions prevail along the Atlantic coast. Eastward toward the Indian Ocean rainfall increases, amounting to fifty to ninety inches a year in some places. Temperate grasslands characterize the interior highlands. Considerable variations in climate occur throughout much of southern Africa from year to year.

Southern Africa has enormous mineral resources: gold, copper, diamonds, platinum, and uranium. Preindustrial peoples mined some of these deposits in open excavations down several feet, but fuller exploitation required modern technology.

Southern Africa has a history that is very different from those of West Africa, the Nile Valley, and the East African coast. Unlike the rest of coastal Africa, southern Africa remained far removed from the outside world until the Portuguese arrived in the late fifteenth century — with one important exception. Bantu-speaking people reached southern Africa in the eighth century. They brought skills in ironworking and mixed farming (settled crop production plus cattle and sheep raising) and immunity to the kinds of diseases that later decimated the Amerindians of South America (see Chapter 16).

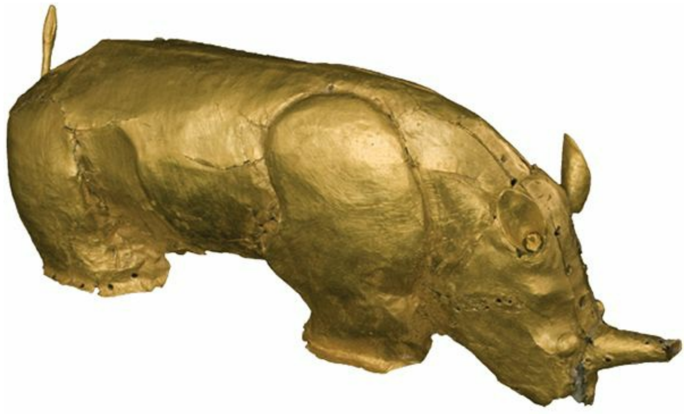
The earliest residents of southern Africa were hunters and gatherers. In the first millennium C.E. new farming techniques from the north arrived. Lack of water and timber (both needed to produce the charcoal used in iron smelting) slowed the spread of iron technology and tools and thus of crop production in southwestern Africa. These advances reached the western coastal region by 1500. By that date, Khoisan-speakers were tending livestock in the arid western regions. To the east, descendants of Bantu-speaking immigrants grew sorghum, raised cattle and sheep, and fought with iron-headed spears.

The nuclear family was the basic social unit among early southern African peoples, who practiced polygyny and traced descent in the male line. Several families formed bands numbering between twenty and eighty people. Such bands were not closed entities; people in neighboring territories identified with bands speaking the same language. As in most preindustrial societies, a division of labor existed whereby men hunted and women cared for children and raised edible plants. People lived in caves or in camps made of portable material, and they moved from one watering or hunting region to another as seasonal or environmental needs required.

In 1871 a German explorer came upon the ruined city of **Great**

Zimbabwe southeast of what is now Masvingo (mahz-VING-goh) in Zimbabwe. (See “Thinking Like a Historian: Great Zimbabwe,” page 282.) The ruins consist of two vast complexes of dry-stone buildings, a fortress, and an elliptically shaped enclosure commonly called the Temple. Stone carvings, gold and copper ornaments, and Asian ceramics once decorated the buildings. The ruins extend over sixty acres and are encircled by a massive wall. The entire city was built from local granite between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries without any outside influence. Archaeologists consider Great Zimbabwe the most impressive monument in Africa south of the Nile Valley and the Ethiopian highlands.

Great Zimbabwe A ruined southern African city five hundred to a thousand years old; it is considered the most impressive monument south of the Nile Valley and Ethiopian highlands



Africa 24 Media/Melita Moloney/University of Pretoria, South Africa/Newscom

Mapungubwe Golden Rhino The kingdom of Mapungubwe (1075–1220), in modern South Africa on the Limpopo River, was a precursor to the great kingdom of Great Zimbabwe to its north. Like that kingdom, it traded gold and ivory to the coast that eventually reached Egypt, India, and China. Several golden objects have been found at the site, including this famous gold foil rhinoceros, which displays the superb craftsmanship of Mapungubwe goldsmiths a thousand years ago.

These ruins tell a remarkable story. Great Zimbabwe was the political and religious capital of a vast empire. During the first millennium C.E. settled crop cultivation, cattle raising, and work in metal led to a steady buildup in population in the Zambezi-Limpopo region. The area also contained a rich gold-bearing belt. Gold ore lay near the surface; alluvial gold lay in the Zambezi River tributaries. In the tenth century the inhabitants collected the alluvial gold by panning and washing; after the year 1000 the gold was worked in open mines with iron picks. Traders shipped the gold eastward to Sofala (see Map 10.2). Great Zimbabwe's wealth and power rested on this gold trade.

Great Zimbabwe declined in the fifteenth century, perhaps because the area had become agriculturally exhausted and could no longer support the large population. Some people migrated northward and settled in the Mazoe River Valley, a tributary of the Zambezi. This region also contained gold, and the settlers built a new empire in the tradition of Great Zimbabwe. This empire's rulers were called Mwene Mutapa (m-WEY-nee muh-TUH-pa), and their power was also based on the gold trade down the Zambezi River to Indian Ocean ports. It was this gold that the Portuguese sought when they arrived on the East African coast in the late fifteenth century.

THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN

Great Zimbabwe

Historians of Africa's past, often lacking written sources, must turn to other research fields such as archaeology, anthropology, linguistics, oral tradition, botany, and zoology. One of the enduring enigmas today is the massive ruins at Great Zimbabwe, in modern Zimbabwe, whose construction began in the eleventh century. Scholars debate who built them and what parts of the ruins were used for. The site appears to have been abandoned sometime in the late fifteenth century, but it is not clear why it was vacated or what happened to the people who lived there. How might a historian respond to the questions raised by this silent witness to a great chapter in African history?

1 **João de Barros, *Da Asia*, 1552.** The first written reference to Great Zimbabwe comes from a history published in 1552 by João de Barros. Barros was a Portuguese historian who had never visited the site but learned of it from Swahili traders. Barros called it "Symbaoe."

■ There are other [gold] mines in a district called Toróa … and they are all in the plain, in the midst of which there is a square fortress. Of masonry within and without, built of stones of marvelous size, and … no mortar joining them. The wall is more than twenty-five spans in width…. This edifice is almost surrounded by hills, upon which are others resembling it in the fashioning of the stone and the absence of mortar, and one of them is a tower more than twelve fathoms high.

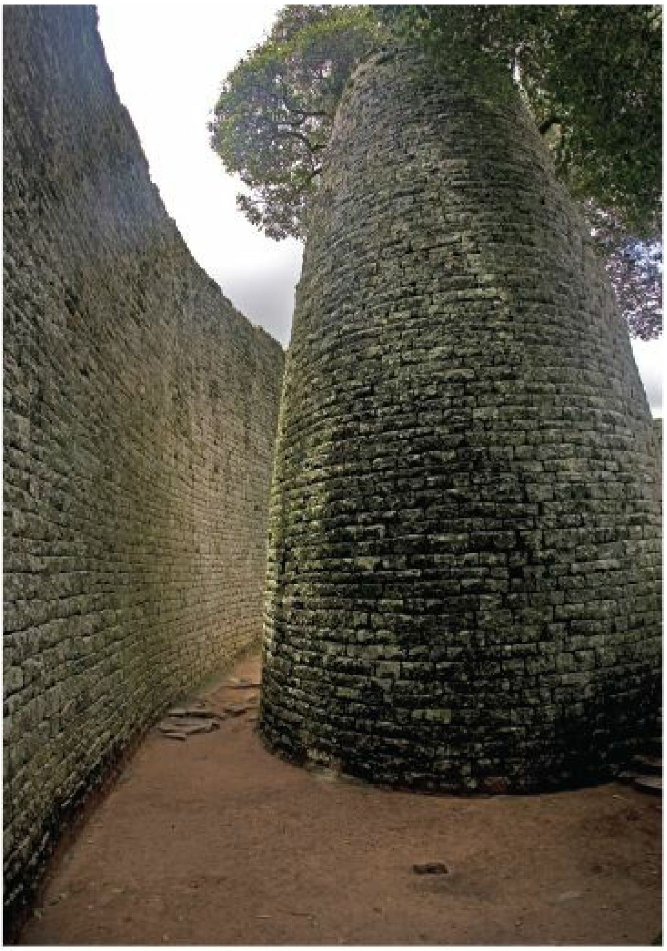
The natives of the country call all these edifices Symbaoe, which according to their language signifies court…. It is guarded by a nobleman, and there are always some of the [king's] wives therein…. When, and by whom, these edifices were raised, as the people of the land are ignorant of the art of writing, there is no record, but they [Arabs] say they are the work of the devil, for in comparison with their power and knowledge it does not seem possible to them that they should be the work of man.

In the opinion of the [Arabs] who saw it, it is very ancient, and was built there to keep possession of the mines, which are very old, and no gold has been extracted from them for years, because of the wars.

2 **The Great Enclosure.** The Great Enclosure's walls are up to 36 feet high and up to 18 feet thick, and they stretch for about 820 feet in length. The largest ancient structure in sub-Saharan Africa, rivaled only by the Egyptian pyramids, it contains an estimated 1 million granite bricks, laid together without mortar.

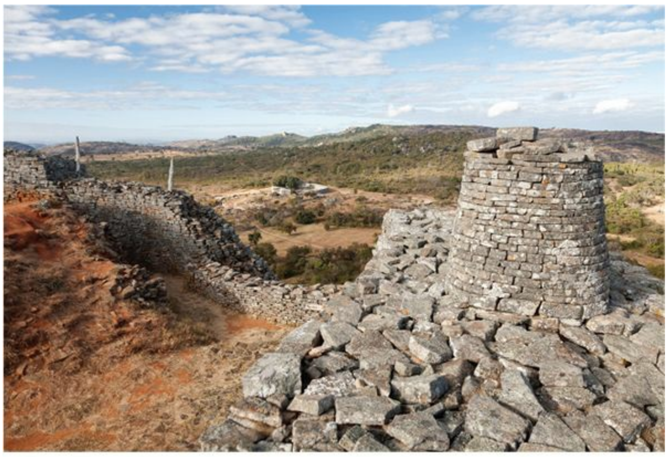
Robert Harding/SuperStock

3 **Inside the Great Enclosure.** None of the walls of the complex are straight, as illustrated here by the curved wall and the Conical Tower. The tower is 33 feet high and 16 feet in diameter at its base, and then it tapers to a diameter of 6½ feet at the top.



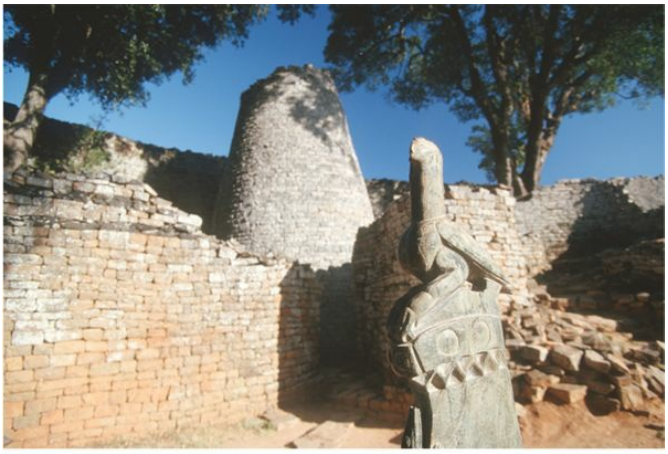
© Warren Nelson/Majority World/The Image Works

4 **The Hill Complex, looking across the valley to the Great Enclosure and beyond.** The Hill Complex is the oldest of the structures at Great Zimbabwe and dates from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries. Archaeologists believe that the Zimbabwe Birds originally stood on this site.



Luis Davilla/Photolibrary/Getty Images

5 **Soapstone Zimbabwe Bird.** Six of these carved soapstone birds were found at the site, and they are now Zimbabwe’s national symbol. Standing about 16 inches tall on 3-foot-tall columns, they resemble the African fish eagle.



Denny Allen/Getty Images

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. By comparing Barros’s account in Source 1 and the images included here, what references in his text might lead a historian to believe that Barros was writing about Great Zimbabwe?
2. The images in Sources 2 and 3 reflect the great skill and craftsmanship required to build such a massive complex. What mathematical skills would the builders have needed? How would one organize the workers and craftsmen for such a huge undertaking? What type of influence (for example, religious) over the people would the rulers have needed to keep this project going for over three hundred years?
3. Some scholars refer to the Hill Complex in Source 4 as the “Fortress.” Why might that be?
4. The sandstone bird sculpture pictured in Source 5 is one of eight unique to Great Zimbabwe. What might be the religious or political significance of these sculptures, given that we have no contemporary written discussions of them and that the birds are not used as symbols by the indigenous peoples today?

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

Using the sources above, along with what you have learned in class and in this chapter, write a short essay about the power, wealth, and governing abilities of the kings of Great Zimbabwe. What does this kingdom have in common with the great empires of West Africa discussed in this chapter?

Sources: (1) João de Barros, *Da Asia: Of the Deeds Which the Portuguese Performed in the Conquest and Exploration of the Lands and Seas of the East* (1552), in *Records of South-Eastern Africa,* ed. George McCall Theal, vol. 6 (Cape Town: Printed for the Government of the Cape Colony, 1900), pp. 267–268.

Chapter Summary

Africa is a huge continent with many different climatic zones and diverse geography. The African peoples are as varied as the topography. North African peoples were closely connected with the Middle Eastern and European civilizations of the Mediterranean basin. New crops introduced from Asia and the adoption of agriculture profoundly affected early societies across western and northeastern Africa as they transitioned from hunting and gathering in small bands to settled farming communities. Beginning in modern Cameroon and Nigeria, Bantu-speakers spread across central and southern Africa over a period of more than two thousand years. Possessing iron tools and weapons, domesticated livestock, and a knowledge of agriculture, these Bantu-speakers assimilated, killed, or drove away the region's previous inhabitants.

Africans in the West African Sahel participated in the trans-Saharan trade, which affected West African society in three important ways: it stimulated gold mining; it increased the demand for West Africa's second-most-important commodity, slaves; and it stimulated the development of large urban centers in West Africa.

Similarly, the Swahili peoples in city-states along the East African coast traded with Arabia, the Persian Gulf, India, China, and the Malay Archipelago. They depended on Indian Ocean commercial networks, which they used to trade African products for luxury items from Arabia, Southeast Asia, and East Asia. Great Zimbabwe, in southern Africa's interior, traded gold to the coast for the Indian Ocean trade.

The Swahili city-states and the Western Sudan kingdoms were both part of the Islamic world. Arabian merchants brought Islam with them as they settled along the East African coast, and Berber traders brought Islam to West Africa. Differing from its neighbors, Ethiopia formed a unique enclave of Christianity in the midst of Islamic societies. The majority of Bantu-speaking peoples of Great Zimbabwe and central and southern Africa were neither Islamic nor Christian.

CONNECTIONS

Africa was an integral part of the vast trans-Saharan and Indian Ocean trading networks that stretched from Europe to China. This trade brought wealth to African kingdoms, empires, and city-states that developed alongside the routes. But the trade in ideas more profoundly connected the growing African states to the wider world, most notably through Islam, which had arrived by the seventh century, and Christianity, which developed a foothold in Ethiopia. Prior to the late fifteenth century Europeans had little knowledge about African societies. All this would change during the European Age of Discovery. Chapter 16 traces the expansion of Portugal from a small, poor European nation to an overseas empire, as it established trading posts and gained control of the African gold trade. Portuguese expansion led to competition, spurring Spain and then England to strike out for gold of their own in the Americas. The acceleration of this conquest would forever shape the history of Africa and the Americas (see Chapters 11 and 15) and intertwine them via the African slave trade that fueled the labor needs of the colonies in the Americas.

CHAPTER 10 Review and Explore

Identify Key Terms

Identify and explain the significance of each item below.

Bantu (p. 263)
Sudan (p. 264)
Berbers (p. 265)
Mogadishu (p. 268)
stateless societies (p. 269)
Ghana (p. 269)
Koumbi Saleh (p. 270)
Timbuktu (p. 272)
Aksum (p. 273)
Swahili (p. 278)
Kilwa (p. 278)
Great Zimbabwe (p. 281)

Review the Main Ideas

Answer the focus questions from each section of the chapter.

1. How did Africa's geography shape its history and contribute to its diverse population? (p. 260)
2. How did agriculture affect life among the early societies in the western Sudan and among the Bantu-speaking societies of central and southern Africa? (p. 261)
3. What characterized trans-Saharan trade, and how did it affect West African society? (p. 265)
4. How were the East African city-states, Aksum, and Great Zimbabwe different from and similar to the kingdoms of the western Sudan? (p. 269)

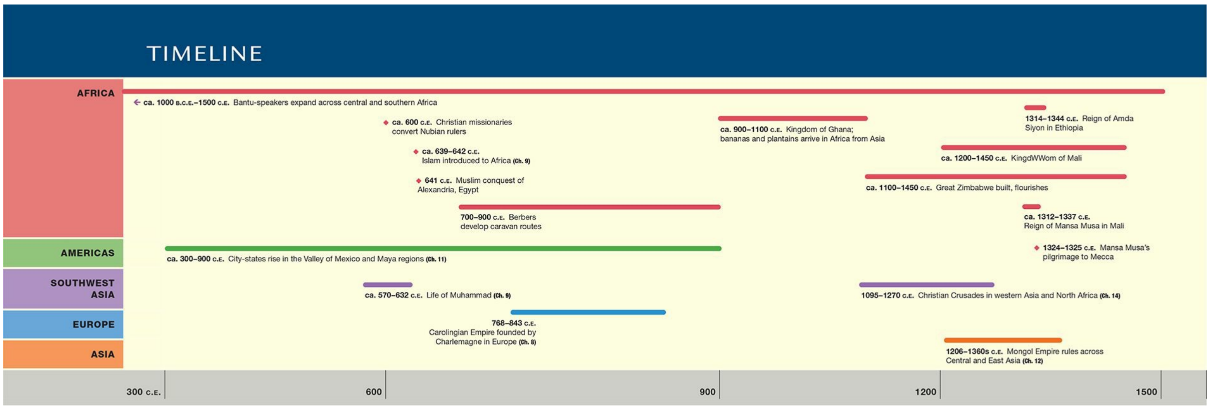
Make Comparisons and Connections

Analyze the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters.

1. How did the geography and size of Africa affect African societies and their contact with the rest of the world?
2. What different cultures influenced the African people living along the continent's eastern coast?
3. Based on the discussion in Chapter 9 on the spread of Islam and what you learned in this chapter, how did Islam influence the different societies of

West and East Africa?

4. How might the Bantu migrations compare with earlier migrations, such as the Indo-European migrations discussed in Chapter 2 or the Barbarian migrations discussed in Chapter 8?


TIMELINE
AFRICA
AMERICAS
SOUTHWEST ASIA
EUROPE
ASIA
ca. 1000 B.C.E.–1500 C.E. Bantu-speakers expand across central and southern Africa
ca. 600 C.E. Christian missionaries convert Nubian rulers
ca. 639–642 C.E. Islam introduced to Africa (Ch. 9)
641 C.E. Muslim conquest of Alexandria, Egypt
700–900 C.E. Berbers develop caravan routes
ca. 900–1100 C.E. Kingdom of Ghana; bananas and plantains arrive in Africa from Asia
1314–1344 C.E. Reign of Amda Siyon in Ethiopia
ca. 1200–1450 C.E. KingdWWom of Mali
ca. 1100–1450 C.E. Great Zimbabwe built, flourishes
ca. 1312–1337 C.E. Reign of Mansa Musa in Mali
1324–1325 C.E. Mansa Musa's pilgrimage to Mecca
ca. 300–900 C.E. City-states rise in the Valley of Mexico and Maya regions (Ch. 11)
ca. 570–632 C.E. Life of Muhammad (Ch. 9)
1095–1270 C.E. Christian Crusades in western Asia and North Africa (Ch. 14)
768–843 C.E. Carolingian Empire founded by Charlemagne in Europe (Ch. 8)
1206–1360s C.E. Mongol Empire rules across Central and East Asia (Ch. 12)
300 C.E.
600
900
1200
1500

Suggested Resources

Books

Austen, Ralph. *African Economic History*. 1987. Classic study of Africa's economic history.

Austen, Ralph. *Trans-Saharan Africa in World History*. 2010. Excellent new introduction to the Sahara region and the trans-Saharan trade that gave it life.

Beck, Roger B. *The History of South Africa*, 2d ed. 2014. Introduction to this large and important country.

Bouvill, E. W., and Robin Hallett. *The Golden Trade of the Moors: West African Kingdoms in the Fourteenth Century*. 1995. Classic description of the trans-Saharan trade.

Ehret, Christopher. *An African Classical Age: Eastern and Southern Africa in World History, 1000 B.C. to A.D. 400*. 2001. Solid introduction by a renowned African scholar.

Ehret, Christopher. *The Civilizations of Africa: A History to 1800*, 2d ed. 2013. The best study of pre-1800 African history.

Gilbert, Erik, and Jonathan Reynolds. *Africa in World History*, 3d ed. 2011. Groundbreaking study of Africa's place in world history.

Iliffe, John. *Africans: The History of a Continent*, 2d ed. 2007. Thoughtful introduction to African history.

Klieman, Kairn A. *The Pygmies Were Our Compass: Bantu and Batwa in the History of West Central Africa, Early Times to c. 1900 C.E.* 2003. A unique study of Bantu and forest people in precolonial African history.

Levtzion, Nehemia, and Randall L. Pouwels. *History of Islam in Africa*. 2000. Comprehensive survey of Islam's presence in Africa.

Marcus, H. G. *A History of Ethiopia*, updated ed. 2002. Standard introduction to Ethiopian history.

Middleton, John. *African Merchants of the Indian Ocean: Swahili of the East African Coast.* 2004. A brief but solid introduction to the Swahili people.

Mitchell, Peter. *African Connections: Archaeological Perspectives on Africa and the Wider World*. 2005. Places ancient Africa and its history in a global context.

Newman, J. L. *The Peopling of Africa: A Geographic Interpretation*, rev. ed., 1997. Explores population distribution and technological change up to the late nineteenth century.

Schmidt, Peter R. *Historical Archaeology in Africa: Representation, Social Memory, and Oral Traditions*. 2006. An excellent introduction to archaeology and the reconstruction of Africa's history.

Documentaries

Africa: A Voyage of Discovery with Basil Davidson (Home Vision, 1984). An eight-part series about African history and society. See particularly episode 2, "Mastering the Continent"; episode 3, "Caravans of Gold"; and episode 4, "Kings and Cities." Run times are about fifty minutes for each program.

Websites

The Story of Africa. Some of the world's top Africanists have contributed to this BBC website's discussion of African history from an African perspective. **www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/africa/features/storyofafrica/index.shtml**

Internet African History Sourcebook. A valuable reference site for historical sources on African history. **sourcebooks.fordham.edu/halsall/africa/africasbook.asp**

11

The Americas

3200 B.C.E.–1500 C.E.

Werner Forman/Universal Images Group/Getty Images

Peruvian Burial Figure

This figure of a woman, wrapped in a shawl, was typical of representations of people that were placed in the burial sites in the Andes. The figure depicts an Inca emperor’s concubine, a social and ceremonial role that symbolized Mamacona, the Virgin of the Sun.

hen peoples of the Americas first came into sustained contact with peoples from Europe, Africa, and Asia at the turn of the sixteenth century, their encounters were

Wuneven. Isolation from other world societies made peoples of the Americas vulnerable to diseases found elsewhere in the world. When indigenous peoples were exposed to these diseases through contact with Europeans, the devastating effects of epidemics facilitated European domination. But this exchange also brought into global circulation the results of thousands of years of work by peoples of the Americas in plant domestication that changed diets worldwide, making corn, potatoes, and peppers into the daily staples of many societies.

Domestication of these crops intensified farming across the Americas that sustained increasingly complex societies. At times these societies grew into vast empires built on trade, conquest, and tribute. Social stratification and specialization produced lands not just of subjects and kings, but of priests, merchants, artisans, scientists, and engineers who achieved extraordinary feats.

In Mesoamerica (MAY-so-america) — the region stretching from present-day central Mexico to Nicaragua — the dense urban centers of Maya, Teotihuacan (TAY-oh-tee-hwa-can), Toltec, and Aztec city-states and empires featured great monuments, temples, and complex urban planning. Roadways and canals extended trade networks that reached from South America to the Great Lakes region of North America. Precise calendars shaped religious, scientific, medical, and agricultural knowledge.

In the Andes, the mountain range that extends from southernmost present-day Chile north to Colombia and Venezuela, peoples adapted to the mountain range's stark vertical stratification of climate and ecosystems to produce agricultural abundance similar to that of Mesoamerica. Andean technological, agricultural, and engineering innovations allowed people to make their difficult mountain terrain a home rather than a boundary.

CHAPTER PREVIEW

SOCIETIES OF THE AMERICAS IN A GLOBAL CONTEXT
How did ancient peoples of the Americas adapt to, and adapt, their environment

ANCIENT SOCIETIES
What patterns established by early societies shaped civilization in Mesoamerica and the Andes?

THE INCAS
What were the sources of strength and prosperity, and of problems, for the Incas?

THE MAYA AND TEOTIHUACAN

How did the Maya and Teotihuacan develop prosperous and stable societies in the classical era?

THE AZTEC EMPIRE

How did the Mexica build on the achievements of earlier Mesoamerican cultures and develop new traditions to create their large empire?

AMERICAN EMPIRES AND THE ENCOUNTER

What did the European encounter mean for peoples of the major American empires?

Societies of the Americas in a Global Context

How did ancient peoples of the Americas adapt to, and adapt, their environment?

Like people everywhere, civilizations of the Americas interpreted the meaning of the world and their place in the cosmos. They organized societies stratified not just by gender, class, and ethnicity but also by professional roles and wealth, and they adapted to and reshaped their physical and natural world. But they did all this on their own, without outside influences and within a distinct environment.

If the differences between the civilizations in the Americas and other world regions are remarkable, the similarities are even more so. By studying the peoples of the Americas before their encounters with other world societies, we gain a clearer view of universal aspects of the human experience.

Trade and Technology

The domestication of crops and animals created an abundance of food and livestock, which allowed people to take on new social roles and to develop specialized occupations. As cities emerged, they became hubs of a universal human activity: trade. These cities were home to priests who interpreted the nature of the world, as well as a nobility from which kings emerged, some of whom forged vast empires.

The differences in the development and application of three different kinds of technologies — the wheel, writing and communications systems, and calendars — capture this essential nature of human adaptability.

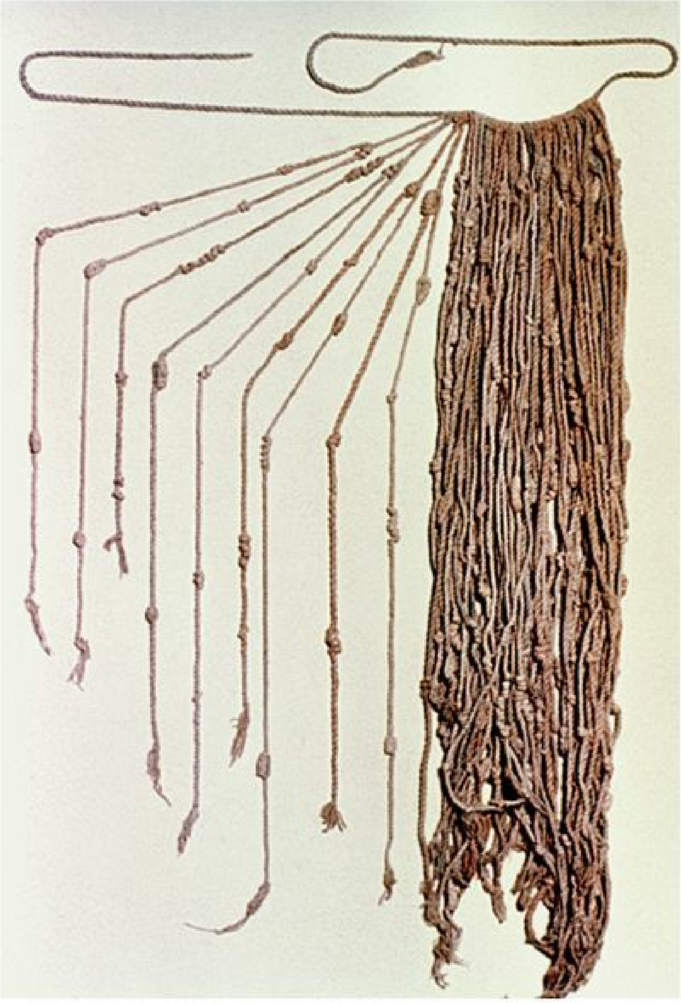
Because of conditions specific to the Americas, societies in Mesoamerica and the Andes did not use wheels for transportation before their encounters with other world peoples that began in 1492. In Mesoamerica there were no large animals like horses or oxen to domesticate as beasts of burden, so there was no way to power wagons or chariots. In the Andes, domesticated llamas and alpacas served as pack animals and were a source of wool and meat. But in the most densely settled, cultivated, and developed areas, the terrain was too difficult for wheeled transportation. Instead Andean peoples developed extensive networks of roads that navigated steep changes in altitude, supported by elaborate suspension bridges made from woven vegetable fibers.

Peoples of the Americas also did not develop alphabetical writing systems, but this did not mean they did not communicate in writing or record information. If we separate our understanding of the alphabetical reading you are doing right now from its functions — communicating and storing information — we can appreciate the ways in which Andean and **Mesoamerican** civilizations accomplished both. Peoples of the Americas spoke thousands of languages (hundreds are still spoken today). Mesoamericans, beginning with the Olmecs (1500–300 B.C.E.), used phonograms, characters that represent sound, and logograms, characters that represent words or ideas, similar to those of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs or Japanese kanji. Later civilizations wrote books on paper and deerskin, some of which have survived to the present.

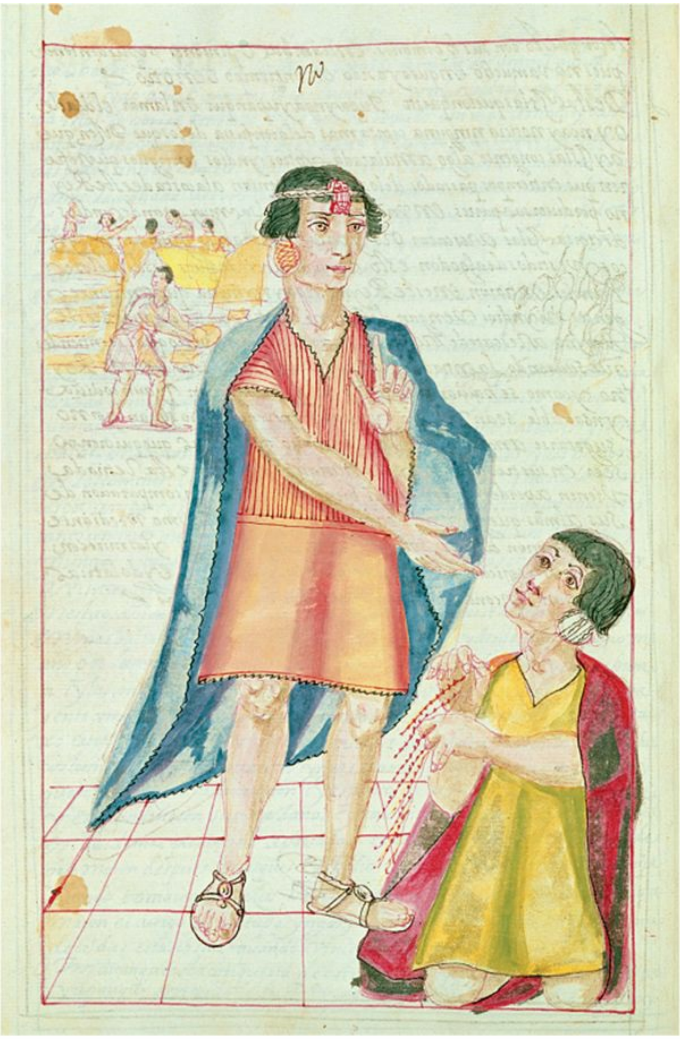
Mesoamerica The term used to designate the area spanning present-day central Mexico to Nicaragua

The Andean innovation for recording information was particularly remarkable. The **khipu** (KEY-pooh) was an assemblage of colored and knotted strings. Differences in color and type of knot, as well as the knots' order and placement, served as a binary system akin to a contemporary computer database. Khipus were used to record demographic, economic, and political information that allowed imperial rulers and local leaders to understand and manage complex data across a vast empire.

khipu An intricate system of knotted and colored strings used by early Andean cultures to store information such as census and tax records



Granger, NYC — All rights reserved



Private Collection/Bridgeman Images

Inca Khipu Khipus like these were used by communities and by Inca imperial officials to store and communicate data. The dyes, weaves, and knots made by their users recorded data much like contemporary binary computer storage, allowing users to read information about populations, production, and tribute.

Mesoamerican peoples used a sophisticated combination of calendars. These were based on a Calendar Round that combined a 365-day solar calendar with a 260-day lunar calendar based on the numbers thirteen and twenty, which were sacred to peoples of Mesoamerica. Annual cycles were completed when twenty 13-day bundles converged with thirteen 20-day bundles. Together with the solar calendar, these formed a 52-year cycle whose precision was unsurpassed in the premodern world. It also provided an incredibly intricate mechanism not only for following the solar and lunar years but also for connecting these to aspects of daily life and religion. The calendars helped users interpret their world.

Settlement and Environment

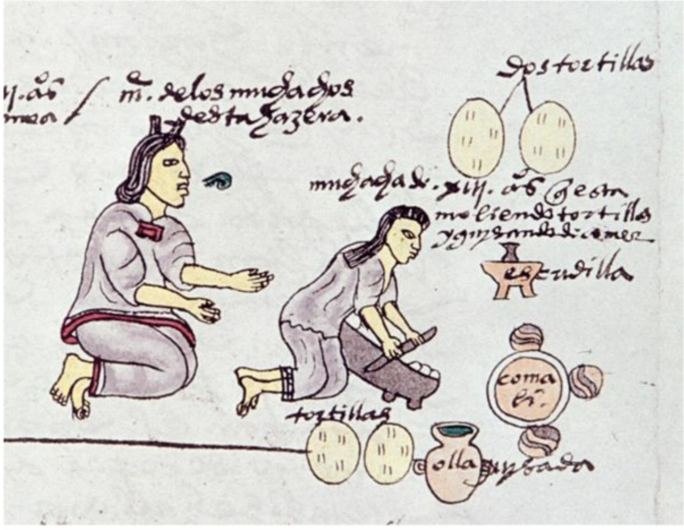
The ancient settlers of the Americas migrated from Asia, though their timing and their route are debated. One possibility is that the first settlers migrated across the Bering Strait from what is now Russia to Alaska and gradually migrated southward sometime between 15,000 and 13,000 B.C.E. But archaeological excavations have identified much earlier settlements, perhaps dating to up to 20,000–30,000 years ago, along the Andes in South America than they have for Mesoamerica or North America. Evidence from some settlements suggest the possibility that seafaring migration may have also occurred.

Like early settlers elsewhere in the world, populations of the Americas could be divided into three categories: nomadic peoples, semi-sedentary farming communities, and dense agricultural communities capable of sustaining cities. Over time, urban settlement and empire formation centered on two major regions. The first area was the region around Lake Titicaca, where the Inca Empire (1438–1532) originated. Located at the present-day border between Peru and Bolivia, Lake Titicaca is the highest lake in the world (12,500 feet high) and the largest lake in South America (3,200 square miles). The second area was the Valley of Mexico on the central plateau of Mesoamerica, where empires such as the Aztec Empire (1428–1521) formed cities around Lake Texcoco. Access to these large freshwater lakes allowed agriculture to expand through irrigation, which in turn supported growing urban populations.

The earliest farming settlements emerged around 10,000 B.C.E. when communities began the long process of domesticating and modifying plants, including squash, maize (corn), potatoes, peppers, and beans. The origins of maize in Mesoamerica are unclear, though it became a centerpiece of the Mesoamerican diet and spread across the Americas. Eaten together with beans, maize provided Mesoamerican peoples with a diet sufficient in protein despite the scarcity of meat. Mesoamericans processed kernels through **nixtamalization**, boiling the maize in a solution of water and mineral lime. The process broke down compounds in the kernels, increasing their nutritional value, while enriching the resulting *masa*, or paste, with dietary minerals including calcium, potassium, and iron.

nixtamalization Boiling maize in a solution of water and mineral lime to break down compounds in the kernels, increasing their nutritional value

The masa could be cooked with beans, meat, or other ingredients to make tamales. It could also be rolled flat on a stone called a *metate* (MAY-tah-teh) and baked into tortillas. Tortillas played roles similar to those of bread in wheat-producing cultures: they could be stored, they were light and easy to transport, and they were used as the basic building block of meals. Aztec armies of the fifteenth century could travel long distances because they carried tortillas for sustenance. Along an army's route, communities were obligated to provide tribute in tortillas.



From the *Codex Mendoza*, Mexico, c. 1541–1542 [pen and ink on paper]/Bodleian Library, Oxford, UK/Bridgeman Images

Making Tortillas A mother teaches her daughter to roll tortillas on a metate. The dough at the right of the metate was masa made with maize and lime. The preparation process, known as nixtamalization, enriched the maize paste by adding calcium, potassium, and iron.

Andean peoples cultivated another staple of the Americas, the potato. Potatoes first grew wild, but selective breeding produced many different varieties. For Andean peoples, potatoes became an integral part of a complex system of cultivation at varying altitudes. Communities created a system of "vertical archipelagos" through which they took advantage of the changes of climate along the steep escarpments of the Andes. Different crops could be cultivated at different altitudes, allowing communities to engage in intense and varied farming in what would otherwise have been inhospitable territory.

Communities raised multiple crops and engaged in year-round farming by working at different altitudes located within a day's journey from home. Some of these zones of cultivation were so distant — sometimes over a week's journey — that they were tended by temporary or permanent colonies, called *mitmaq*, of the main settlement.

At higher elevations, members of these communities cultivated potatoes. Arid conditions across much of the altiplano (AL-tee-plan-oh), or high-plains plateau, meant that crops of potatoes could sometimes be planted only every few years. But the climate — dry with daily extremes of heat and cold — could be used to freeze-dry potatoes that could be stored indefinitely. Above the potato-growing zone, shepherds tended animals such as llamas and alpacas, which provided wool and dried meat, or *ch'arki* (the origin of the word *jerky*). They also served as pack animals that helped farmers bring in the crops from their high- and low-altitude plots. The animals' manure served as fertilizer for farming at lower altitudes.

At middle altitudes, communities used terraces edged by stone walls to extend cultivation along steep mountainsides to grow corn. In the lowlands, communities cultivated the high-protein grain quinoa, as well as beans, peppers, and coca. Farmers chewed coca (the dried leaves of a plant native to the Andes from which cocaine is derived) to alleviate the symptoms of strenuous labor at extremely high altitudes. Coca also added nutrients such as calcium to the Andean diet and played an important role in religious rituals. In the lowlands communities also grew cotton, and in coastal areas they harvested fish and mussels. Fishermen built inflatable rafts made of sealskin. Communities specialized in the types of production their ecosystems allowed.

Ancient Societies

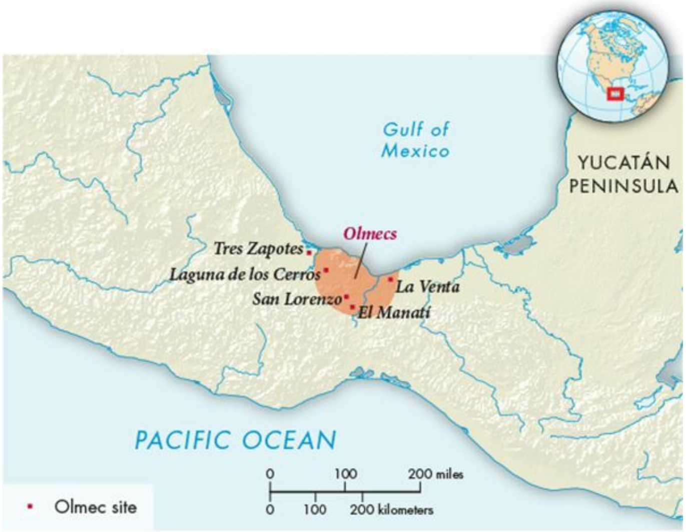
What patterns established by early societies shaped civilization in Mesoamerica and the Andes?

Between 1500 and 1200 B.C.E. emerging civilizations in Mesoamerica and the Andes established lasting patterns of production, culture, and social organization that would long influence societies of the Americas. In Mesoamerica, Olmec civilization laid the foundation for future empires. The imprint of Olmec civilization spread across long networks of trade that would one day extend from Central America to the Mississippi Valley and the Great Lakes of North America. In the Andes, Chavín and Moche civilizations formed the early part of a long cycle of centralization and decentralization. This political and economic centralization helped spread technology, culture, and religion.

Olmec Agriculture, Technology, and Religion

The **Olmecs** were an early civilization that shaped the religion, trade practices, and technology of later civilizations in Mesoamerica. They flourished in the coastal lowlands of Mexico from 1500 to 300 B.C.E. The Olmecs formed the first cities of Mesoamerica, and these cities served as centers of agriculture, trade, and religion (Map 11.1). Through long-distance trade, the Olmecs spread their culture and technology across Mesoamerica, establishing beliefs and practices that became common to the civilizations that followed.

Olmec The earliest advanced Mesoamerican civilization



Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 11.1 The Olmecs, ca. 1500–300 B.C.E. Olmec civilization flourished in the coastal lowlands of southern Mexico along the Caribbean coast. Olmec patterns of settlement, culture, religion, organization, and trade are known almost solely through excavation of archaeological sites.

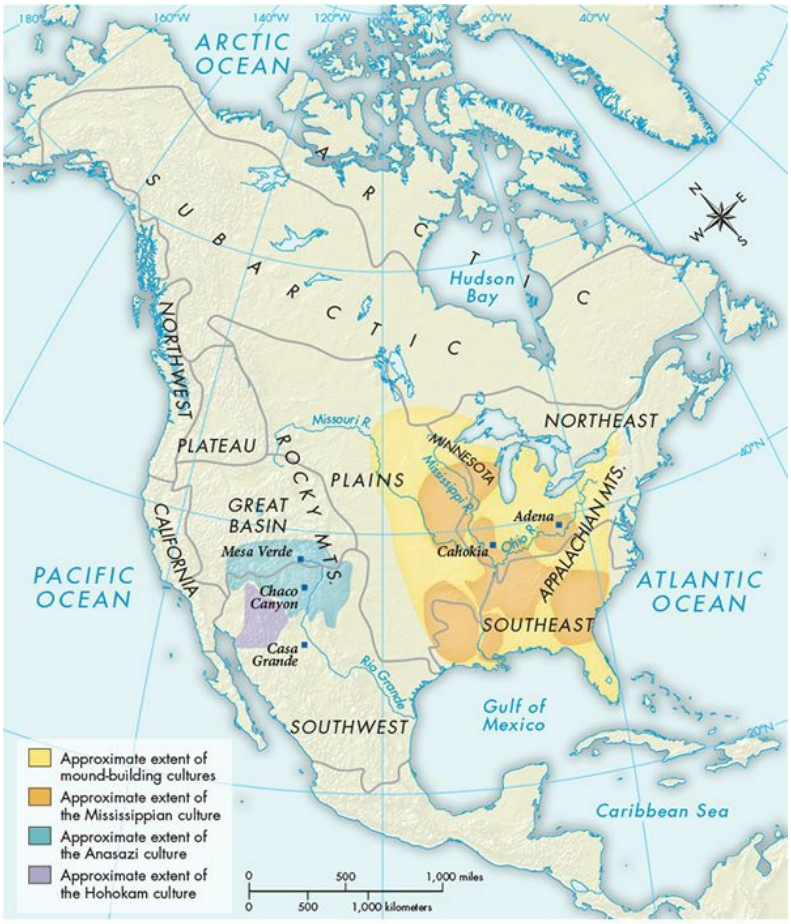
The Olmecs settled along rivers in the coastal lowlands, where they cultivated maize, squash, beans, and other plants. They supplemented their diet with wild game and fish. But they lacked many other resources. In particular, they carried stone for many miles for the construction of temples and for carving massive monuments, many in the shape of heads. Across far-flung networks the Olmecs traded rubber, cacao (from which chocolate is made), pottery, and jaguar pelts, as well as the services of artisans such as painters and sculptors, in exchange for obsidian, a volcanic glass that could be carved to a razor-sharp edge and used for making knives, tools, spear tips, and other weapons.

These ties between the Olmecs and other communities spread religious practices, creating a shared framework of beliefs among later civilizations. These practices included the construction of large pyramid temples, as well as sacrificial rituals. Olmec deities, like those of their successors, were combinations of gods and humans, included merged animal and human forms, and had both male and female identities. People practicing later religions based their gods on a fusion of human and spirit traits along the lines of the Olmec were-jaguar: a half-man, half-jaguar figure.

The Olmecs also used a solar calendar with a 365-day year. This calendar begins with the year 3114 B.C.E., though its origins and the significance of this date are unclear. Archaeologists presume that the Olmecs combined the solar calendar with a 260-day lunar calendar, to form the combined Calendar Round. All the later Mesoamerican civilizations used at least one of these calendars, and most used both of them.

Hohokam, Hopewell, and Mississippian Societies

Mesoamerican trading networks extended into southwestern North America, where by 300 B.C.E. the Hohokam people and other groups were using irrigation canals, dams, and terraces to enhance their farming of arid lands (Map 11.2). Like the Olmecs and other Mesoamerican peoples, the Hohokam built ceremonial platforms and played games with rubber balls that were traded over a long distance in return for turquoise and other precious stones. Along with trade goods came religious ideas, including the belief in local divinities who created, preserved, and destroyed. The Mesoamerican Feathered Serpent god became important to desert peoples. They planted desert crops such as agave, as well as cotton and maize that came from Mexico. Other groups, including the Anasazi (ah-nah-SAH-zee), the Yuma, and later the Pueblo and Hopi, also built settlements in this area using large sandstone blocks and masonry to construct thick-walled houses that offered protection from the heat. Mesa Verde, the largest Anasazi town, had a population of about twenty-five hundred living in houses built into and on cliff walls. Roads connected Mesa Verde to other Anasazi towns, allowing timber and other construction materials to be brought in more easily. Eventually drought, deforestation, and soil erosion led to decline in both the Hohokam and Anasazi cultures.


180°
160°W
140°W
120°W
100°W
60°W
40°W
60°N
40°N
20°N
ARCTIC OCEAN
A R C T I C
S U B A R C T I C
Hudson Bay
NORTHWEST
PLATEAU
ROCKY MTS.
PLAINS
Missouri R.
MINNESOTA
Mississippi R.
NORTHEAST
GREAT BASIN
CALIFORNIA
Mesa Verde
Chaco Canyon
Casa Grande
Adena
Cahokia
Ohio R.
APPALACHIAN MTS.
SOUTHEAST
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Rio Grande
SOUTHWEST
Gulf of Mexico
Caribbean Sea
N
E
S
W
Approximate extent of mound-building cultures
Approximate extent of the Mississippian culture
Approximate extent of the Anasazi culture
Approximate extent of the Hohokam culture
0
500
1,000 miles
0
500
1,000 kilometers

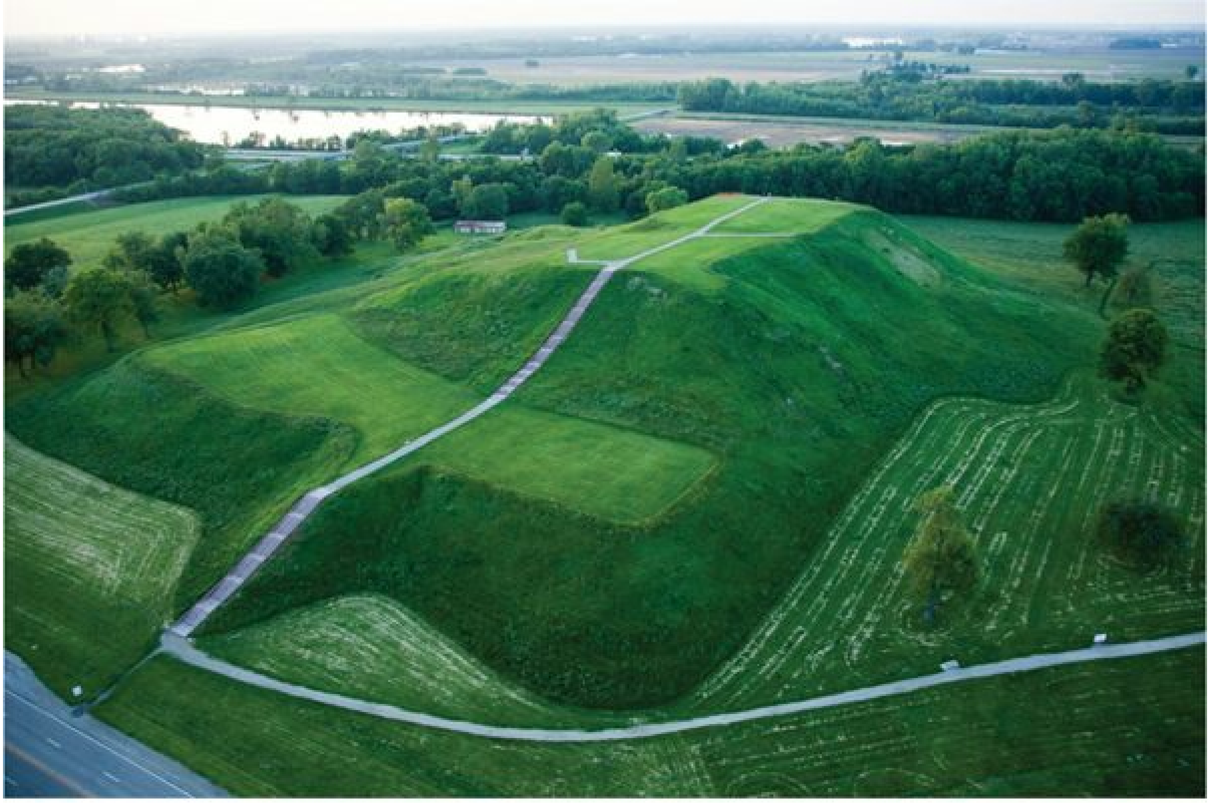
Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 11.2 Major North American Agricultural Societies, ca. 600–1500 C.E. Many North American groups used agriculture to increase the available food supply and allow greater population density and the development of urban centers. This map shows three of these cultures: the Mississippian, Anasazi, and Hohokam.

In eastern North America, mound building began around 5500 B.C.E. One of the most important mound-building cultures was the Hopewell (200 B.C.E.–600 C.E.), named for a town in Ohio near the site of the most extensive mounds. Some mounds were burial chambers. Other mounds formed animal or geometric figures. Hopewell earthworks also included canals that enabled trading networks to expand, bringing products from the Caribbean far into the interior. Those trading networks also carried maize, allowing more intensive agriculture to spread throughout the eastern woodlands of North America.

At Cahokia (kuh-HOE-kee-uh), near the confluence of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers in Illinois, archaeologists have identified the largest mound complex in North America, part of a ceremonial center and city that may have housed nearly forty thousand people. Work on this complex of mounds, plazas, and houses — which covered 5½ square miles —

began about 1050 C.E. and was completed about 1250 C.E. A fence of wooden posts surrounded the center of the complex. Several hundred mounds inside and outside the fence served as tombs and as the bases for temples and palaces. The largest mound rose in four stages to a height of one hundred feet and was nearly one thousand feet long. On its top stood a large building, used perhaps as a temple.



Ira Block/National Geographic Creative

Cahokia Mounds in Illinois Monks Mound is located in Cahokia, the largest Mississippian settlement. The pyramid is nearly 100 feet tall and 1,000 feet long, making it the largest constructed structure north of Mesoamerica.

Cahokia trade reached far across North America. Mississippian mound builders relied on agriculture to support their complex cultures, and by the time Cahokia was built, maize agriculture had spread to the Atlantic coast. Particularly along riverbanks and the coastline, fields of maize, beans, and squash surrounded large, permanent villages containing many houses, all encompassed by walls made of earth and timber.

At its peak in about 1150 Cahokia was the largest city north of Mesoamerica. However, its construction stripped much of the surrounding countryside of trees, which made spring floods worse and eventually destroyed much of the city. An earthquake in the thirteenth century furthered the destruction, and the city never recovered. The worsening climate of the fourteenth century, which brought famine to Europe, probably also contributed to Cahokia’s decline, and its population dispersed.

Kinship and Ancestors in the Andes

In the Andes social organization and religion shaped ideas of spiritual kinship as well as patterns of production and trade. The *ayllu* (IGH-you), or clan, served as the fundamental social unit of Andean society. Kinship was based on a shared ancestor and on worship of *huaca*, sacred spaces or things that had spiritual characteristics and were sometimes linked to ancestors. Huaca were often a part of the landscape, such as a spring or stone. Members of an ayllu considered their huaca as more than a spirit: it owned the lands the ayllu’s farmers tended, and it served as the center of community obligations such as the pooling of labor.

Ancestor worship provided the foundations of Andean religion and spirituality, served as the basis of authority, and guided food production. All members of the ayllu owed allegiance to *kurakas*, or clan leaders, who typically traced the most direct lineage to an ancestor identified with a huaca. This lineage made them both temporal and spiritual leaders of their ayllu. An Andean family’s identity came from membership in an ayllu’s ancestral kinship, and its subsistence came from participation in the broader community’s shared farming across vertical climate zones. People often labored collectively and reciprocally.

Archaeologists periodize Andean history in cycles of centralization and decentralization. There were three great periods of centralization, which archaeologists call the Early, Middle, and Late Horizon. The Late Horizon, which included the Inca Empire, was the briefest, cut short by the Spanish conquest (see “Conquest and Settlement” in Chapter 16). The first period, the Early Horizon (ca. 1200–200 B.C.E.), centered on the people of Chavín (chah-VEEN), upland from present-day Lima. The Chavín spread their religion along with technologies for the weaving and dyeing of wool and cotton. Weaving became the most widespread means of recording and representing information in the Andes.

After the end of the Early Horizon, regional states emerged, including **Moche** (MOH-cheh) civilization, which flourished along a 250-mile stretch of Peru’s northern coast between 100 and 800 C.E. The Moche people developed complex irrigation systems, with which they raised food crops and cotton. Each Moche valley contained a large ceremonial center with palaces and pyramids surrounded by settlements of up to ten thousand people. Their dazzling gold and silver artifacts, as well as elaborate headdresses, display great skill in pottery and metalwork.

Moche A Native American culture that thrived along Peru’s northern coast between 100 and 800 C.E.

Politically, the Moche were organized into a series of small city-states rather than one unified state, and warfare was common among them. Beginning about 500 the Moche suffered several severe El Niños, changes in ocean current patterns in the Pacific that bring searing drought and flooding. They were not able to respond effectively to the devastation, and their urban population declined.

Pan-Andean cultures re-emerged during the Middle Horizon (500–1000 C.E.), centered to the south in Tiwanaku (TEE-wan-ah-kooh), in Lake Titicaca, and to the north at Wari, near present-day southern Peru. The city-state of Wari’s dominion stretched from the altiplano north of Lake Titicaca to the Pacific coast, drawing on Moche culture. Its reach between mountain and coastal regions led to extensive exchanges of goods and beliefs. The city-state of Tiwanaku extended its influence in the other direction, south of the lake. Both Wari and Tiwanaku practiced ancestor worship, and Tiwanaku religion centered on the figure of Viracocha, the god creator and father of humanity, who was identified with the sun and storms.

Storms and climate shifts were central to Andean people’s worldview because changes in climate, particularly abrupt changes brought by El Niño, could devastate whole civilizations. El Niño disrupted Moche culture and contributed to the decline of Wari and Tiwanaku. As the Middle Horizon ended, the cities of Tiwanaku and Wari endured on a smaller scale, but between 1000 and 1200 C.E. they lost their regional influence. The eras between the Early, Middle, and Late Horizon, known as Intermediate Periods, were times of decentralization in which local cultures and practices re-emerged. It was out of these local developments that new centralizing empires would over time emerge.

The Incas

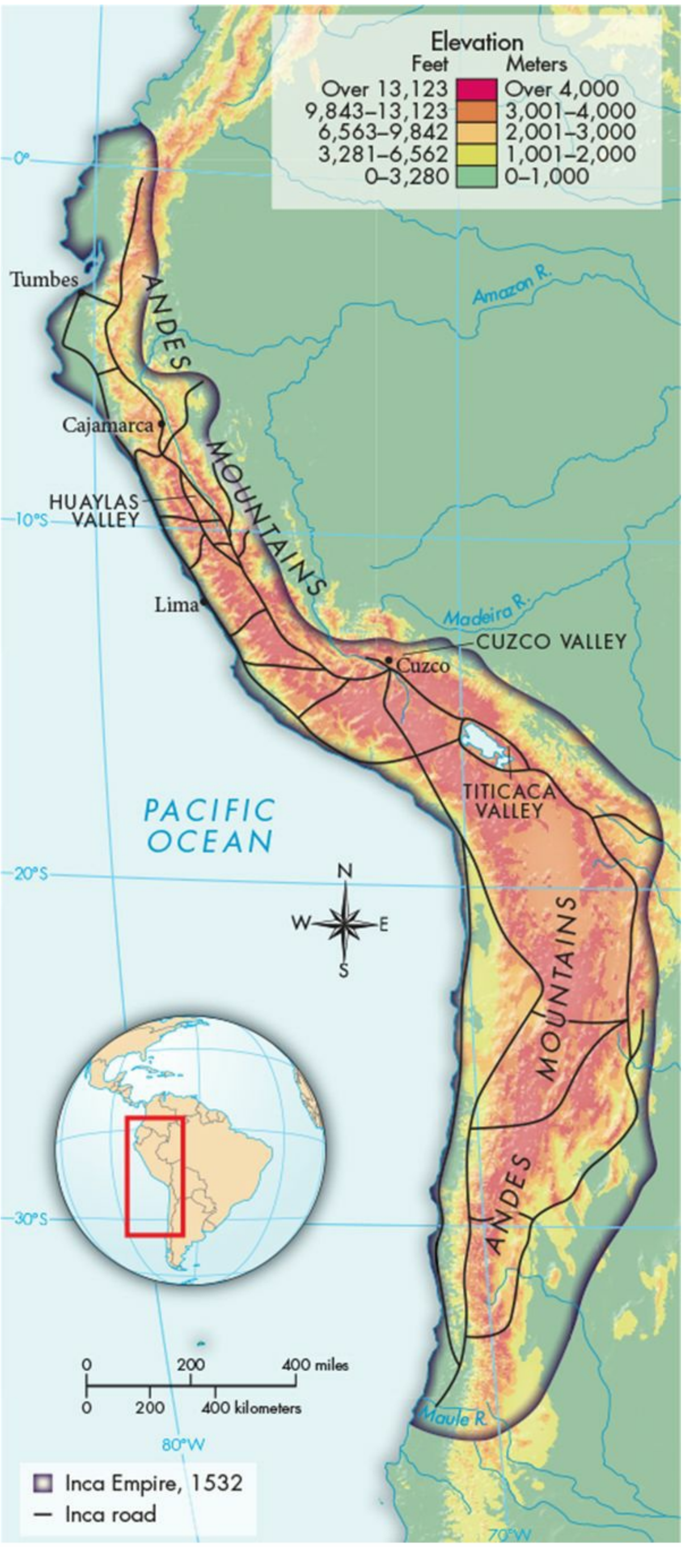
What were the sources of strength and prosperity, and of problems, for the Incas?

Inca was the name of the governing family of the largest and last Andean empire. The empire, whose people we will call the Incas, was called Tawantinsuyu (TAH-want-een-soo-you), meaning “from the four parts, one,” expressing the idea of a unified people stretching in all directions.

Inca The name of the dynasty of rulers who built the largest and last indigenous empire across the Andes

The Inca Model of Empire

In the Late Intermediate Period (1200–1470), the Pan-Andean influences of Wari and Tiwanaku waned. City-states around Lake Titicaca competed and fought. The strongest ones again emerged. To the north, the Chimu claimed the legacy of the Moche and Wari. To the south, the city of Cuzco became the hub of a growing kingdom under the hereditary control of the Incas (Map 11.3). The ways Inca rulers adapted techniques of statecraft from Wari and religious practices from Titicaca gave them powerful tools that helped them build their empire.


Elevation
Feet
Meters
Over 13,123
Over 4,000
9,843–13,123
3,001–4,000
6,563–9,842
2,001–3,000
3,281–6,562
1,001–2,000
0–3,280
0–1,000
0°
Tumbes
ANDES
Amazon R.
Cajamarca
MOUNTAINS
HUAYLAS VALLEY
10°S
Lima
Madeira R.
CUZCO VALLEY
Cuzco
TITICACA VALLEY
PACIFIC OCEAN
20°S
N
W
E
S
MOUNTAINS
ANDES
30°S
0
200
400 miles
0
200
400 kilometers
80°W
Maule R.
Inca Empire, 1532
Inca road
70°W

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Mapping the Past

MAP 11.3 **The Inca Empire, 1532** Andean peoples turned their stark mountain landscape to their advantage by settling and farming in vertical archipelagos. Settlements were located at temperate altitudes, while farming and herding took place at higher and lower altitudes.

ANALYZING THE MAP In what ways did Andean peoples turn their mountain landscape from an obstacle into a resource?

CONNECTIONS What types of geographic features did other peoples of the Americas, or peoples in other regions of the world, adapt to their advantage? How did adaptation to their geography shape those societies?

In the 1420s Viracocha Inca emerged as the first Inca leader to attempt permanent conquest. Unlike the *sinchis* (SEEN-cheese), or kings, of other city-states, Viracocha Inca fashioned himself an emperor and, in adopting the name Viracocha, connected himself to the god of creation. Around 1438 rivals invaded Viracocha Inca's territories and he fled. His son, Pachacuti, remained in Cuzco and fended off the invaders. He crowned himself emperor and embarked on a campaign of conquest. Pachacuti Inca conquered the Chimu and incorporated beliefs and practices from this northern civilization.

After conquering the Chimu, Pachacuti instituted practices that expanded the empire across the Andes. He combined Andean ancestor worship with the Chimu system of a split inheritance, a combination that drove swift territorial expansion and transformed Tawantinsuyu into one of the largest empires in the world. Under the system of ancestor worship, the Incas believed the dead emperor's spirit was still present, and they venerated him through his mummy. Split inheritance meant that the dead emperor retained all the lands he had conquered, commanded the loyalty of all his subjects, and continued to receive tribute. A *panaqa* (pan-AH-kah), a trust formed by his closest relatives, managed both the cult of his mummy and his temporal affairs. Chimu split inheritance became a basic structure of the empire's organization.

When the ruler died, his corpse was preserved as a mummy in elaborate clothing and housed in a sacred and magnificent chamber. A sixteenth-century account of the death of Pachacuti Inca in 1471 described the practices for burying and honoring him:

> He was buried by putting his body in the earth in a large new clay urn, with him very well dressed. Pachacuti Inca [had] ordered that a golden image made to resemble him be placed on top of his tomb. And it was to be worshiped in place of him by the people who went there…. [He had] ordered those of his own lineage to bring this statue out for the feasts that were held in Cuzco. When they brought it out like this, they sang about the things that the Inca did in his life, both in the wars and in his city. Thus they served and revered him, changing its garments as he used to do, and serving it as he was served when

he was alive.[1]

The panaqa of descendants of each dead ruler managed his lands and used his income to care for his mummy, maintain his cult, and support themselves, all at great expense. When a ruler died, one of his sons was named the new Inca emperor. He received the title, but not the lands and tribute — nor, for that matter, the direct allegiance of the nobility, bound as it was to the deceased ruler. The new emperor built his own power and wealth by conquering new lands.

Inca Imperial Expansion

The combination of ancestor worship and split inheritance provided the logic and impulse for expanding Inca power. The desire for conquest provided incentives for courageous (or ambitious) nobles: those who succeeded in battle and gained new territories for the state could expect to receive lands, additional wives, servants, herds of llamas, gold, silver, and other status symbols. Common soldiers who distinguished themselves could be rewarded and raised to noble status. Under Pachacuti Inca and his successors, Inca domination was extended by warfare to the frontier of present-day Ecuador and Colombia in the north and to present-day Chile in the south, an area of about 350,000 square miles. Eighty provinces, scores of ethnic groups, and 16 million people came under Inca control.

The Incas integrated regions they conquered by spreading their language and their gods. Magnificent temples housed images of these gods. Priests led prayers and elaborate rituals, and during occasions such as natural disasters or military victories they sacrificed humans. The Incas' official language, **Quechua** (KEH-chuh-wah), spread across the empire. Along with another major Andean language, Aymara, it is still spoken by millions in Peru, Bolivia, and regions of Ecuador, Argentina, and Chile.

Quechua The official language of the Incas, it is still spoken by most Peruvians today

Pressure for growth strained the Inca Empire. Conquerable lands became scarce, so the Incas directed their attentions to the tropical Amazon forest east of the Andes — an effort that led to military disasters. Inca armies traditionally waged combat in massed formation, often engaging in hand-to-hand combat. But in dense jungles armies could not maneuver or maintain order against enemies who used guerrilla tactics.

Another source of stress came from revolts among subject peoples in conquered territories. Even the system of roads and message-carrying runners couldn't keep up with the administrative needs of the empire. The average runner could cover about 175 miles per day — a remarkable feat of physical endurance, especially at a high altitude — but as the empire grew, so did the distances communication needed to cover. The round trip from the capital at Cuzco to Quito in Ecuador, for example, took ten to twelve days, so an emperor might have to base urgent decisions on incomplete or out-of-date information. The empire was overextended.

Tony Camacho/Science Source

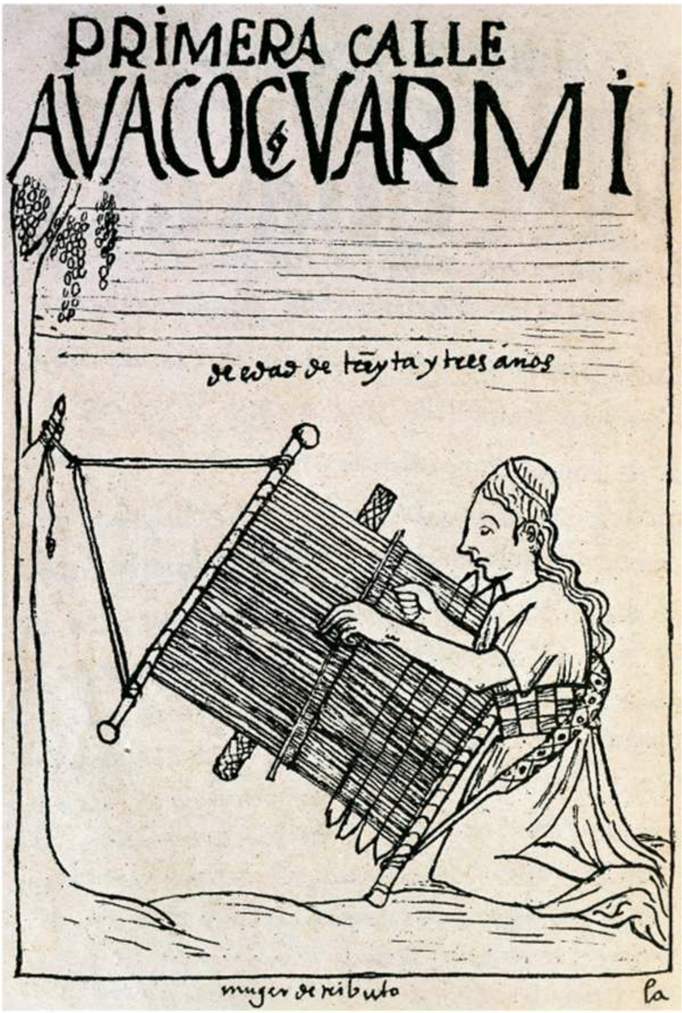
Machu Picchu The Inca ruins of Machu Picchu rise spectacularly above the steep valley of the Urubamba River. The site was built around 1450 as a royal estate and abandoned after the Spanish conquest. (Tony Camacho/Science Source)

Imperial Needs and Obligations

At its height, the Inca Empire extended over 2,600 miles. The challenges of sustaining an empire with that reach, not to mention one built so fast, required extraordinary resourcefulness. The Inca Empire met these demands by adapting aspects of local culture to meet imperial needs. For instance, the empire demanded that the ayllus, the local communities with shared ancestors, include imperial tribute in the rotation of labor and the distribution of harvested foods. In return, community leaders received goods from the empire. (See “Analyzing the Evidence: Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *The First New Chronicle and Good Government*,” at right.)

As each Inca emperor conquered new lands and built his domain, he mobilized people and resources by drawing on local systems of labor and organization. Much as ayllus developed satellite communities called mitmaq to take advantage of remote farming areas, the emperor relocated families or even whole villages over long distances to consolidate territorial control or quell unrest. What had been a community practice became a tool of imperial expansion. The emperor sent mitmaq settlers, known as *mitmaquisuna*, far and wide, creating diverse ethnic enclaves. Inca rulers and nobles also married the daughters of elite families among the peoples they conquered.

The reciprocal labor carried out within ayllus expanded into a labor tax called the *mit’a* (MEE-tuh), which rotated among households in an ayllu throughout the year. Tribute paid in labor provided the means for building the infrastructure of empire. Rotations of laborers carried out impressive engineering projects, allowing the vast empire to extend over the most difficult and inhospitable terrain. An excellent system of roads facilitated the movement of armies and the rapid communication of royal orders by runners.



Museo Nacional de Antropologia, Arqueologia y Historia, Lima, Peru/De Agostini Picture Library/Bridgeman Images

Weaving for Tribute Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala’s line drawing shows a woman weaving fine cloth on a back-strap loom. The drawing indicates that the woman is “weaving for tribute,” which in Poma de Ayala’s time would have been paid to the Spaniards, continuing a traditional obligation of providing tribute to Inca rulers.

Like Persian and Roman roads, these feats of engineering linked an empire. On these roads Inca officials, tax collectors, and accountants traveled throughout the empire, using elaborate khipus to record financial and labor obligations, the output of fields, population levels, land transfers, and other numerical records. Only around 650 khipus are known to survive today, because colonial Spaniards destroyed them, believing khipus might contain religious messages that conflicted with their efforts to impose Christianity.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *The First New Chronicle and Good Government*

Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala (1550?–1616) came from a mixed background — his father was a Spaniard and his mother was from a noble indigenous family in Peru. He spoke Quechua, Aymara, and Spanish and was baptized as a Christian. As an assistant to a Spanish friar and a Spanish judge, he saw firsthand the abuses of the Spanish authorities in what had been the Inca Empire. In the early seventeenth century he began writing and illustrating what became his masterpiece, a handwritten book of almost eight hundred pages of text and nearly four hundred line drawings addressed to the king of Spain that related the history of the Inca Empire and the realities of Spanish rule. He hoped to send the book to Spain, where it would convince the king to make reforms that would bring about the "good government" of the book's title. (The book apparently never reached the king, though it did make its way to Europe. It was discovered in the Danish Royal Library in Copenhagen in 1908.) In the following section, Guaman Poma sets out certain traditional age-group categories of Inca society, which he terms "paths," ten for men and ten for women.

■ The first path was that of the brave men, the soldiers of war. They were thirty-three years of age (they entered this path as young as twenty-five, and left it at fifty). These brave men were held very much apart and distinguished in every manner possible. The Inca [the Inca ruler] selected some of these Indians to serve in his battles and wars. He selected some from among these brave Indians to settle as *mitmaqs* (foreigners) in other provinces, giving them more than enough land, both pasture and cropland, to multiply, and giving each of them a woman from the same land. He did this to keep his kingdom secure; they served as overseers….

The Fifth Path was that of the *sayapayac* [those who stand upright]. These were the Indians of the watch, aged from eighteen to twenty years. They served as messenger boys between one pueblo and another, and to other nearby places in the valley. They also herded flocks, and accompanied the Indians of war and the great lords and captains. They also carried food….

The Eighth Path was that of boys aged from five to nine years. These were the "boys who play" (*puellacoc wamracuna*). They served their mothers and fathers in whatever ways they could, and bore many whippings and thumpings; they also served by playing with the toddlers and by rocking and watching over the babies in cradles….

The Tenth Path was that of those called *wawa quirawpi cac* (newborn babies at the breast, in cradles), from the age of one month. It is right for others to serve them; their mothers must necessarily serve them for no other person can give milk to these children….

The First Path was that of the married women and widows called *auca camayocpa warmin* [the warriors’ women], whose occupation is weaving fine cloth for the Inca, the other lords, the captains, and the soldiers. They were thirty-three years of age when they married; up until then, they remained virgins and maidens…. These wives of brave men were not free [from tribute obligations]. These women had the occupation of weaving fine *awasca* cloth and spinning yarn; they assisted the commons in their pueblos and provinces, and they assisted with everything their titled noble lords decreed….

The Sixth Path was that of those called *coro tasqui-cunas, rotusca tasqui*, which means “young girls with short-cropped hair.” They were from twelve to eighteen years of age and served their fathers, mothers, and grandmothers. They also began to serve the great ladies so that they could learn to spin yarn and weave delicate materials. They served as animal herders and workers in the fields, and in making *chica* [corn beer] for their fathers and mothers, and they assisted in other occupations insofar as they could, helping out … they were filled with obedience and respect, and were taught to cook, spin, and weave. Their hair was kept cropped until they reached the age of thirty, when they were married and given the dowry of their destitution and poverty.

The Seventh Path was that of the girls called flower pickers…. They picked flowers to dye wool for *cumpis*, cloth, and other things, and they picked the edible herbs mentioned above, which they dried out and stored in the warehouse to be eaten the following year. These girls were from nine to twelve years of age….

The Ninth Path was that of the girls aged one and two, who were called *llucac warmi wawa* (“young girls who crawl”). They do nothing; instead, others serve them. Better said, they ought to be served by their mothers, who should be exempt [from tribute] because of the work of raising their children. Their mothers have to walk around carrying them, and never let go of their hands.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. The “First Path” among both men and women is the one with the highest status. Judging by the way Guaman Poma describes the paths, what do the Incas especially value? How do his descriptions of other paths support your conclusions about this?
2. In what ways are the paths set out for boys and men different from those for girls and women? In what ways are they similar? What does this suggest about Inca society?
3. Guaman Poma wrote this about eighty years after the Spanish conquest of Peru. How do the date and the colonial setting affect your evaluation of this work as a source?

Source: Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *The First New Chronicle and Good Government* (abridged),

selected, translated, and annotated by David Frye, pp. 70, 72, 74, 75, 77, 80, 81, 82. Copyright © 2006 by Hackett Publishing Company, Inc. Reprinted with permission of Hackett Publishing Company, Inc. All rights reserved.

The Maya and Teotihuacan

How did the Maya and Teotihuacan develop prosperous and stable societies in the classical era?

In Mesoamerica the classical period (300 C.E.–900 C.E.) saw major advances in religion, art, architecture, and farming, akin to those of the classical civilizations of the Mediterranean. Long-lasting city-states rose in **Maya** regions between 300 C.E. and 900 C.E. City-states also developed in the Valley of Mexico, where **Teotihuacan** emerged as a major center of trade between 300 C.E. and 650 C.E. The classical period was followed by the postclassical Toltec Empire (900–1174 C.E.), which adapted the cultural, ritual, and aesthetic practices that influenced later empires like the Aztecs.

Maya A highly developed Mesoamerican culture centered in the Yucatán peninsula of Mexico. The Maya created the most intricate writing system in the Western Hemisphere

Teotihuacan The monumental city-state that dominated trade in classical era Mesoamerica

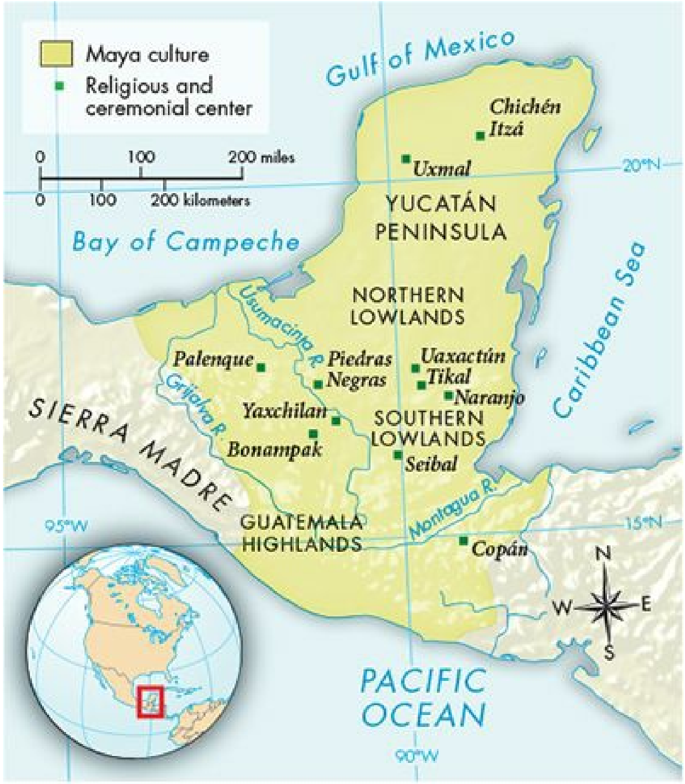
Maya Agriculture and Trade

The Maya inhabited the highlands of Guatemala and the Yucatán peninsula in present-day Mexico and Belize. Their physical setting shaped two features of Maya society. First, the abundance of high-quality limestone allowed them to build monumental architecture. Second, limestone formations created deep natural wells called *cenotes* (say-NOH-tehs), which became critical sources of water in an often-arid environment. Cenotes were essential to farming and also became important religious and spiritual sites. The staple crop of the Maya was maize, often raised in small remote plots called *milpas* in combination with other foodstuffs, including beans, squash, chili peppers, root crops, and fruit trees.

Courtesy of Jerry Dávila

Chichén Itzá Pyramid This pyramid served as the temple to Kukulkan, the Maya expression of the Feathered Serpent deity known to the Aztecs as Quetzalcoatl. Eighty feet tall and 180 feet across, it served as the ceremonial and physical center of the city of Chichén Itzá, located in Mexico’s Yucatán peninsula.

The entire Maya region may have had as many as 14 million inhabitants. Sites like Uxmal, Uaxactún, Copán, Piedras Negras, Tikal, Palenque, and Chichén Itzá (Map 11.4) emerged as independent city-states, each ruled by a hereditary king. These cities featured ornate temples, engraved pillars, palaces for nobles, pyramids where nobles were buried, and courts for ball games. A hereditary nobility owned land, exercised political power, and directed religious rituals. Artisans and scribes made up the social level below. Other residents were farmers, laborers, and slaves, the latter including prisoners of war.


Maya culture
Religious and ceremonial center
0
100
200 miles
0
100
200 kilometers
Gulf of Mexico
Bay of Campeche
Chichén Itzá
Uxmal
20°N
YUCATÁN PENINSULA
NORTHERN LOWLANDS
Caribbean Sea
Usumacinta R.
Palenque
Piedras Negras
Uaxactún
Tikal
Naranjo
Grijalva R.
Yaxchilan
SOUTHERN LOWLANDS
Bonampak
Seibal
SIERRA MADRE
95°W
GUATEMALA HIGHLANDS
Montagua R.
Copán
15°N
N
W
E
S
PACIFIC OCEAN
90°W

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 11.4 The Maya World, 300–900 C.E. The Maya built dozens of cities linked together in trading networks of roads and rivers. Only the largest of them are shown here.

At Maya markets, jade, obsidian, beads of red spiny oyster shell, lengths of cloth, and cacao beans — all in high demand in the Mesoamerican world — served as media of exchange. The extensive trade among Maya communities, plus a common language, promoted unity among the peoples of the region. Merchants traded beyond Maya regions, particularly with the Zapotecs of Monte Albán, in the Valley of Oaxaca, and with the Teotihuacanos of the central valley of Mexico. Since this long-distance trade played an important part in international relations, the merchants conducting it were high nobles or even members of the royal family.

Maya Science and Religion

The Maya developed the most complex writing system in the Americas, a script with nearly a thousand glyphs. They recorded important events and observations in books made of bark paper and deerskin, on pottery, on stone pillars called steles, and on buildings. The inscriptions include historical references that record events in the lives of Maya kings and nobles. As was common for elites everywhere, Maya leaders stressed the ancient ancestry of their families. (See “Analyzing the Evidence: The Maya Calendar,” page 303.)

Few Maya books survived the wrath of sixteenth-century Spanish religious authorities, who viewed the books as heretical and ordered them destroyed. A handful survived, offering a window into religious rituals and practices, as well as Maya astronomy. From observation of the earth’s movements around the sun, the Maya used a calendar of eighteen 20-day months and one 5-day month, for a total of 365 days, along with the 260-day lunar calendar based on 20 weeks of 13 days. When these calendars coincided every 52 years, the Maya celebrated with feasting, ball-game competitions, and religious observances that included blood sacrifice by kings to honor the gods.

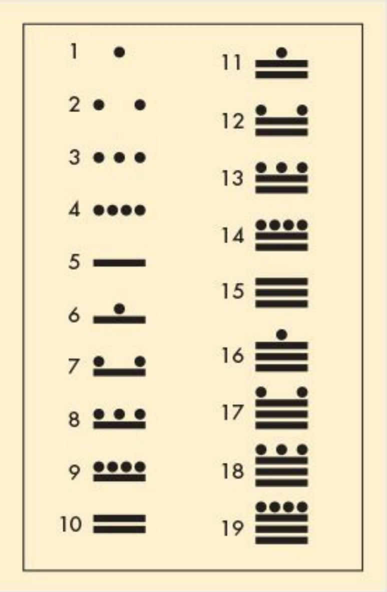
The Maya devised a form of mathematics based on the vigesimal (20) rather than the decimal (10) system. More unusual was their use of the number zero, which allows for more complex calculations. The Maya’s proficiency with numbers made them masters of abstract knowledge — notably in astronomy and mathematics.

Between the eighth and tenth centuries the Maya abandoned their cultural and ceremonial centers. Archaeologists attribute their decline to a combination of warfare and agricultural failures due to drought and land exhaustion. Decline did not mean disappearance. The Maya ceased building monumental architecture around 900 C.E., which likely marked the end of the era of rule by powerful kings who could mobilize the labor required to build it. The Maya persisted in farming communities, a pattern of settlement that helped preserve their culture and language in the face of external pressures.

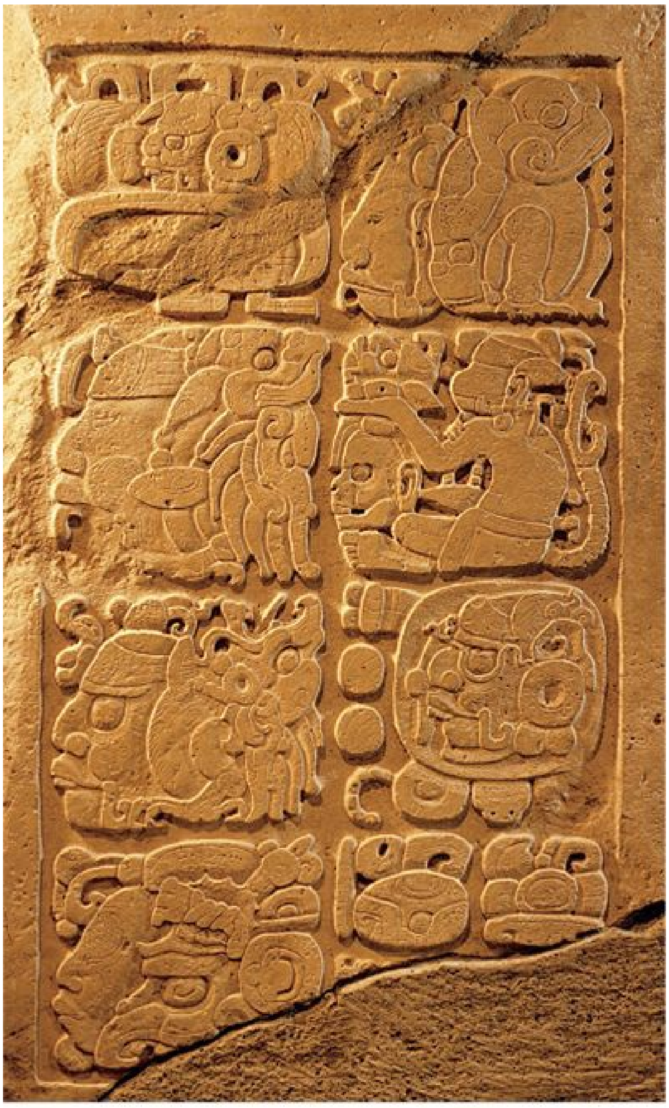
Maya communities resisted invasions from warring Aztec armies by dispersing from their towns and villages and residing in their milpas during invasions. When Aztec armies entered the Yucatán peninsula or the highlands of what is today Guatemala, communities vanished, leaving Aztec armies with nothing to conquer. This tactic continued to serve Maya communities under Spanish colonial rule. Though Spaniards claimed the Yucatán, the Maya continued to use the strategy that had served them so well in resisting the Aztecs. Many communities avoided Spanish domination for generations. The last independent Maya kingdom succumbed only in 1697, and resistance continued well into the nineteenth century.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

The Maya Calendar


1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/ St. Martin's



Otis Imboden/National Geographic Creative

The Maya, like other Mesoamerican peoples, used a 365-day solar calendar and a 260-day lunar calendar. They recorded dates by using both calendars, expressed either in a 52-year cycle, known as a Calendar Round, or using a linear calendar beginning in a year corresponding with 3114 B.C.E. The carving here records a date using the Long Count calendar that is equivalent to February 11, 526 C.E.

The date appears as part of a carving that formed part of the ceremonial complex in the classical period Maya city of Yaxchilan, located in present-day Chiapas in southern Mexico. Towering over the Usumacinta River, Yaxchilan was the home to powerful kings who ordered the story of their dynasty told through exquisitely engraved lintels above doorways, like this one, and on stone slabs known as steles.

The lintel date marks the beginning of a king’s reign. The date is rendered through the images of animals and deities that correspond with the Maya Long Count calendar. The monkey (right column, second from top) signals a day date. The day is defined by the god’s head in its hand, which means 6, and the skull beneath the hand, which means 10: or 16 days. Above the monkey is Hun Hunaphu, the god of maize. To the left of the monkey is Yax Balam, deity of the moon, and below Yax Balam is Hun Ahau, a hero tied to the underworld. Beneath the monkey figure, the two dots correspond with the number 2. Numbers were expressed though a system of bars and dots in which a single bar equals 5 and a single dot equals 1. The chart here shows the Maya means of representing numbers 1 to 19. The buildings of Maya cities were densely inscribed with such carvings that celebrated the reign of kings, depicted their ancestry, and commemorated feats in battle.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Calendars show not only dates but also the sense of time of the people who used them. What do the figures in this calendar show you about the Maya and their world?
2. How does the Maya system of numbers resemble other numerical systems with which you are familiar?
3. What does this carving show us about the kinds of uses the calendar served?

Teotihuacan and the Toltecs

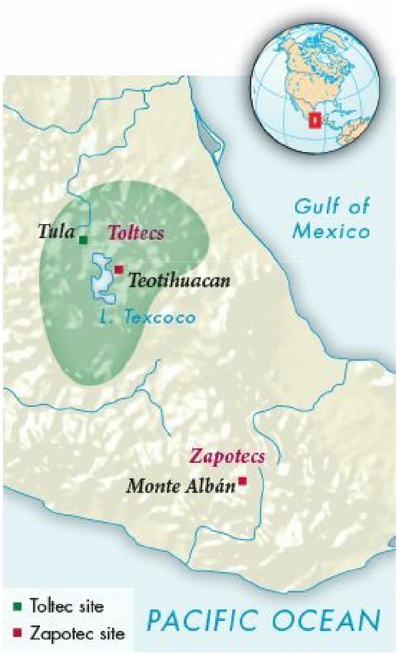
The most powerful city in classical Mesoamerica emerged at Teotihuacan, northwest of the lands of the Maya. At its height, between 300 and 600 C.E., its population reached as high as 250,000, making it one of the largest cities in the world at that time. The heart of Teotihuacan was a massive ceremonial center anchored by a colossal Pyramid of the Sun, 700 feet wide and 200 feet tall, and a Pyramid of the Moon. Connecting them was the Avenue of the Dead, 150 feet wide and 2 miles long, along which stood the homes of scores of priests and lords. The monuments of Teotihuacan were so massive that centuries later the Aztecs thought they had been built by giants. A cave under the Pyramid of the Sun suggests the ceremonial center's origins. Caves symbolized the womb from which the sun and moon were born. It is possible that it emerged like other pilgrimage sites around the world that became important marketplaces.[2]

The monuments of the ceremonial district of Teotihuacan were matched in grandeur by the city's markets, which extended its influence across Mesoamerica. The city's trade empire lay in its control of a resource vital to Mesoamerican society and religion: obsidian, a glasslike volcanic rock that could be worked into objects with both material and spiritual uses. Obsidian knives were used for daily tasks and for important rituals such as the blood sacrifice practiced by the Maya.[3]

Religion accompanied trade. Teotihuacan was a religious and cultural center whose influence extended over large distances. One factor in the city's success was its ethnic diversity. Teotihuacan grew through the migration of outsiders along trade networks, and these groups built separate ethnic neighborhoods. Two gods that were particularly important to classical period civilizations were Tlaloc (Chac in Maya), the god of rain, and Quetzalcoatl, the plumed serpent. (See "Thinking Like a Historian: Feathers, Snakes, and Humans," page 304.) The worship of these deities became an enduring aspect of Mesoamerican religion that the Toltecs and the Aztecs embraced.[4]

Teotihuacan thrived as a commercial and religious hub because it controlled trade of the most valuable goods. This combination helped Teotihuacan grow, and in turn the trade networks it sustained helped other regions in Mesoamerica develop through contact with other groups and the spread of technologies. Over time, improvements in other regions decreased Teotihuacan's comparative advantage, as its trading partners produced increasingly valuable goods, spurring competition. By 600 its influence had begun to decline, and in 650 the residents of the city seem to have burned its ceremonial center in what may have been a revolt against the city's leadership. The city had ceased to be a major trade center by 900 C.E.[5]

The Toltecs (900–1200 C.E.) filled the void created by Teotihuacan's decline. The Toltecs inaugurated a new era, the postclassical, which ended with the Spanish conquest of the Aztec Empire. The postclassical period saw fewer technological or artistic advances. Instead it was a time of intensified warfare in Mesoamerica and a time of rapid and bold imperial expansion through conquest. After the decline of Teotihuacan, the Toltecs entered the Valley of Mexico and settled in Tula. The Toltecs' legend of their origins held that in 968 C.E. their people were led into the valley by a charismatic king, Topiltzin. He assumed the name of Quetzalcoatl, the Feathered Serpent god, with whom he later became merged in Aztec mythology. In 987, amid infighting, Topiltzin-Quetzalcoatl and his followers were expelled from Tula. They marched south, where they conquered and settled in a Maya region.



Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

The Toltecs, ca. 900–1200 C.E.

The Toltec origin myth later merged with the mythology of the Aztecs, who fashioned themselves modern Toltecs, and in turn these myths continued to evolve after the Spanish conquest in the sixteenth century to explain their defeat. Through this long and distorted course, the legend went like this: Topiltzin-Quetzalcoatl and his followers marked their journey into exile by shooting arrows into saplings, forming crosslike images. Settled in the east, he sent word that he would return to take back his rightful throne in the Mesoamerican calendar year Ce Acatl. And by tradition, the god Quetzalcoatl’s human manifestation was bearded and light skinned. Ce Acatl corresponded to the European year 1519, when Hernán Cortés marched into the Aztec capital Tenochtitlan (light skinned, bearded, and coming from the east bearing crosses). In this retelling of the myth of Quetzalcoatl among the generations that followed the conquest, the demise of the Aztec Empire at the hands of a vengeful god had been foretold by half a millennium.

The Toltecs built a military empire and gradually absorbed the culture, practices, and religion of their neighbors in the Valley of Mexico. Their empire declined amid war, drought, and famine over the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The last Toltec king died in 1174. After the demise of the Toltec Empire, city-states in the Valley of Mexico competed with each other militarily and to cast themselves as the legitimate descendants and heirs of the Toltecs.

THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN

Feathers, Snakes, and Humans

The Feathered Serpent was one of the most significant deities of Mesoamerica. Combining multiple animal features and sometimes human features, this god may have originated with the Olmecs. A temple to the Feathered Serpent was built in Teotihuacan around 200 C.E., and versions of the deity were revered by the Maya and the Toltecs. Among the Nahua people of the Aztec Empire, a story about the human form of the god would be used to explain the arrival of Europeans in the sixteenth century. These sources represent different versions of the deity and its relationship to humanity.

1 **The Maya *Popol Vuh,* account of Quetzal Serpent's creation of the world, ca. 1554.** The *Popol Vuh* was a narrative produced in the sixteenth century that related the origins and history of Maya peoples in the Guatemalan highlands.

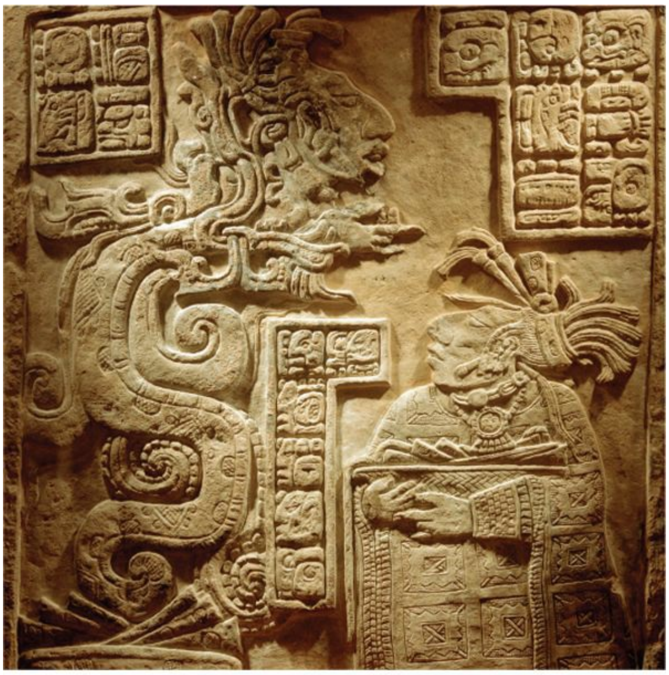
■ Heart of Sky arrived here with Sovereign and Quetzal Serpent [three creator gods] in the darkness, in the night…. They thought and they pondered. They reached an accord, bringing together their words and their thoughts…. Then the earth was created by them. Merely their word brought about the creation of it. In order to create the earth, they said, "Earth," and immediately it was created…. Then were conceived the animals of the mountains, the guardians of the forest, and all that populate the mountains — the deer and the birds, the puma and the jaguar, the serpent and the rattlesnake…. This, then, is the beginning of the conception of humanity, when that which would become the flesh of mankind was sought. Then spoke they who are called She Who Has Borne Children and He Who Has Begotten Sons, the Framer and the Shaper [four other gods associated with creation], Sovereign and Quetzal Serpent: "The dawn approaches, and our work is not completed. A provider and a sustainer have yet to appear — a child of light, a son of light. Humanity has yet to appear to populate the face of the earth," they said. Thus they gathered together and joined their thoughts in the darkness, in the night. They searched and they sifted. Here they thought and they pondered. Their thoughts came forth bright and clear. They discovered and established that which would become the flesh of humanity…. Thus their frame and shape were given expression by our first Mother and our first Father. Their flesh was merely yellow ears of maize and white ears of maize…. And so there were four who were made, and mere food was their flesh…. Then their companions, their wives, also came to be. It was the gods who conceived them as well.

2 **Aztec account of the creation of the fifth (and current) world, ca. 1560.** This account originates in the *Codex Chimalpopoca*, a sixteenth-century book that relates the Aztec cosmology — the origins of the world through the intervention of the gods.

■ Four worlds and their peoples had been destroyed before the making of this our

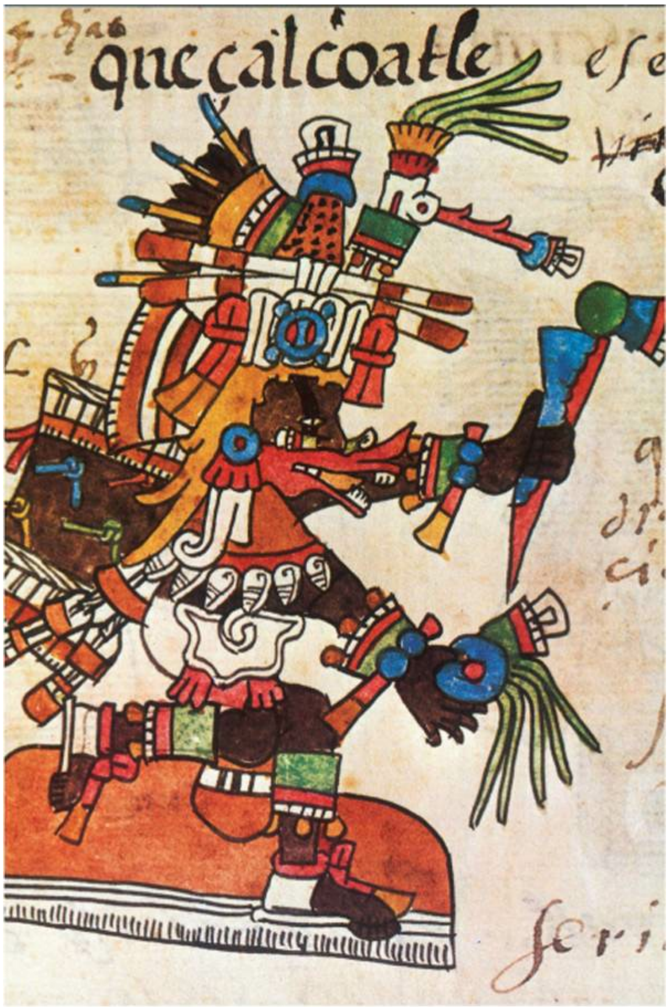
Fifth World…. Then Quetzalcoatl ventured into the domains of the Lord of the Dead to gather up the human bones of an earlier creation. Initially the bones were kept separate, the bones of the man … together on one side, and the bones of the woman … together on the other side. But in his flight from the Death Lord's anger Quetzalcoatl stumbled and dropped the bones, which shattered. He snatched up the fragments … and took them to Cihuacoatl, Woman Snake, representing Earth Lady and all her vegetable abundance, who ground them into a fine meal on her maize-grinding stone. Then it was the turn of the male gods, led by Quetzalcoatl, to make their contribution, drawing blood from their penises to moisten the ground bones. A man and a woman took form from the dough.

3 **Maya stone relief of the Vision Serpent from Yaxchilan, 726.** The Maya name for the Feathered Serpent was Kukulkan. In this panel the Vision Serpent, a deity related to Kukulkan, appears before a woman and bears ritual bloodletting implements.



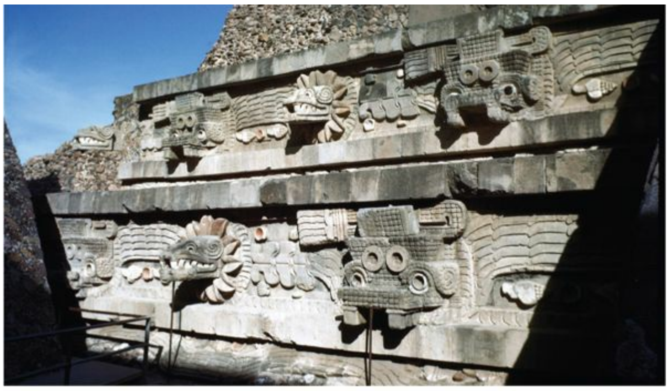
British Museum, London, UK/akg-images

4 ***Codex Telleriano*, Aztec representation of Quetzalcoatl, ca. 1563.** The Nahua peoples who dominated the Aztec Empire also embraced the Feathered Serpent, which they called Quetzalcoatl. This image shows an ornate god with human features



Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, France/akg-images

5 **Temple of Quetzalcoatl in Teotihuacan, ca. 200 C.E.** One of the largest pyramids in Teotihuacan was the Temple of Quetzalcoatl, whose terraces were adorned with images of the Feathered Serpent. Archaeological excavations at the pyramid have identified nearly two hundred individuals sacrificed, including two groups of eighteen, corresponding with the number of months in the Mesoamerican calendar, and one captive at each of the pyramid's four corners. The sacrifices symbolized the creation of the world.



Ivan Dmitri/Michael Ochs Archives/Getty Images

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. In Sources 1 and 2, what similarities and differences do you find between the roles played by the Feathered Serpent in the Maya and Aztec creation myths?
2. What do Sources 1 and 2 suggest about the relationships between humans and gods in Maya and Aztec culture? Between humans and the rest of creation?
3. How do the images of the Feathered Serpent in Sources 3 and 4 combine animal and human forms? Why does the combination of a serpent and feathers suggest divinity?
4. How does an archaeological source like the temple in Teotihuacan depicted in Source 5 help us understand Quetzalcoatl?

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

Using the sources above, along with what you have learned in class and in this chapter, write a short essay that examines the relationships between humans and gods in the ancient Americas. What aspects of Quetzalcoatl mythology apply to other deities of Mesoamerica or to the religious systems of the Andes?

Sources: (1) Allen J. Christenson, trans., *Popul Vuh: The Sacred Book of the Maya.* Reproduced with permission of UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA PRESS in the format Republish in a book via Copyright Clearance Center; (2) Inga Clendinnen, *Aztecs: An Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 173.

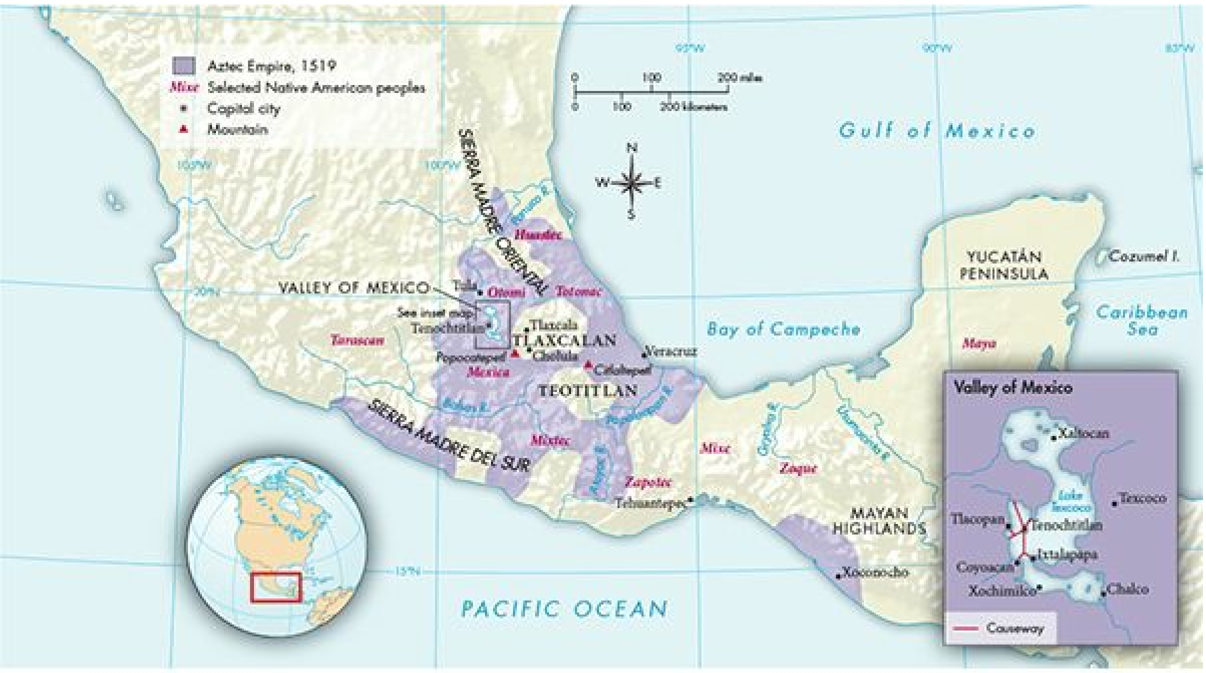
The Aztec Empire

How did the Mexica build on the achievements of earlier Mesoamerican cultures and develop new traditions to create their large empire?

Aztec is the modern name given to the empire created by a **Nahuatl**-speaking people, the **Mexica**, who settled on Lake Texcoco in the Valley of Mexico between 1300 and 1345 (Map 11.5). They formed a vast and rapidly expanding empire ruled by the twin cities of Tenochtitlan (tay-nawch-TEET-lahn) and Tlatelolco, which by 1500 were probably larger than any city in Europe except Istanbul. This was the Aztec Empire, a network of alliances and tributary states with the Mexica at its core. Examining the means by which they formed and expanded their empire, as well as the vulnerabilities of that empire, can help us build a rich understanding of Mesoamerican society.

Nahuatl The language of the Aztecs, which they inherited from the Toltecs

Mexica The dominant ethnic group of what is now Mexico, who created an empire based on war and religion that reached its height in the fifteenth century



Aztec Empire, 1519
Mixe Selected Native American peoples
Capital city
Mountain
0 100 200 miles
0 100 200 kilometers
N
W
E
S
105°W
100°W
95°W
90°W
85°W
20°N
15°N
Gulf of Mexico
SIERRA MADRE ORIENTAL
Huastec
Otomi
Totonac
VALLEY OF MEXICO
Tula
See inset map
Tenochtitlan
Tlaxcala
TLAXCALAN
Cholula
Popocatepetl
Mexica
Citlaltepetl
Veracruz
Tarascan
TEOTITLAN
Balsas R.
SIERRA MADRE DEL SUR
Mixtec
Mixe
Zapotec
Tehuantepec
Zoque
Bay of Campeche
YUCATÁN PENINSULA
Cozumel I.
Caribbean Sea
Maya
MAYAN HIGHLANDS
Xoconocho
PACIFIC OCEAN
Valley of Mexico
Xaltocan
Lake Texcoco
Texcoco
Tlacopan
Tenochtitlan
Ixtalapapa
Coyoacan
Xochimilko
Chalco
Causeway

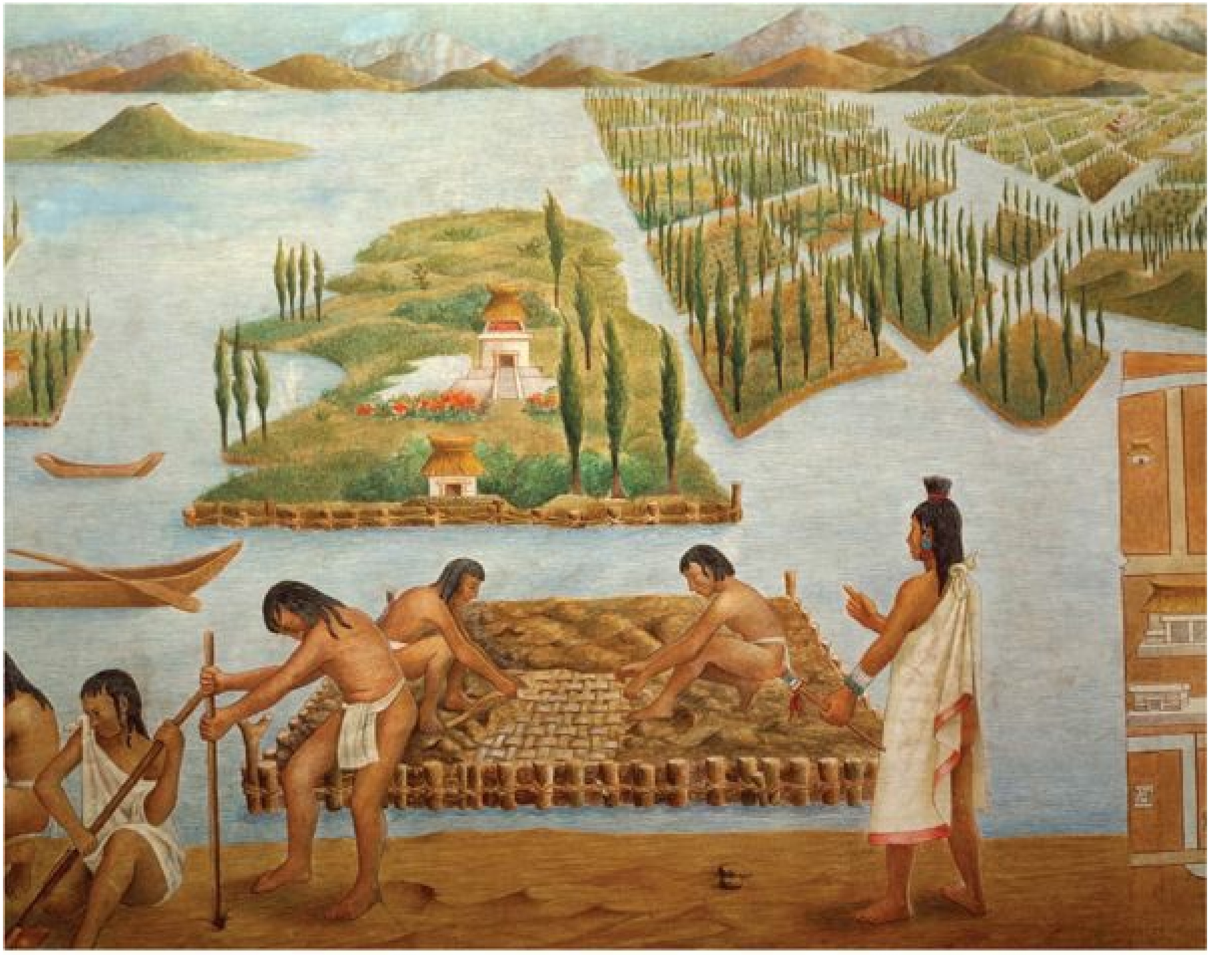
Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 11.5 The Aztec (Mexica) Empire in 1519 The Mexica migrated into the central valley of what is now Mexico from the north, conquering other groups and establishing an empire, later called the Aztec Empire. The capital of the Aztec Empire was Tenochtitlan, built on islands in Lake Texcoco.

The Mexica: From Vassals to Masters

In the early fourteenth century the seminomadic Mexica migrated to the crowded and highly cultured Valley of Mexico. They found an environment that, since the collapse of the Toltec Empire in the twelfth century, had divided into small, fragile alliances that battled to claim the legacy of the Toltecs. At the time of their arrival, control over much of the valley lay in the hands of the Tepanec Alliance. The Mexica negotiated the right to settle on a swampy island on Lake Texcoco in exchange for military service to the Tepanecs. Here, in 1325, they founded the city of Tenochtitlan, which would become the capital of the Aztec Empire.

The Mexica adopted the customs of their new region, organizing clan-based communities called *calpolli*, incorporating the deities of their new neighbors, and serving the Tepanecs. They gradually reclaimed land around their island to form the two urban centers, Tenochtitlan and Tlatelolco. Mexica farmers adopted a technique used in parts of Lake Texcoco called *chinampa* (chee-NAHM-pah) agriculture. Under this system, farmers built up reeds and mud along the margins of Lake Texcoco to gradually extend farming well into the lake.



Museo de la Ciudad de Mexico, Mexico City/De Agostini Picture Library/Gianni Dagli Orti/Bridgeman Images

Chinampa Farming This modern illustration shows farmers in the Aztec Empire building chinampa farming plots by reclaiming land from Lake Texcoco. Farmers created the plots by packing them with vegetation and mud from the lake, supporting their boundaries by planting willow trees. Chinampas allowed for intensive farming in a region that had limited rainfall, and the canals between them permitted easy transportation.

At its peak, the chinampa farming system formed vast areas of tidy rectangular plots divided by canals that allowed for canoe transportation of people and crops. When the Spanish entered Tenochtitlan (which they called Mexico City) in November 1519, they were amazed at this city, which seemed to rise straight out of the lake.

Tenochtitlan The largest Aztec city, built starting in 1325. The Spanish admired it when they entered in 1519

Over time, the Mexica improved their standing by asking a powerful neighboring city-state to name a prince considered to be of noble Toltec descent to rule them, forming a dynasty that would become the most powerful in Mesoamerica. The new ruler, or *tlatoani* (tlah-TOH-annie), Acamapichtli (ah-cama-PITCH-lee), increased the Mexica's social rank and gave them the ability to form alliances.

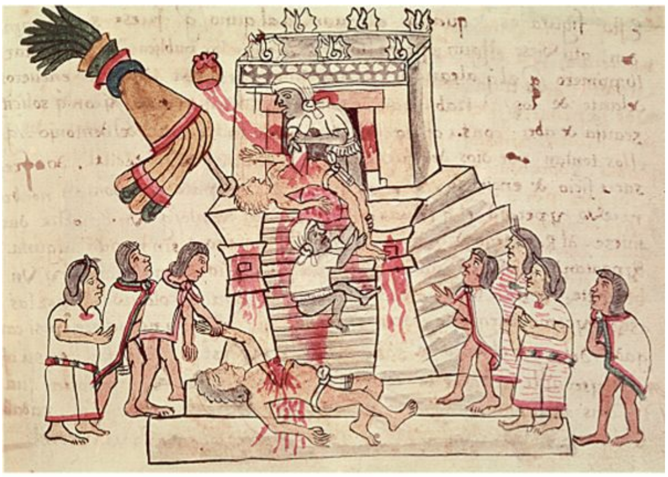
By the end of Acamapichtli's reign (1372–1391), the Mexica had adapted to their new environment and had adopted the highly stratified social organization that would encourage the ambitions of their own warrior class. Under the rule of Acamapichtli's successors Huitzilihuitl (r. 1391–1417) and Chimalpopoca (r. 1417–1427), the Mexica remained subordinate to the Tepanec Alliance. But in 1427 a dispute over the succession of the Tepanec king created an opportunity for the Mexica. The Mexica formed a coalition with other cities in the Valley of Mexico, besieged the Tepanec capital for nearly three months, and then defeated it. A powerful new coalition had emerged: the Triple Alliance, with the Mexica as its most powerful partner. The Aztec Empire was born.

To consolidate the new political order, Tlatoani Itzcoatl, guided by his nephew Tlacaelel, burned his predecessors' books and drafted a new history. This history placed the warrior cult and its religious pantheon at the center of Mexica history, making the god of war, Huitzilopochtli, the patron deity of the empire. Huitzilopochtli, "Hummingbird of the South," was a god unique to the Mexica who, according to the new official origin stories of the Mexica people, had ordered them to march south until they found an island where he gave them the sign of an eagle eating a serpent, which appeared to them in Tenochtitlan. (See "Individuals in Society: Tlacaelel," page 309.)

Under the new imperial order, government offices combined military, religious, and political functions. Eventually, tlatoanis formalized these functions into distinct noble and common classes. The Valley of Mexico had sustained itself through chinampa agriculture, but as the empire grew, tribute from distant conquered peoples increasingly fed the valley's rapidly growing population. The Mexica sustained themselves through military conquest, imposing their rule over a vast part of modern Mexico.

INDIVIDUALS IN SOCIETY

Tlacaelel



Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, Italy/Bridgeman Images

Tlacaelel emphasized human sacrifice as one of the Aztecs' religious duties.

THE HUMMINGBIRD GOD HUITZILOPOCHTLI WAS ORIGI-nally a somewhat ordinary god of war and of young men, but in the fifteenth century he was elevated in status among the Mexica. He became increasingly associated with the sun and gradually became the most important Mexica deity. This change appears to have been primarily the work of Tlacaelel, the very long-lived chief adviser to the emperors Itzcoatl (r. 1427–1440), Moctezuma I (r. 1440–1469), and Axayacatl (r. 1469–1481). Tlacaelel first gained influence during wars in the 1420s in which the Mexica defeated the rival Tepanecs, after which he established new systems of dividing military spoils and enemy lands. At the same time, he advised the emperor that new histories were needed in which the destiny of the Mexica people was made clearer. Tlacaelel ordered the destruction of older historical texts, and under his direction the new chronicles connected Mexica fate directly to Huitzilopochtli. Mexica writing was primarily pictographic, drawn and then read by specially trained scribes who used written records as an aid to oral presentation, especially for legal issues, historical chronicles, religious and devotional poetry, and astronomical calculations.

According to these new texts, the Mexica had been guided to Lake Texcoco by Huitzilopochtli; there they saw an eagle perched on a cactus, which a prophecy foretold would mark the site of their new city.

Huitzilopochtli kept the world alive by bringing the sun’s warmth, but to do this he required the Mexica, who increasingly saw themselves as the “people of the sun,” to provide a steady offering of human blood.

The worship of Huitzilopochtli became linked to cosmic forces as well as daily survival. In Nahua tradition, the universe was understood to exist in a series of five suns, or five cosmic ages. Four ages had already passed, and their suns had been destroyed; the fifth sun, the age in which the Mexica were now living, would also be destroyed unless the Mexica fortified the sun with the energy found in blood. Warfare thus brought new territory under Mexica control and provided sacrificial victims to nourish the sun-god. With these ideas, Tlacaelel created what Miguel León-Portilla, a leading contemporary scholar of Nahua religion and philosophy, has termed a “mystico-militaristic” conception of Aztec destiny.

Human sacrifice was practiced in many cultures of Mesoamerica, including the Olmec and the Maya as well as the Mexica, before the changes introduced by Tlacaelel, but historians believe the number of victims increased dramatically during the last period of Mexica rule. A huge pyramid-shaped temple in the center of Tenochtitlan, dedicated to Huitzilopochtli and Tlaloc, the god of rain, was renovated and expanded many times, the last in 1487. To dedicate each expansion, priests sacrificed war captives. Similar ceremonies were held regularly throughout the year on days dedicated to Huitzilopochtli and were attended by many observers, including representatives from neighboring states as well as masses of Mexica. According to many accounts, victims were placed on a stone slab, and their hearts were cut out with an obsidian knife; the officiating priest then held the heart up as an offering to the sun. Sacrifices were also made to other gods at temples elsewhere in Tenochtitlan, and perhaps in other cities controlled by the Mexica.

Estimates of the number of people sacrificed to Huitzilopochtli and other Mexica gods vary enormously and are impossible to verify. Both Mexica and later Spanish accounts clearly exaggerated the numbers, but most historians today assume that between several hundred and several thousand people were killed each year.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. How did the worship of Huitzilopochtli contribute to Aztec expansion? To hostility toward the Aztecs?
2. Why might Tlacaelel have believed it was important to destroy older texts as he created this new Aztec mythology?

Sources: Miguel León-Portilla, *Pre-Columbian Literatures of Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969); Inga Clendinnen, Aztecs: An Interpretation (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

Life in the Aztec Empire

Few social distinctions existed among the Aztecs during their early migrations, but by the early sixteenth century Aztec society changed as the warrior aristocracy asserted great authority. Men who had distinguished themselves in war occupied the highest military and social positions in the state. Generals, judges, and governors of provinces were appointed by the emperor from among his servants who had earned reputations as war heroes. These great lords, or *tecuhtli* (teh-COOT-lee), dressed luxuriously and lived in palaces.

Beneath the aristocracy of military leaders and imperial officials was the class of warriors. Theoretically, every free man could be a warrior, and parents dedicated their male children to war, burying a male child's umbilical cord with arrows and a shield on the day of his birth. In practice, the sons of nobles were more likely to become warriors because of their fathers' positions and influence in the state. At the age of six, boys entered a school that trained them for war. They were taught to fight with a *macana*, a paddle-shaped wooden club edged with bits of obsidian, and learned to live on little food and sleep and to accept pain without complaint. When a man reached adulthood, he fought his first campaign. If he captured a prisoner for ritual sacrifice, he acquired the title *iyac*, or warrior. If he continued to succeed in later campaigns, he became a *tequiua* — one who shared in the booty and was thus a member of the nobility. If a young man failed in several campaigns to capture the required four prisoners, he became a *macehualli* (plural *macehualtin*), a commoner.

The macehualtin were the ordinary citizens — the backbone of Aztec society and the vast majority of the population. The word *macehualli* means "worker" and implies boorish speech and vulgar behavior. Macehualtin performed agricultural, military, and domestic services and carried heavy burdens not required of noble warriors. They were assigned to work on the temples, roads, and bridges. Unlike nobles, priests, orphans, and slaves, macehualtin paid taxes. Macehualtin in the capital, however, possessed certain rights: they held their plots of land for life, and they received a share of the tribute paid by the provinces to the emperor.

Beneath the macehualtin were the *tlalmaitl*, the landless workers or serfs who provided agricultural labor, paid rents, and were bound to the soil — they could not move off the land. In many ways the tlalmaitl resembled European serfs, but unlike serfs they performed military service when called. Slaves were the lowest social class. Most were prisoners captured in war or kidnapped from enemy tribes. People convicted of crimes could be sentenced to slavery, and people in serious debt sometimes sold themselves. Female slaves often became their masters' concubines. Mexica slaves could save money, buy property or slaves of their own, and purchase their freedom. If a male slave married a free woman, their offspring were free. Most slaves eventually gained their freedom.

Women of all social classes operated within the domestic sphere. As the little hands of the newborn male were closed around a tiny bow and arrow indicating his warrior destiny, so the infant female's hands were wrapped around miniature weaving instruments and a small broom: weaving was a sacred and exclusively female art, and the broom signaled a female's responsibility for the household shrines and for keeping the home swept and free of contamination. Save for the few women vowed to the service of the temple, marriage and the household were a woman's fate, and marriage represented social maturity for both sexes. Pregnancy became the occasion for family and neighborhood feasts, and a successful birth launched celebrations lasting from ten to twenty days.

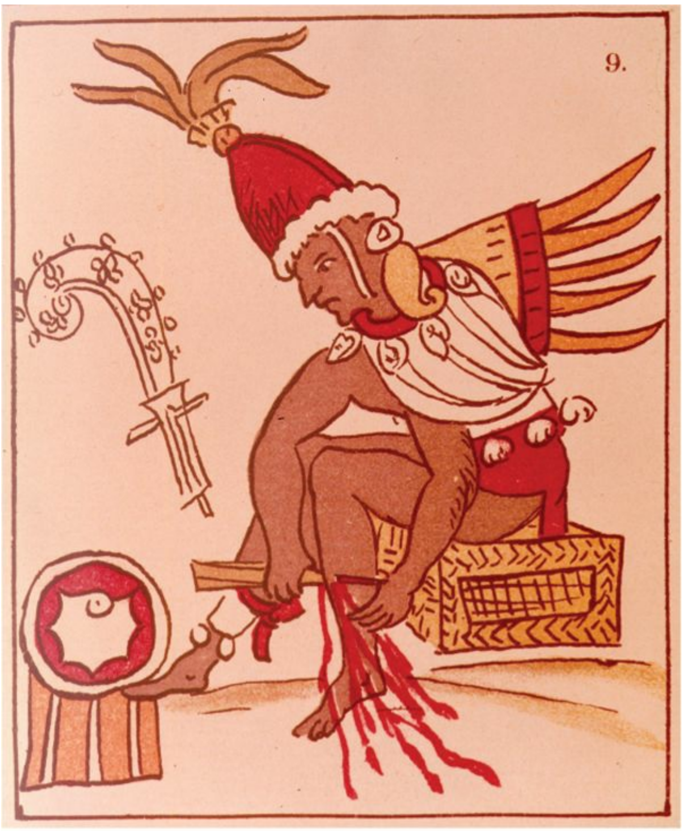
The Limits of the Aztec Empire

Mesoamerican empires like that of the Aztecs were not like modern nation-states that consolidate control of the territory within their borders. Instead the Aztec Empire was a syndicate in which the Mexica, their allies, and their subordinates thrived on trade and tribute backed by the threat of force.

When a city succumbed, its captive warriors were marched to Tenochtitlan to be sacrificed. The defeated city was obligated to provide tribute including corn, flowers, feathers, gold, and hides. But conquest stopped short of assimilation. Rulers and nobles remained in place. Subjects were not required to adopt Mexica gods, and local communities and their leaders remained intact.

The death of a ruler is always a time of uncertainty, and this was especially true in Mesoamerica under the Aztec Empire. For peoples of the Valley of Mexico and beyond, this meant war was sure to arrive. The council of high nobles who served the deceased ruler chose the new tlatoani, who was often the commander of the army. Once the new tlatoani was named, he would embark on a military campaign in order to answer the questions his succession raised: Would he bring sacrificial victims to the gods and thus ensure prosperity and fertility during his reign? Could he preserve and strengthen the alliances that composed the empire? Could he keep rivals at bay?

A success in the tlatoani's inaugural military campaign provided new tribute-paying subjects, produced a long train of sacrificial victims captured in battle, maintained the stability of the empire's alliances, warned off potential foes, and kept conquered areas in subordination. After the successful campaign, the new tlatoani invited the rulers of allied, subject, and enemy city-states alike to his coronation ceremony — a pageant of gifts, feasts, and bloody sacrifice that proclaimed Tenochtitlan's might.



akg-images

Quetzalcoatl Bleeding Himself to Create Man
This image reflects Quetzalcoatl in his human form, carrying out the sacrifice that created humanity. The combination of spiritual and human forms allowed rulers such as Topiltzin to also claim identities as gods.

But success was not always possible, as the troubled rule of Tizoc (r. 1481–1486) demonstrated. After a series of wars that produced few sacrifices, he was poisoned by his own subjects. His successor, Ahuitzotl (r. 1486–1502), faced the challenge of reinvigorating the empire through renewed displays of strength. To symbolize the restoration of Tenochtitlan's power, he waged wars of conquest that exceeded anything ever seen, culminating in two coronation ceremonies, the second of which involved sacrificing over eighty thousand captive warriors.

Blood sacrifice was not new to the Aztecs. For centuries Mesoamerican peoples had honored their gods this way, but the Aztecs elevated the warrior cult as their central observance. They believed the earth had been destroyed and re-created four times. The end of creation loomed after their age, the fifth sun. Since the apocalypse might be forestalled through divine intervention, their sacrifice could show that humans were worthy of divine intervention. If ancient deities had given their lives to save the sun, how could mortals refuse to do the same?

The ceremony observing the end of each fifty-two-year bundle reflected the worldview of the Mexica. Had humans sacrificed enough for the gods to intercede and ensure the sun would rise again? In preparation for the end, families broke their earthenware vessels, cleansed their homes, and extinguished all fires. Upon the new dawn, priests made a fire on the chest of a living, powerful captive warrior. Noble warriors lit torches from this new fire and relayed the flame of creation into each hearth in the empire. For the next fifty-two years, all would know the fire in their hearth, like the rising of the sun itself, was the fruit of a sacred warrior sacrifice.

The need for sacrifice, as well as the glorification of the warriors who provided it through battle, was a powerful rationale for the expansion of the Aztec Empire. The role of the Aztecs’ sacrifice-based religious system is the subject of scholarly debate: Did the religious system guide imperial expansion? Or did imperial expansion guide the religious system? These views are by no means incompatible: for the Aztecs, the peoples who came under their rule, and the peoples who resisted them, the twin goals of empire building and service to the gods were inseparable.

American Empires and the Encounter

What did the European encounter mean for peoples of the major American empires?

By 1500 the Incas and Aztecs strained under the burdens of managing the largest empires the Americas had seen. Both faced the challenges of consolidating their gains, bearing the costs of empire and of the swelling nobility, and waging war in increasingly distant and difficult conditions.

The Last Day of the Aztecs

In 1502 the last Mexica to rule before the arrival of the Spaniards, Moctezuma II, was named tlatoani. Moctezuma inherited a strained empire. His predecessors had expanded the empire's reach from the Caribbean coast to the Pacific. At the margins of the empire the Aztecs encountered peoples who were seminomadic or who, like the Maya, had abandoned their cities to resist conquest. An empire that had expanded rapidly through conquest found itself with little room to grow.

Aztec leaders had sought targets for conquest that were easy to overpower or that produced goods that made for valuable tribute. This created an empire riddled with independent enclaves that had resisted conquest. The most powerful of these was Tlaxcala (tlah-SKAH-lah), at the edge of the Valley of Mexico. In addition, even areas under Aztec rule retained local leadership and saw themselves as subjected peoples, not as Aztecs.

Finally, the costs of empire had become onerous. Generations of social mobility through distinction in war had produced a bloated nobility both exempt from and sustained by tribute. Tenochtitlan became dependent on tributary maize in order to feed itself. The lack of new peoples to conquer meant the empire had little promise of increased prosperity. The dwindling flow of sacrificial victims meant the Mexica might be losing the great cosmic struggle to keep creation from ending.

Faced with these challenges, Moctezuma II introduced reforms, reducing the privileges (and thus the costs to the empire) of the lesser nobility and narrowing the pathways of social mobility. However, the austerity he imposed caused unrest. He also attempted to conquer the autonomous enclaves left by his predecessors. As Moctezuma targeted these enclaves, their ability to resist sapped their resources and strained their morale without producing a corresponding reward for the empire in sacrifice or tribute.

By the time he reached the gates of Tenochtitlan in 1519, the Spanish conquistador Hernán Cortés had forged alliances with foes of the Aztecs, particularly Tlaxcala, which had so ably resisted conquest. The Tlaxcalans saw in the foreigners an opportunity to fight the Mexica. Cortés's band of six hundred Spaniards arrived in Tenochtitlan accompanied by tens of thousands of Tlaxcalan soldiers. In Tlaxcala the defeat of Tenochtitlan would be seen as the Tlaxcalans' victory, not that of the handful of Spaniards.

Whatever Moctezuma made of the strangers, he received them as guests while he sought to understand the nature of this encounter and its significance for his empire. Perhaps he hesitated, losing the opportunity to act against them. Perhaps he concluded that he had no chance of defeating them, since at that moment most of the men he could count on in battle were tending to their crops and the capital had been so riddled with resentment of his reforms that he was powerless to act.

Either way, Cortés and his men managed the encounter skillfully and succeeded in taking Moctezuma prisoner. When the residents of Tenochtitlan rose up to expel the Spaniards, Moctezuma was killed. Though the Spaniards were expelled from the city, they left an unwelcome guest, smallpox. The first epidemic of the disease swept through the city in 1520, killing Moctezuma's successor within a matter of months. Cuauhtemoc, the last tlatoani of the Mexica, was named that same year.

David Hiser/National Geographic Creative

Past and Present Meet in Mexico City Construction for the Pino Suárez metro station unearthed the Aztec ceremonial altar of Ehecatl, the Aztec god of wind.

The Aztec Empire and the Mexica people were not defeated by technology, cultural superiority, or a belief that the Europeans were gods. Instead they suffered a political defeat: their fall was owed more than anything to the willingness of allies and enemies alike to join with the Spaniards against them when they perceived an opportunity.

Through the lens of history, the destruction of the Aztec Empire seems swift, but Tenochtitlan resisted for two years. During this time the Spaniards and Tlaxcalans brokered alliances leaving the Mexica virtually alone in their fight. In this sense, the end of the Aztec Empire looked a lot like its beginning: people who had obeyed the Mexica now took advantage of the opportunity to defeat them, just as the Mexica had done with the Tepanec Alliance. Even so, abandoned by their allies, the besieged Mexica fought on through famine and disease, defending their city street by street until Cuauhtemoc surrendered to Cortés on August 13, 1521.

The Fall of the Incas

In 1525 Huayna Capac Inca, the grandson of Pachacuti Inca, became ill while carrying out a military campaign in present-day Ecuador, at the northern frontier of the empire. His illness was likely smallpox, introduced by Europeans waging wars of conquest in Mesoamerica, and it would kill him. But as he waged war, he also received news of the foreigners — Spaniards — in the north and anticipated that they would come southward.

Huayna Capac's death unleashed civil war between two of his sons over succession to the throne. Huascar claimed it as the firstborn. Atahualpa (ah-tuh-WAHL-puh), Huayna Capac's favorite and an experienced commander who had accompanied him in his Ecuadorean campaign, claimed it as well. Atahualpa asserted that Huayna Capac's dying wish was that Atahualpa succeed him. The brothers fought until 1532, when Atahualpa vanquished and imprisoned Huascar and consolidated his rule in Cuzco. That same year a group of Spaniards led by Francisco Pizarro landed on the Peruvian coast, pursuing rumors of a city of gold in the mountains.

Atahualpa agreed through emissaries to meet the Spaniards at the city of Cajamarca in northern Peru. In a demonstration of his imperial authority, he entered Cajamarca carried on a golden litter, accompanied by four military squadrons totaling twenty-four thousand soldiers. Members of the nobility followed, carried on their own litters. Their procession was preceded by a multitude of servants who cleared the ground, removing all stones, pebbles, and even bits of straw. Atahualpa met the Spanish intending to understand them and hear them out. However, the meeting between Atahualpa and Pizarro reflected deeply different worldviews. (See “Global Viewpoints: Inca and Spanish Views on Religion, Authority, and Tribute,” above.)

Though Atahualpa had not planned to fight, Pizarro planned an ambush, using the city walls to trap Atahualpa’s soldiers and kill a large number of them. The Spaniards took Atahualpa prisoner and eventually executed him. The Spaniards named a new indigenous leader, Manco Capac, whom they hoped to control. But Manco Capac turned against the Spaniards. He, and later his son Tupac Amaru, led resistance against the Spaniards until 1567. Each time the Inca forces besieged a Spanish-controlled city or town, however, their proximity to the Spaniards exposed them to European diseases. They were more successful in smaller-scale attacks, which delayed and limited Spanish colonization, but did not undo it.

GLOBAL VIEWPOINTS

Inca and Spanish Views on Religion, Authority, and Tribute

In 1532 Atahualpa Inca met with a band of Spaniards led by Francisco Pizarro, who ambushed him and took him prisoner. At the beginning of their meeting, a priest accompanying Pizarro read to Atahualpa, through a translator, a document prepared in Spain in 1513 called the *Requerimiento*. The document presented Roman Christianity and the Spaniards' religious right to conquest. Conquistadors were obligated to read the *Requerimiento* in front of witnesses before waging a war of conquest. Spanish colonial sources and the 1609 account by chronicler Garcilaso de la Vega, son of an Andean woman and a Spanish soldier, describe the remarkable exchange.

Friar Vicente de Valverde Presents the *Requerimiento*

■ It is proper that you should know, most famous and most powerful king, that it is necessary that Your Highness and all your subjects should not only learn the true Catholic faith but that you should hear and believe the following….

Therefore the holy pope of Rome … has conceded the conquest of these parts to Charles V, … the most powerful king of Spain and monarch of all the earth…. The great emperor Charles V has chosen as his lieutenant and ambassador Don Francisco Pizarro, who is now here, … so that Your Highness and all your realms will become tributaries; that is to say, you will pay tribute to the emperor, and will become his vassal and deliver your kingdom wholly into his hands, renouncing the administration of it, as other kings and lords have done…. If you seek obstinately to resist, you may rest assured that God will suffer that you and all your Indians shall be destroyed by our arms.

The Inca Atahualpa Responds

■ I will be no man's tributary. I am greater than any prince upon the earth. Your emperor may be a great prince … and I am willing to hold him as a brother. As for the pope of whom you speak, he must be crazy to talk of giving away countries that do not belong to him. For my faith, I will not change it. Your own God, as you say, was put to death by the very men he created. But mine … [pointing to the sun] still lives in the heavens, and looks down upon his children….

You threaten us with war and death … and say that I must renounce my kingdom and become the tributary of another, either willingly or by force. Whence I deduce one of two things: either your prince and you are tyrants who are destroying the world, depriving others of their realms, slaying and robbing those who have done you no harm and owe you nothing, or you are ministers of God, whom we call Pachacámac, who has chosen you to punish and destroy us….

You have mentioned five great men I should know. The first is God … : he is perchance the same as our Pachacámac and Viracocha. The second is he whom you say is the father of all other men on whom they have all heaped their sins. The third you call Jesus Christ …, but he was killed. The fourth you call pope. The fifth is Charles…. If this Charles is prince and lord of the whole world, why should he need the pope to give him a new grant and concession to make war on me and usurp these kingdoms? If he has to ask the pope's permission, is not the pope a greater lord than he, and more powerful, and prince of all the world? Also, I am surprised that you say that I must pay tribute to Charles and not to the others, for you give no reason for paying the tribute, and I have certainly no obligation whatever to pay it.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. According to Atahualpa, what is the source of his authority? According to him, what is the source of the Spaniards' authority?
2. Why does Atahualpa believe that the Spaniards have more gods than the Incas do?
3. How does Atahualpa perceive the Spaniards and their intentions?

Sources: Excerpts "It is proper that you should know" and "You threaten us with war" from Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas, and General History of Peru*, translated by H. V. Livermore (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1989), pp. 679–81, 685–86. Used by permission of the University of Texas Press; excerpt "I will be no man's tributary" from William Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Peru*, vol. 1. (1847, repr., 1892), p. 370.

Chapter Summary

The civilizations of the Andes and Mesoamerica from which the Incas and Aztecs emerged had remarkable similarities with, and differences from, other ancient and premodern civilizations in other regions of the world. Indigenous societies of the Americas developed extensive networks of trade. In Mesoamerica and the Andes, the domestication of crops led to the kind of bountiful production that allowed for diversification of labor among farmers, priests, nobles, merchants, and artisans. In these environments, cycles of centralization occurred in which powerful city-states emerged and embarked on campaigns of conquest, bringing vast regions under their political, religious, and cultural influence.

But civilizations of the Americas developed in unique ways as well. This was particularly true in the Andes, where peoples developed specialized patterns of farming in vertical archipelagos in their inhospitable mountain environment. Similarly, though Andean peoples did not develop writing, they instead developed the khipu into a sophisticated system of recording and communicating information.

Ultimately, the history of the peoples of the Americas was defined by their diverse experiences as they coped with varied climates, ecology, and geography. And peoples' experiences of adapting to their environments, and of transforming those environments to meet their needs, shaped the ways they understood their world. These experiences led them to produce precise calendars, highly detailed readings of the stars, and an elaborate architecture of religious beliefs through which they interpreted their relationships to their world and their place in the cosmos.

CONNECTIONS

The early sixteenth century marked the end of independent empires of the Americas and the gradual integration of American peoples into global empires seated in Europe. Spaniards were the most motivated and had their greatest success when they encountered dense, organized urban areas. Here they displaced existing overlords as the recipients of tribute in goods and labor. The Spanish were less interested in sparsely settled areas that did not have well-established systems of trade and tribute and were harder to subdue. As a result, European conquest was a surprisingly drawn-out process. Peoples of the Americas resisted conquest until well into the nineteenth century.

The incidental companion of conquest — disease — was also uneven in its effects. Over the course of the sixteenth century, epidemics shrank the population of the Americas from 50 million to just 5 million. But epidemic diseases spread through human contact, such as measles and smallpox, are primarily urban phenomena: these diseases emerged as ancient cities grew large enough that the diseases could spread quickly among dense populations. As a result, the impact of the diseases brought by Europeans was the most severe and the most destructive in the cities of the Americas.

Since cities faced the brunt of both disease and wars of conquest, the disruptions caused by the encounter were disproportionally felt there. Whole systems of knowledge, sets of artisanal skills, political cultures, and religious thought resided in cities. Thus, as epidemics erupted, many of the most remarkable aspects of American civilizations were lost. Rural peoples and cultures were much more resilient. It was in rural areas that languages, foodways, farming practices, and approaches to healing — indeed whole worldviews — endured and evolved. By contrast, Spanish colonial towns and cities were protected from indigenous attacks because they bore diseases that could afflict their attackers. The Americas were rapidly integrated with the rest of the world in the sixteenth century, but the combination of conquest, colonization, and disease ensured the unevenness of this exchange.

CHAPTER 11 Review and Explore

Identify Key Terms

Identify and explain the significance of each item below.

Mesoamerica (p. 290)
khipu (p. 290)
nixtamalization (p. 291)
Olmec (p. 293)
Moche (p. 296)
Inca (p. 296)
Quechua (p. 297)
Maya (p. 300)
Teotihuacan (p. 300)
Nahuatl (p. 306)
Mexica (p. 306)
Tenochtitlan (p. 306)

Review the Main Ideas

Answer the focus questions from each section of the chapter.

1. How did ancient peoples of the Americas adapt to, and adapt, their environment? (p. 290)
2. What patterns established by early societies shaped civilization in Mesoamerica and the Andes? (p. 292)
3. What were the sources of strength and prosperity, and of problems, for the Incas? (p. 296)
4. How did the Maya and Teotihuacan develop prosperous and stable societies in the classical era? (p. 300)
5. How did the Mexica build on the achievements of earlier Mesoamerican cultures and develop new traditions to create their large empire? (p. 306)
6. What did the European encounter mean for peoples of the major American empires? (p. 311)

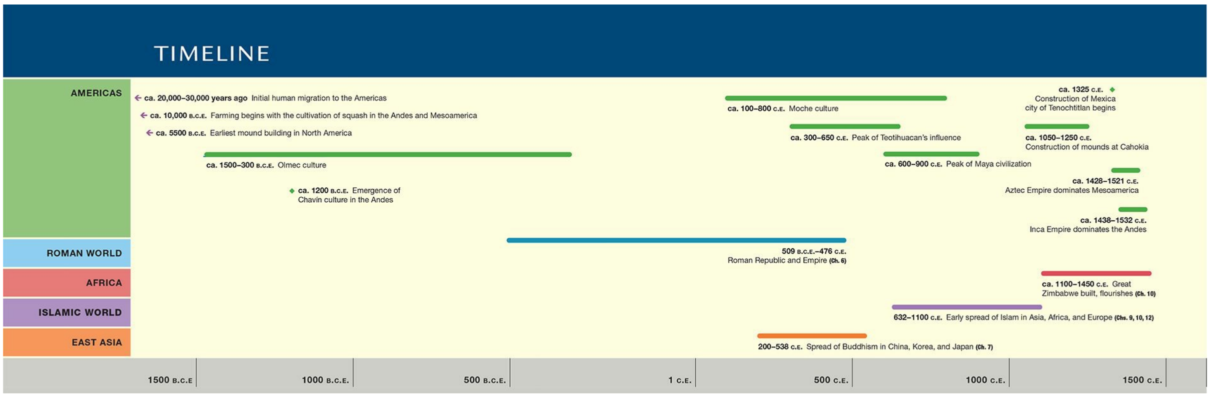
Make Comparisons and Connections

Analyze the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters.

1. What are some examples of unique ways in which peoples of the Americas adapted to their environment?
2. How did the connection between religion and imperial expansion among the

Aztecs and Incas resemble the role of religion in the expansion of the Roman Empire (Chapter 6) or of Islamic states (Chapter 9)?

3. Much of what we know about ancient societies of the Americas is based on archaeological data rather than written sources. How does the reliance on archaeological data shape our understanding of history? What does it help us understand? What is hard for us to interpret from it?
4. What aspects of life in the Americas were most vulnerable to change after the arrival of Europeans?



Suggested Resources

Books

Carassco, David, and Scott Sessions. *Daily Life of the Aztecs: People of the Sun and Earth*. 2008. An overview of Aztec culture designed for general readers.

Clendinnen, Inga. *Aztecs: An Interpretation*. 1992. Pays particular attention to the role that rituals and human sacrifice played in Aztec culture.

Coe, Michael D. *The Maya*. 2011. A new edition of a classic survey that incorporates the most recent scholarship.

Coe, Michael D. *Mexico: From the Olmecs to the Aztecs*. 2013. A rich examination of Mesoamerican peoples with the exception of the Maya.

Hassig, Ross. *Mexico and the Spanish Conquest*. 2006. A study of indigenous participation in the conquest by a leading historical anthropologist.

Kehoe, Alice Beck. *America Before the European Invasion*. 2002. An excellent survey of North America before the coming of the Europeans, by an eminent anthropologist.

León-Portilla, Miguel. *The Aztec Image of Self and Society: An Introduction to Nahua Culture*. 1992. A rich appreciation of Aztec religious ritual and symbolism.

Mann, Charles C. *1491: New Revelations of the Americas Before Columbus*. 2006. A thoroughly researched overview of all the newest scholarship, written for a general audience.

Mumford, Jeremy Ravi. *Vertical Empire: The General Resettlement of Indians in the Colonial Andes*. 2012. A study of Andean mountain life between Inca and Spanish rule.

Pauketat, Timothy, R. *Cahokia: Ancient America's Great City on the Mississippi*. 2009. Surveys the major North American archaeological site.

Ramirez, Susan. *To Feed and Be Fed: The Cosmological Bases of Authority and Identity in the Andes*. 2008. Examines the relationships between ancestors, the spiritual world, and the physical world that shaped Andean societies.

Restall, Matthew, and Amara Solari. *2012 and the End of the World: The Western Roots of the Maya Apocalypse.* 2011. Reflects on popular interpretations of the Maya calendar and cosmology.

Schele, Linda, and Peter Matthews. *The Code of Kings: The Language of Seven Sacred Maya Temples and Tombs.* 1998. A landmark study of ancient Maya language.

Websites

Cahokia Mounds. Resource on the largest ancient settlement site north of Mexico in the Americas. **cahokiamounds.org/learn/**

Khipu Database Project. A database of Andean khipus and resources on the research conducted on them. **khipukamayuq.fas.harvard.edu**

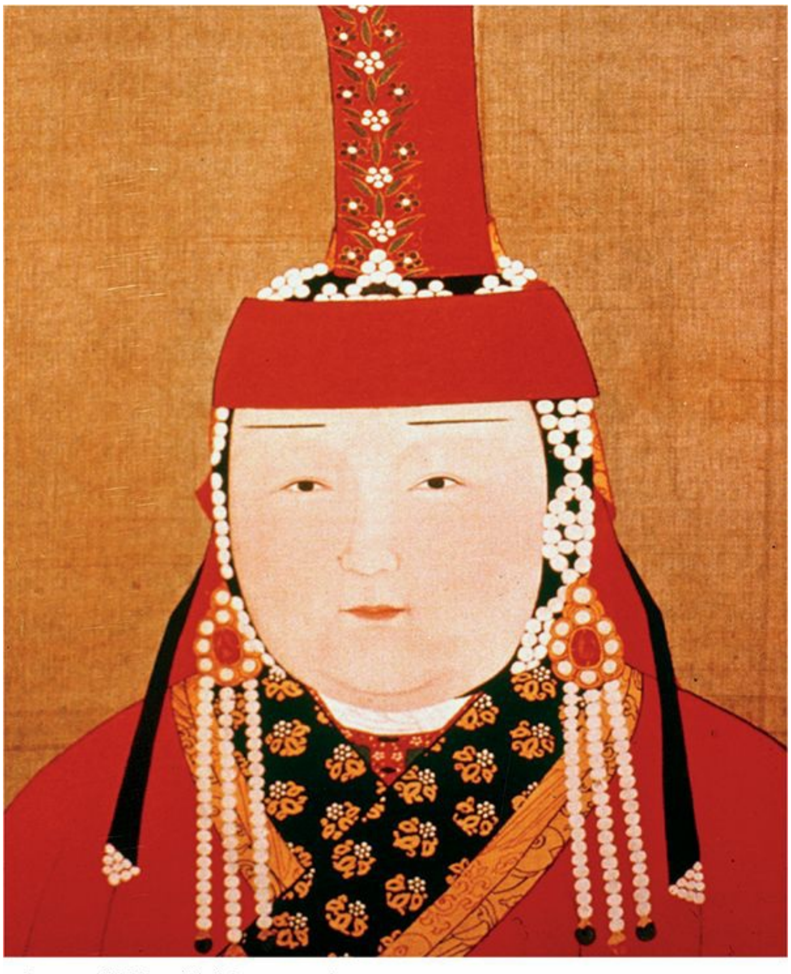
Living Maya Time: Calendar. The Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian's site provides information on interpreting the Maya calendar. **maya.nmai.si.edu/calendar**

Mesolore. A rich site for interpreting indigenous documents from ancient Mexico. **www.mesolore.org**

12

Cultural Exchange in Central and Southern Asia

300–1400



Granger, NYC — All rights reserved

Mongol Woman

Women played influential roles among the

Mongols. The Mongol woman portrayed in this painting is Chabi, wife of Khubilai Khan. Like other Mongols, she maintained Mongol dress even though she spent much of her time in China.

The large expanse of Asia treated in this chapter underwent profound changes during the centuries examined here. The north saw the rise of nomadic pastoral societies, first the Turks, then more spectacularly the Mongols. The nomads' mastery of the horse and mounted warfare gave them a military advantage that agricultural societies could rarely match. From the fifth century on, groups of Turks appeared along the fringes of the settled societies of Eurasia, from China and Korea to India and Persia. Often Turks were recruited as auxiliary soldiers; sometimes they gained the upper hand. By the tenth century many were converting to Islam (see "The Ascendancy of the Turks" in Chapter 9).

Much more dramatic was the rise of the Mongols under the charismatic leadership of Chinggis Khan in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. A military genius with a relatively small army, Chinggis subdued one society after another from Byzantium to the Pacific. For a century Mongol hegemony fostered unprecedented East-West trade and contact. More Europeans made their way east than ever before, and Chinese inventions such as printing and the compass made their way west.

Over the course of several centuries, Arab and Turkish armies brought Islam to India, but the Mongols never gained power there. In the Indian subcontinent during these centuries, regional cultures flourished. Although Buddhism declined, Hinduism continued to flourish. India continued to be the center of a very active seaborne trade, and this trade helped carry Indian ideas and practices to Southeast Asia. Buddhism was adopted in much of Southeast Asia, along with other ideas and techniques from India. The maritime trade in spices and other goods brought increased contact with the outside world to all but the most isolated of islands in the Pacific.

CHAPTER PREVIEW

CENTRAL ASIAN NOMADS
What aspects of nomadic life gave the nomads of Central Asia military advantages over nearby settled civilizations?

CHINGGIS KHAN AND THE MONGOL EMPIRE
How did Chinggis Khan and his successors conquer much of Eurasia, and how did the Mongol conquests change the regions affected?

EAST-WEST COMMUNICATION DURING THE MONGOL

ERA
How did the Mongol conquests facilitate the spread of ideas, religions, inventions, and diseases?

INDIA, ISLAM, AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF REGIONAL CULTURES, 300–1400
What was the result of India's encounters with Turks, Mongols, and Islam?

SOUTHEAST ASIA, THE PACIFIC ISLANDS, AND THE GROWTH OF MARITIME TRADE
How did states develop along the maritime trade routes of Southeast Asia and beyond?

Central Asian Nomads

What aspects of nomadic life gave the nomads of Central Asia military advantages over nearby settled civilizations?

One experience Rome, Persia, India, and China all shared was conflict with **nomads** who came from the very broad region referred to as Central Asia. This region was dominated by the **steppe**, arid grasslands that stretched from modern Hungary to Mongolia and parts of present northeast China. Initially small in number, the nomadic peoples of this region used their military superiority to conquer first other nomads, then the nearby settled societies. In the process they created settled empires of their own that drew on the cultures they absorbed.

nomads Groups of people who move from place to place in search of food, water, and pasture for their animals, usually following the seasons.

steppe Grasslands that are too dry for crops but support pasturing animals; they are common across much of the center of Eurasia.

Nomadic Society

Easily crossed by horses but too dry for crop agriculture, the grasslands could support only a thin population of nomadic herders who lived off their sheep, goats, camels, horses, or other animals. Following the seasons, they would break camp at least twice a year and move their animals to new pastures, going north in the spring and south in the fall.

In their search for water and good pastures, nomadic groups often came into conflict with other nomadic groups pursuing the same resources, which the two would then fight over. Groups on the losing end, especially if they were small, faced the threat of extermination or slavery, which prompted them to make alliances with other groups or move far away. Groups on the winning end of intertribal conflicts could exact tribute from those they defeated.

To get the products of nearby agricultural societies, especially grain, woven textiles, iron, tea, and wood, nomadic herders would trade their own products, such as horses and furs. When trade was difficult, they would turn to raiding to seize what they needed. Much of the time nomadic herders raided other nomads, but nearby agricultural settlements were common targets as well. The nomads’ skill as horsemen and archers made it difficult for farmers and townsmen to defend against them.

Political organization among nomadic herders was generally very simple. Clans — members of an extended family — had chiefs, as did tribes (coalitions of clans). Leadership within a group was based on military prowess and was often settled by fighting. Occasionally a charismatic leader would emerge who was able to extend alliances to form confederations of tribes. From the point of view of the settled societies, which have left most of the records about these nomadic groups, large confederations were much more of a threat, since they could plan coordinated attacks on cities and towns. Large confederations rarely lasted more than a century or so, however, and when they broke up, tribes again spent much of their time fighting with each other.

The three most wide-ranging and successful confederations were those of the Xiongnu — Huns, as they were known in the West — who emerged in the third century B.C.E. in the area near China; the Turks, who had their origins in the same area in the fourth and fifth centuries C.E.; and the Mongols, who did not become important until the late twelfth century. In all three cases, the entire steppe region was eventually swept up in the movement of peoples and armies.

The Turks

The Turks were the first of the Inner Asian peoples to have left a written record in their own language; the earliest Turkish documents date from the eighth century. Turkic languages today are spoken by the Uighurs in western China; the Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Kyrghiz (KIHR-guhz), and Turkmens of Central Asia; and the Turks of modern Turkey.

In 552 a group called Turks who specialized in metalworking rebelled against their overlords, the Rouruan, whose empire dominated the region from the eastern Silk Road cities of Central Asia through Mongolia. The Turks quickly supplanted the Rouruan as overlords of the Silk Road in the east. When the first Turkish khagan (ruler) died a few years later, the Turkish empire was divided between his younger brother, who took the western part (modern Central Asia), and his son, who took the eastern part (modern Mongolia). In 576 the Western Turks captured the Byzantine city of Bosporus in the Crimea.

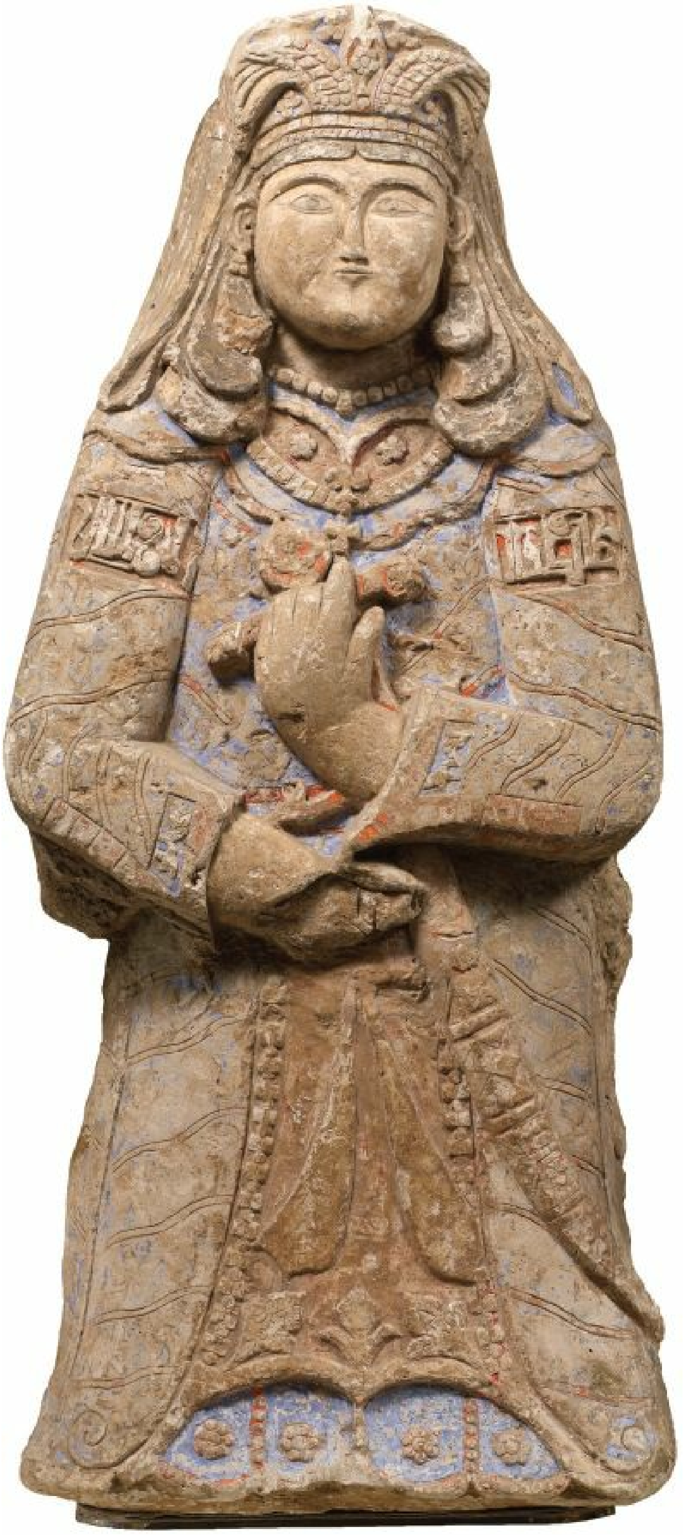
The Eastern Turks frequently raided China and just as often fought among themselves. A seventh-century Chinese history records that “the Turks prefer to destroy each other rather than to live side-by-side. They have a thousand, nay ten thousand clans who are hostile to and kill one another. They mourn their dead with much grief and swear vengeance.”[1]

In the early seventh century the empire of the Eastern Turks ran up against the growing military might of the Tang Dynasty in China and soon broke apart.

In the eighth century a Turkic people called the Uighurs (WEE-gurs) formed a new empire based in Mongolia that survived about a century. During this period many Uighurs adopted religions then current along the Silk Road, notably Buddhism, Nestorian Christianity, and Manichaeism. In the ninth century this Uighur empire collapsed, but some Uighurs fled west, setting up their capital city in Kucha, where they created a remarkably stable and prosperous kingdom that lasted four centuries (ca. 850–1250).

Farther west in Central Asia other groups of Turks rose to prominence. Often local Muslim forces would try to capture them, employ them as slave soldiers, and convert them. By the mid- to late tenth century many were serving in the armies of the Abbasid caliphate. Also in the tenth century Central Asian Turks began converting to Islam (which protected them from being abducted as slaves). Then they took to raiding unconverted Turks.

In the mid-eleventh century Turks had gained the upper hand in the caliphate, and the caliphs became little more than figureheads. From there Turkish power was extended into Syria, Palestine, and Asia Minor. In 1071 Seljuk (SEHL-jook) Turks inflicted a devastating defeat on the Byzantine army in eastern Anatolia.



Attributed to Iran or Afghanistan. Late 12th–early 13th century C.E. Stucco; incised, painted gilt. Cora Timken Burnett Collection of Persian Miniatures and Other\ Persian Art Objects, Bequest of Cora Timken Burnett, 1956 [57.51.18]/The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York/Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Image source: Art Resource, NY

Seljuk Turk Attendant At 47 inches tall, this figure wears an elaborate headdress and fine garments. He is thought to represent a member of a ruler's personal guard. The work is thought to date to about 1200 and to have come from Iran.

In India, Persia, and Anatolia the formidable military skills of nomadic Turkish warriors made it possible for them to become overlords of settled societies. Often Persian was used as the administrative language of the states they formed. Nevertheless, despite the presence of Turkish overlords all along the southern fringe of the steppe, no one group of Turks was able to unite them all into a single political unit. That feat had to wait for the next major power on the steppe, the Mongols.

The Mongols

In the twelfth century ambitious Mongols did not aspire to match the Turks or other groups that had migrated west, but rather wanted to be successors to the Khitans and Jurchens, nomadic groups that had stayed in the east and mastered ways to extract resources from China. The Khitans and Jurchens had formed hybrid nomadic-urban states, with northern sections where tribesmen continued to live in the traditional way and southern sections politically controlled by the non-Chinese rulers but settled largely by taxpaying Chinese. The Khitans and Jurchens had scripts created to record their languages and adopted many Chinese governing practices. They built cities in pastoral areas that served as trading centers and places to enjoy their newly acquired wealth. In both the Khitan and Jurchen cases, their elite became culturally dual, adept in Chinese ways as well as in their own traditions.

The Mongols lived north of these hybrid nomadic-settled societies and maintained their traditional ways. They lived in tents called **yurts** rather than in houses. The yurts, about twelve to fifteen feet in diameter, were constructed of light wooden frames covered by layers of wool felt, greased to make them waterproof. The floor of a yurt was covered first with dried grass or straw, then with felt, skins, or rugs. In the center, directly under the smoke hole, was the hearth. Goat horns attached to the frame of the yurt were used as hooks to hang joints of meat, cooking utensils, bows, quivers of arrows, and the like. A group of families traveling together would set up their yurts in a circle open to the south and draw up their wagons in a circle around the yurts for protection.

yurts Tents in which the pastoral nomads lived; they could be quickly dismantled and loaded onto animals or carts.

The Mongol diet consisted mostly of animal products. The most common meat was mutton, supplemented with wild game. When grain or vegetables could be obtained through trade, they were added to the diet. The Mongols milked sheep, goats, cows, and horses and made cheese and fermented alcoholic drinks from the milk.

Because of the intense cold of the winter, the Mongols made much use of furs and skins for clothing. Hats were of felt or fur, boots of felt or leather. Men wore leather belts to which their bows and quivers could be attached. Women of high rank wore elaborate headdresses decorated with feathers.

Mongol women had to work very hard and had to be able to care for the animals when the men were away hunting or fighting. They normally drove the carts and set up and dismantled the yurts. They also milked the sheep, goats, and cows and made the butter and cheese. Because water was scarce, clothes were not washed with water, nor were dishes. Women, like men, had to be expert riders, and many also learned to shoot. They participated actively in family decisions, especially as wives and mothers. In *The Secret History of the Mongols*, the mother and wife of the Mongol leader Chinggis Khan frequently make impassioned speeches on the importance of family loyalty. (See “Analyzing the Evidence: The Abduction of Women in *The Secret History of the Mongols*,” page 324.)

Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, © Nour Foundation. Courtesy of the Khalili Family Trust

Gold Belt Plaques Like earlier nomads, the Mongols favored art with animal designs, such as these two gold belt plaques, which depict deer under trees or flowers. Belts and horses were often exchanged to seal or commemorate an alliance.

Mongol men kept as busy as the women. They made the carts and wagons and the frames for the yurts. They also made harnesses for the horses and oxen, leather saddles, and the equipment needed for hunting and war, such as bows and arrows. Men also had charge of the horses, and they milked the mares. One specialist among the nomads was the blacksmith, who made stirrups, knives, and other metal tools.

Kinship underlay most social relationships among the Mongols. Normally each family occupied a yurt, and groups of families camping together were usually related along the male line. More distant patrilineal relatives were recognized as members of the same clan and could call on each other for aid. People from the same clan could not marry each other, so men had to get wives from other clans. When a woman’s husband died, she would be inherited by another male in the family, such as her husband’s brother. Tribes were groups of clans, often distantly related. Both clans and tribes had chiefs who would make decisions on where to graze and when to retaliate against another tribe that had stolen animals or people. Women were sometimes abducted for brides. When tribes stole men from each other, they normally made them into slaves, and slaves were forced to do much of the heavy work.

Even though population was sparse in the regions where the Mongols lived, conflict over resources was endemic, and each camp had to be on the alert for attacks. Defending against attacks and retaliating against raids was as much a part of the Mongols’ daily life as caring for their herds and trading with nearby settlements.

Mongol children learned to ride at a young age. The Mongols’ horses were small but nimble and able to endure long journeys and bitter cold. The prime weapon boys had to learn to use was the compound bow, which had a pull of about 160 pounds and a range of more than 200 yards; it was well suited for using on horseback, giving Mongol soldiers an advantage in battle. Other commonly used weapons were small battle-axes and lances fitted with hooks to pull enemies off their saddles.

As with the Turks and other steppe nomads, religious practices centered around the shaman, a religious expert believed to be able to communicate with the gods. The high god of the Mongols was Heaven/Sky, but they recognized many other gods as well. Some groups of Mongols, especially those closer to settled communities, converted to Buddhism, Nestorian Christianity, or Manichaeism (man-uh-KEY-an-ism).

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

The Abduction of Women in *The Secret History of the Mongols*

Within a few decades of Chinggis Khan’s death, oral traditions concerning his rise were written down in the Mongolian language in *The Secret History of the Mongols*. The account begins with the cycles of revenge among the tribes in Mongolia, many of which began when women were abducted for wives. The following passages relate how Temujin’s (Chinggis Khan’s) father, Yesugei, seized Hogelun, Temujin’s future mother, from a passing Merkid tribesman; how twenty years later three Merkids in return seized women from Temujin; and how Temujin got revenge.

That year Yesugei the Brave was out hunting with his falcon on the Onan. Yeke Chiledu, a nobleman of the Merkid tribe, had gone to the Olkhunugud people to find himself a wife, and he was returning to the Merkid with the girl he’d found when he passed Yesugei hunting by the river. When he saw them riding along Yesugei leaned forward on his horse. He saw it was a beautiful girl. Quickly he rode back to his tent and just as quick returned with his two brothers, Nekun Taisi and Daritai Odchigin. When Chiledu saw the three Mongols coming he … cut back around the far side of the hill and rode to Lady Hogelun, the girl he’d just married, who stood waiting for him at the front of their cart. “Did you see the look on the faces of those three men?” she asked him. “From their faces it looks like they mean to kill you. As long as you’ve got your life there’ll always be girls for you to choose from. There’ll always be women to ride in your cart. As long as you’ve got your life you’ll be able to find some girl to marry. When you find her, just name her Hogelun for me, but go now and save your own life!” Then she pulled off her shirt and held it out to him, saying: “And take this to remember me, to remember my scent.” …

The three Mongols chased him across seven hills before turning around and returning to Hogelun’s cart.… As they rode her back toward their camp, Hogelun began to cry, … and she cried till she stirred up the waters of the Onan River, till she shook the trees in the forest and the grass in the valleys. But as the party approached their camp Daritai, riding beside her, warned her to stop: “This fellow who held you in his arms, he’s already ridden over the mountains. This man who’s lost you, he’s crossed many rivers by now. You can call out his name, but he can’t see you now even if he looks back. If you tried to find him now you won’t even find his tracks. So be still now,” he told her. Then Yesugei took Lady Hogelun to his tent as his wife….

[Some twenty years later] one morning just before dawn Old Woman Khogaghchin, Mother Hogelun’s servant, woke with a start, crying: “Mother! Mother! Get up! The ground is shaking, I hear it rumble. The Tayichigud must be riding back to attack us. Get up!”

Mother Hogelun jumped from her bed, saying: “Quick, wake my sons!” They woke Temujin and the others and all ran for the horses. Temujin, Mother Hogelun, and Khasar each took a horse…. Mother Hogelun lifted the baby Temulun onto her saddle. They saddled the last horse as a lead and there was no horse left for [Temujin’s wife] Lady Borte….

Old Woman Khogaghchin, who’d been left in the camp, said: “I’ll hide Lady Borte.” She made her get into a black covered cart. Then she harnessed the cart to a speckled ox. Whipping the ox, she drove the cart away from the camp down the Tungelig. As the first light of day hit them, soldiers rode up and told them to stop. “Who are you?” they asked her, and Old Woman Khogaghchin answered: “I’m a servant of Temujin’s. I’ve just come from shearing his sheep. I’m on my way back to my own tent to make felt from the wool.” Then they asked her: “Is Temujin at his tent? How far is it from here?” Old Woman Khogaghchin said: “As for the tent, it’s not far. As for Temujin, I couldn’t see whether he was there or not. I was just shearing his sheep out back.” The soldiers rode off toward the camp, and Old Woman Khogaghchin whipped the ox. But as the cart moved faster its axletree snapped. “Now we’ll have to run for the woods on foot,” she thought, but before she could start the soldiers returned. They’d made [Temujin’s half brother] Belgutei’s mother their captive, and had her slung over one of their horses with her feet swinging down. They rode up to the old woman shouting: “What have you got in that cart!” “I’m just carrying wool,” Khogaghchin replied, but an old soldier turned to the younger ones and said, “Get off your horses and see what’s in there.” When they opened the door of the cart they found Borte inside. Pulling her out, they forced Borte and Khogaghchin to ride on their horses, then they all set out after Temujin….

The men who pursued Temujin were the chiefs of the three Merkid clans, Toghtoga, Dayin Usun, and Khagatai Darmala. These three had come to get their revenge, saying: “Long ago Mother Hogelun was stolen from our brother, Chiledu.” When they couldn’t catch Temujin they said to each other: “We’ve got our revenge. We’ve taken their wives from them,” and they rode down from Mount Burkhan Khaldun back to their homes….

Having finished his prayer Temujin rose and rode off with Khasar and Belgutei. They rode to [his father’s sworn brother] Toghoril Ong Khan of the Kereyid camped in the Black Forest on the Tula River. Temujin spoke to Ong Khan, saying: “I was attacked by surprise by the three Merkid chiefs. They’ve stolen my wife from me. We’ve come to you now to say, ‘Let my father the Khan save my wife and return her.’” …

[Temujin and his allies] came down on [the Merkid chief] as if through the smoke-hole of his tent, beating down the frame of his tent and leaving it flat, capturing and killing his wives and his sons. They struck at his door-frame where his guardian spirit lived and broke it to pieces. They completely destroyed all his people until in their place there was nothing but emptiness….

As the Merkid people tried to flee from our army running down the Selenge with what they could gather in the darkness, as our soldiers rode out of the night capturing and killing the Merkid, Temujin rode through the retreating camp shouting out: “Borte! Borte!” …

When [Lady Borte] recognized Temujin’s voice, Borte leaped from her cart. Lady Borte and Old Woman Khogaghchin saw Temujin charge through the crowd and they ran to him, finally seizing the reins of his horse. All about them was moonlight. As Temujin looked down to see who had stopped him he recognized Lady Borte. In a moment he was down from his horse and they were in each other’s arms, embracing.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What do you learn from these stories about the Mongol way of life?
2. “Marriage by capture” has been practiced in many parts of the world. Can you infer from these stories why such a system would persist? What was the impact of such practices on kinship relations?
3. Can you recognize traces of the oral origins of these stories?

Source: Paul Kahn, trans., *The Secret History of the Mongols: The Origin of Chinghis Khan.* Copyright © 1984. Reprinted with permission of Paul Kahn.

Chinggis Khan and the Mongol Empire

How did Chinggis Khan and his successors conquer much of Eurasia, and how did the Mongol conquests change the regions affected?

In the mid-twelfth century the Mongols were just one of many peoples in the eastern grasslands, neither particularly numerous nor especially advanced. Why then did the Mongols suddenly emerge as an overpowering force on the historical stage? One explanation is ecological. A drop in the mean annual temperature created a subsistence crisis. As pastures shrank, the Mongols and other nomads had to look beyond the steppe to get more of their food from the agricultural world. A second reason for their sudden rise was the appearance of a single individual, the brilliant but utterly ruthless Temujin (ca. 1162–1227), later and more commonly called Chinggis Khan (sometimes spelled Genghis or Ghengis).

Chinggis Khan

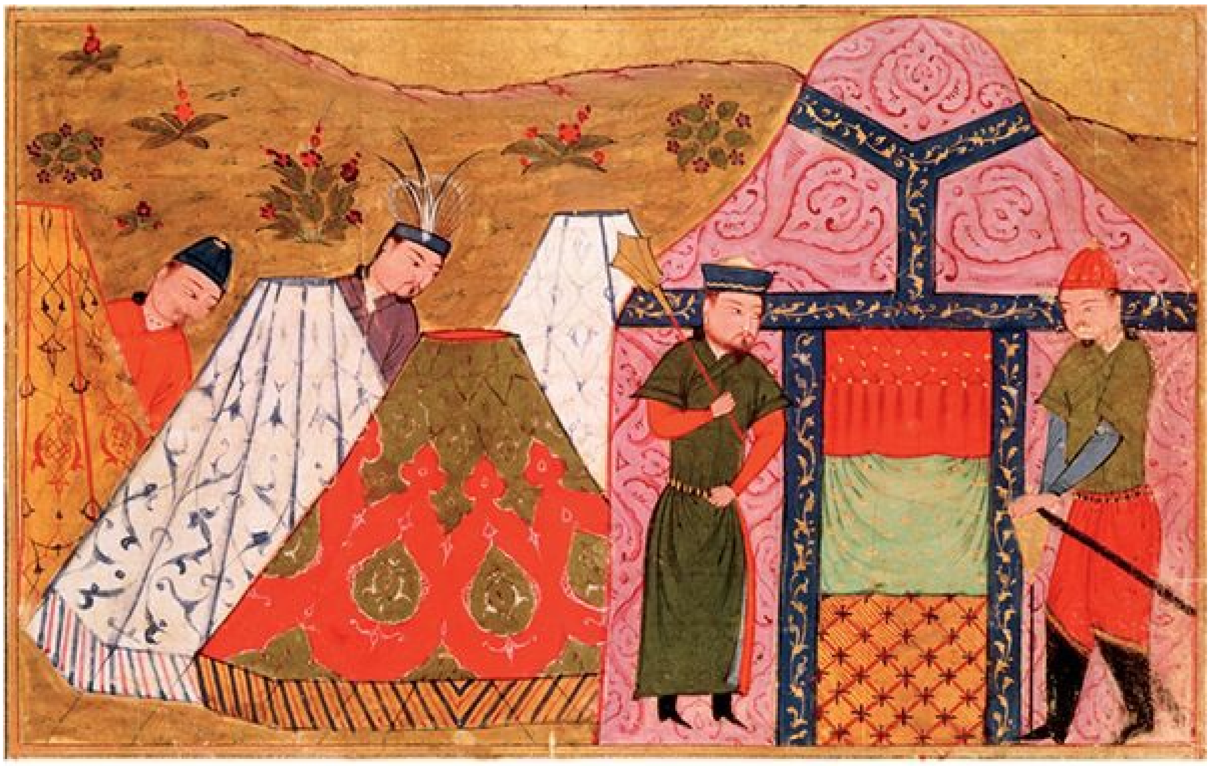
In Temujin's youth, his father had built a modest tribal following. When Temujin's father was poisoned by a rival, his followers, not ready to follow a boy of twelve, drifted away, leaving Temujin and his mother and brothers in a vulnerable position. Temujin slowly collected followers. In 1182 Temujin was captured and carried in a cage to a rival's camp. After a daring midnight escape, he led his followers to join a stronger chieftain whom his father had once aided. With the chieftain's help, Temujin began avenging the insults he had received.

Temujin proved to be a natural leader, and as he subdued the Tartars, Kereyids, Naimans, Merkids, and other Mongol and Turkish tribes, he built up an army of loyal followers. He mastered the art of winning allies through displays of personal courage in battle and generosity to his followers. To those who opposed him, he could be merciless. He once asserted that nothing gave more pleasure than massacring one's enemies, seizing their horses and cattle, and ravishing their women. Sometimes Temujin would kill all the men in a defeated tribe to prevent later vendettas. At other times he would take them on as soldiers in his own armies.

In 1206, at a great gathering of tribal leaders, Temujin was proclaimed **Chinggis Khan** (JING-gus kahn), or Great Ruler. Chinggis decreed that Mongol, until then an unwritten language, be written down in the script used by the Uighur Turks. With this script a record was made of the Mongol laws and customs, ranging from the rules for the annual hunt to punishments of death for robbery and adultery. Another measure adopted at this assembly was a postal relay system to send messages rapidly by mounted courier, suggesting that Chinggis already had ambitions to rule a vast empire.

Chinggis Khan The title given to the Mongol ruler Temujin in 1206; it means Great Ruler.

With the tribes of Mongolia united, the energies previously devoted to infighting and vendettas were redirected to exacting tribute from the settled populations nearby, starting with the Jurchen (Jin) state that extended into north China (see Map 13.1). Because of his early experiences with intertribal feuding, Chinggis mistrusted traditional tribal loyalties, and as he fashioned a new army, he gave it a new, nontribal decimal structure (based on units of ten). He conscripted soldiers from all the tribes and assigned them to units that were composed of members from different tribes. He selected commanders for each unit whom he could remove at will, although he allowed commanders to pass their posts on to their sons.



Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, France/Bridgeman Images

The Tent of Chinggis Khan In this fourteenth-century Persian illustration from Rashid al-

Din’s *History of the World*, two guards stand outside while Chinggis is in his tent.

After Chinggis subjugated a city, he would send envoys to cities farther out to demand submission and threaten destruction. Those who opened their city gates and submitted without fighting could join the Mongols, but those who resisted faced the prospect of mass slaughter. He despised city dwellers and would sometimes use them as living shields in the next battle. After the Mongol armies swept across north China in 1212–1213, ninety-odd cities lay in rubble. Not surprisingly many governors of cities and rulers of small states hastened to offer submission.

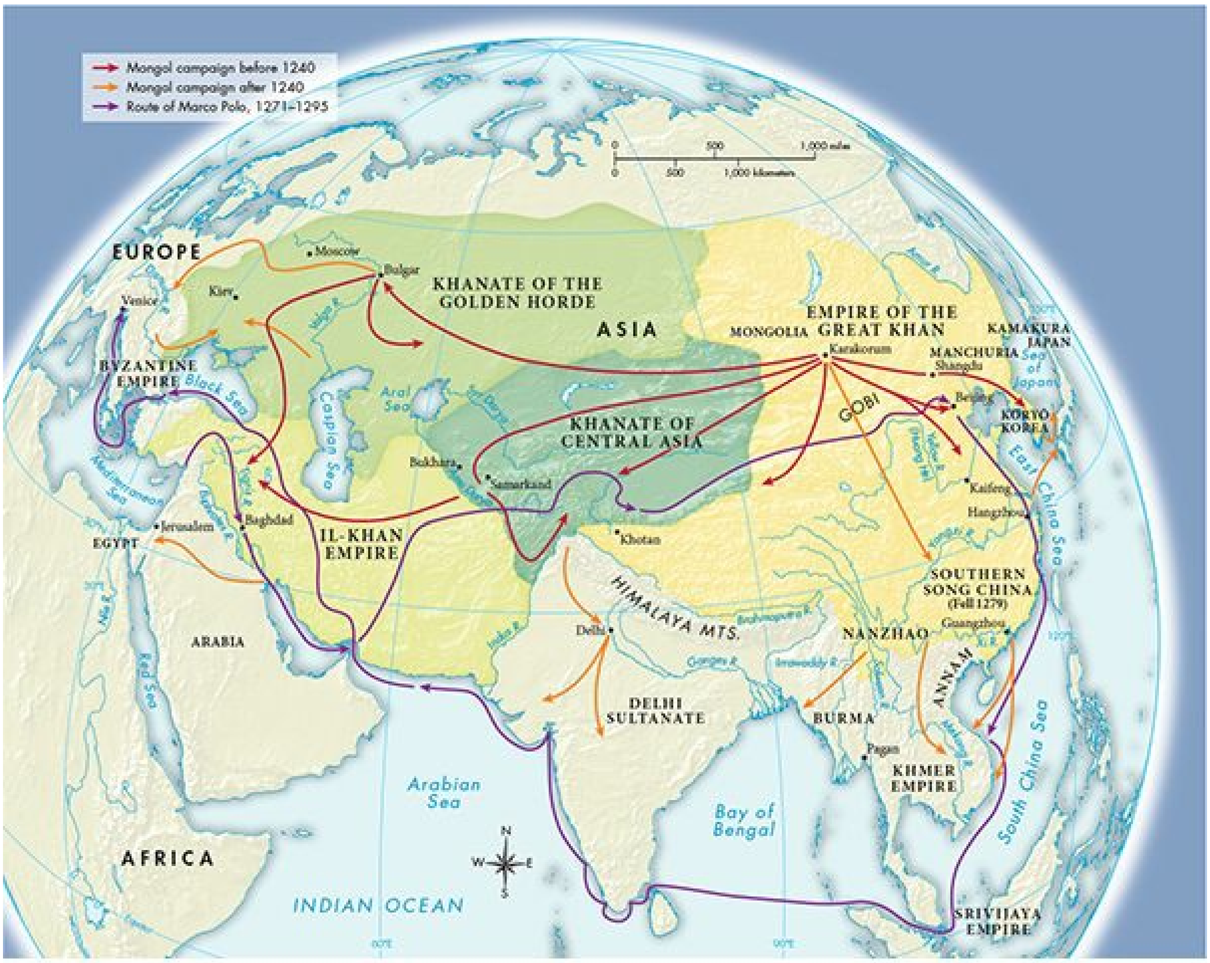
Chinggis preferred conquest to administration and did not stay in north China to set up an administrative structure. He left that to subordinates and turned his attention westward, to Central Asia and Persia, then dominated by different groups of Turks. In 1218 Chinggis proposed to the Khwarizm (QUAHR-uh-zim) shah of Persia that he accept Mongol overlordship and establish trade relations. The shah, to show his determination to resist, ordered the envoy and the merchants who had accompanied him killed. The next year Chinggis led an army of one hundred thousand soldiers west to retaliate. Mongol forces destroyed the shah’s army and sacked one Persian city after another.

After returning from Central Asia, Chinggis died in 1227 during the siege of a city in northwest China. Before he died, he instructed his sons not to fall out among themselves but instead to divide the spoils.

Chinggis’s Successors

Although Mongol leaders traditionally had had to win their positions, after Chinggis died the empire was divided into four states called **khanates**, with one of the lines of his descendants taking charge of each (Map 12.1). Chinggis’s third son, Ögödei, assumed the title of khan, and he directed the next round of invasions.

khanates The states ruled by a khan; the four units into which Chinggis divided the Mongol Empire.


Mongol campaign before 1240
Mongol campaign after 1240
Route of Marco Polo, 1271–1295
0 500 1,000 miles
0 500 1,000 kilometers
EUROPE
Moscow
Bulgar
Kiev
Venice
KHANATE OF THE GOLDEN HORDE
ASIA
BYZANTINE EMPIRE
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
Aral Sea
Volga R.
Syr Darya
KHANATE OF CENTRAL ASIA
Bukhara
Samarkand
Mediterranean Sea
Jerusalem
Baghdad
Tigris R.
Euphrates R.
IL-KHAN EMPIRE
EGYPT
Nile R.
ARABIA
Red Sea
Khotan
HIMALAYA MTS.
Indus R.
Delhi
DELHI SULTANATE
Ganges R.
Brahmaputra R.
Irrawaddy R.
BURMA
Pagan
NANZHAO
ANNAM
KHMER EMPIRE
Mekong R.
MONGOLIA
EMPIRE OF THE GREAT KHAN
Karakorum
GOBI
MANCHURIA
Shangdu
Beijing
Yellow R. (Huang He)
Kaifeng
Hangzhou
Yangzi R.
SOUTHERN SONG CHINA (Fell 1279)
Guangzhou
KAMAKURA JAPAN
Sea of Japan
KORYO KOREA
East China Sea
South China Sea
Arabian Sea
Bay of Bengal
INDIAN OCEAN
AFRICA
SRIVIJAYA EMPIRE
N
S
E
W
60°E
90°E
120°E
30°N

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Mapping the Past

MAP 12.1 The Mongol Empire The creation of the vast Mongol Empire facilitated communication across Eurasia and led to both the spread of deadly plagues and the transfer of technical and scientific knowledge. After the death of Chinggis Khan in 1227, the empire was divided into four khanates ruled by different lines of his successors. In the 1270s the Mongols conquered southern China, but most of their subsequent campaigns did not lead to further territorial gains.

ANALYZING THE MAP Trace the campaigns of the Mongols. Which ones led to acquisition of territory, and which ones did not?

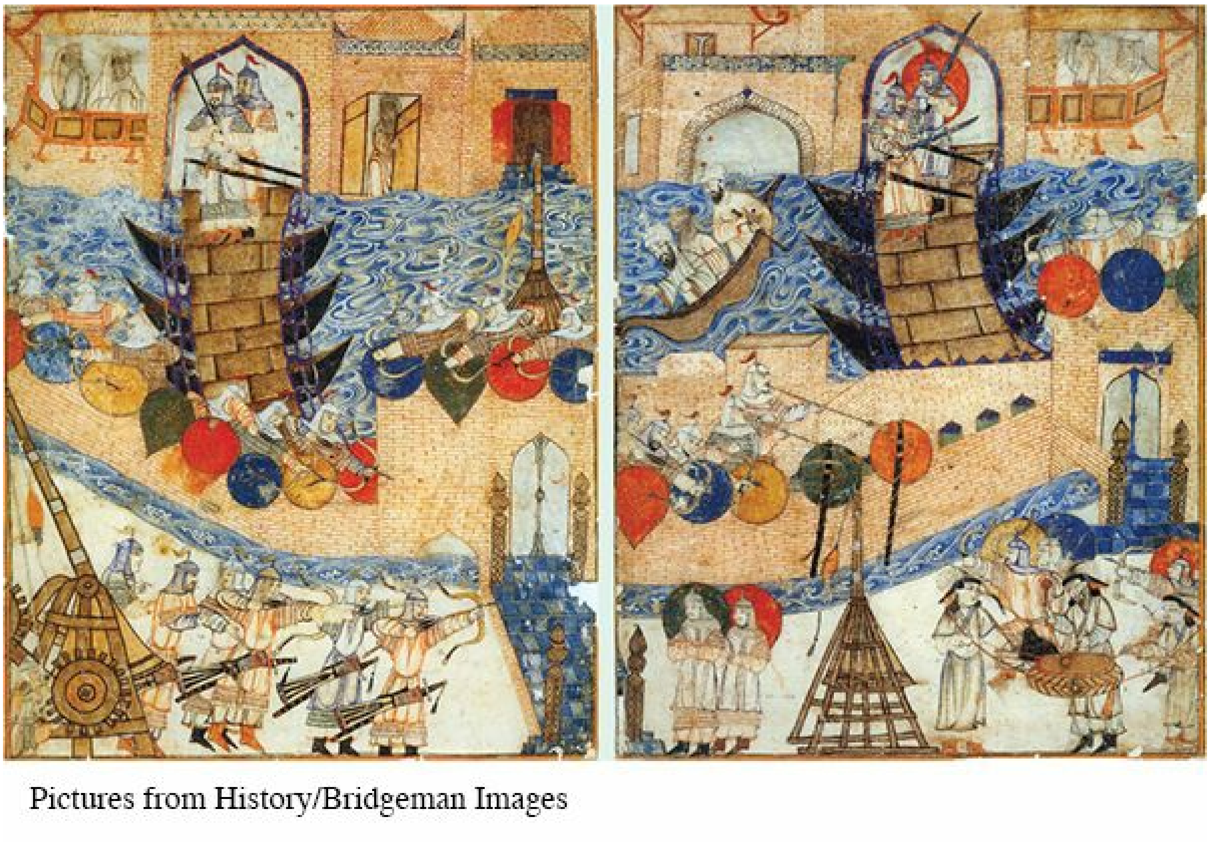
CONNECTIONS Would the division of the Mongol Empire into separate khanates have made these areas easier for the Mongols to rule? What drawbacks might it have had from the Mongols' point of view?

In 1237 representatives of all four lines led 150,000 Mongol, Turkish, and Persian troops into Europe. During the next five years, they gained control of Moscow and Kievan Rus and looted cities in Poland and Hungary. They were poised to attack deeper into Europe when they learned of the death of Ögödei in 1241. To participate in the election of a new khan, the army returned to the Mongols' new capital city, Karakorum.

Once Ögödei's son was certified as his successor, the Mongols turned their attention to Persia and the Middle East. In 1256 a Mongol army took northwest Iran, then pushed on to the Abbasid capital of Baghdad. When it fell in 1258, the last Abbasid caliph was murdered, and the population was put to the sword. The Mongol onslaught was successfully resisted, however, by both the Delhi sultanate (see "The Delhi Sultanate") and the Mamluk rulers in Egypt (see "The Mongol Invasions" in Chapter 9).

Under Chinggis's grandson Khubilai Khan (r. 1260– 1294), the Mongols completed their conquest of China. Proceeding deliberately, the Mongols first surrounded the Song empire in central and south China (see Chapter 13) by taking its westernmost province in 1252, as well as Korea to its east in 1258; destroying the Nanzhao kingdom in modern Yunnan in 1254; and then continuing south and taking Annam (northern Vietnam) in 1257. As their invasion moved forward, the Mongols used a variety of forms of battle, employing experts in naval and siege warfare from all over their empire. During their advance toward the Chinese capital of Hangzhou, the Mongols ordered the total slaughter of the people of the major city of Changzhou, and in 1276 the Chinese empress dowager surrendered in hopes of sparing the people of the capital a similar fate.

Having overrun China and Korea, Khubilai turned his eyes toward Japan, launching invasions in 1274 and 1281. On both occasions the Mongols managed to land but were beaten back by Japanese samurai armies. Each time fierce storms destroyed the Mongol fleets. The Japanese claimed that they had been saved by the *kamikaze*, the "divine wind" (which later lent its name to the thousands of Japanese aviators who crashed their airplanes into American warships during World War II). Twelve years later, in 1293, Khubilai tried sending a fleet to the islands of Southeast Asia, including Java, but it met with no more success than the fleets sent to Japan.



Pictures from History/Bridgeman Images

Mongols Conquer Baghdad The siege of Baghdad in 1258 is depicted in this illustration from Rashid al-Din's *History of the World*, which was published in Persia in the fourteenth century.

Why were the Mongols so successful against so many different types of enemies? Even though their population was tiny compared to the populations of the large agricultural societies they conquered, their tactics, their weapons, and their organization all gave them advantages. Like other nomads before them, they were superb horsemen and excellent archers. Their horses were extremely nimble, able to change direction quickly, thus allowing the Mongols to maneuver easily and ride through infantry forces armed with swords, lances, and javelins. (See "Thinking Like a Historian: The Mongol Army," page 330.)

The Mongols were also open to trying new military technologies. To attack walled cities, they learned how to use catapults and other engines of war. At first they employed Chinese catapults, but when they learned that those used by the Turks in Afghanistan were more powerful, they adopted the better model. The Mongols also used exploding arrows and gunpowder projectiles developed by the Chinese.

The Mongols made good use of intelligence and tried to exploit internal divisions in the countries they attacked. Thus in north China they appealed to the Khitans, who had been defeated by the Jurchens a century earlier, to join them in attacking the Jurchens. In Syria they exploited the resentment of Christians against their Muslim rulers.

MONGOL CONQUESTS

1206	Temujin made Chinggis Khan
1215	Fall of Beijing (Jurchens)
1219–1220	Fall of Bukhara and Samarkand in Central Asia
1227	Death of Chinggis
1237–1241	Raids into eastern Europe
1257	Conquest of Annam (northern Vietnam)
1258	Conquest of Abbasid capital of Baghdad; conquest of Korea
1260	Khubilai succeeds to khanship
1274	First attempt at invading Japan
1276	Surrender of Song Dynasty (China)
1281	Second attempt at invading Japan
1293	Mongol fleet unsuccessful in invasion of Java
mid-14th century	Decline of Mongol power

THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN

The Mongol Army

The Mongols received little attention from historians until they were united under Chinggis and began their military conquests. The following five documents offer different perspectives on the Mongol army.

1 **Li Xinchuan, report on the Mongol invasion of northern China, 1220.** One of the earliest surviving accounts of the Mongols' military tactics was written around 1220 by a Chinese historian, Li Xinchuan, living in south China under the Song Dynasty. He would have learned of the Mongols secondhand, as the Song had diplomatic relations with Jin, which was then under attack by the Mongols. In this passage he reports how the Tartars — referring to the Mongols — gained control of north China in 1213–1214.

■ In the spring of 1213 [the Tartars] attacked Yanjing [modern Beijing] and that fall Yunji [the Jin emperor] was killed. Chinggis left Samohe in charge of Yanjing and incorporated the 46 divisions of the surrendered [Jin] armies of Yang Boyu and Liu Bolin into the great Tartar armies, which were divided into three divisions to conquer the prefectural cities of [the circuits of] River North, River East, and Mountains East.… At this time the troops of the various circuits of north China pulled back to defend the region west of the mountains, but there were not enough troops, so commoners were drafted as soldiers and put on the tops of the city walls to defend them. The Tartars drove their family members to attack them, and fathers and sons or brothers often got close enough to recognize and call out to each other. Because of this, [the drafted soldiers] were not firmly resolved, and all of the cities surrendered as soon as the fighting began. From the twelfth month of 1213 to the first month of 1214, more than ninety prefectures fell. Every place the armies passed through was devastated. For several thousand li, throughout River East, River North, and Mountains East, the people were slaughtered. Gold and silk, boys and girls, oxen and sheep, horses and other animals were all "rolled up" and taken away. Houses were burnt down and defensive walls smashed.

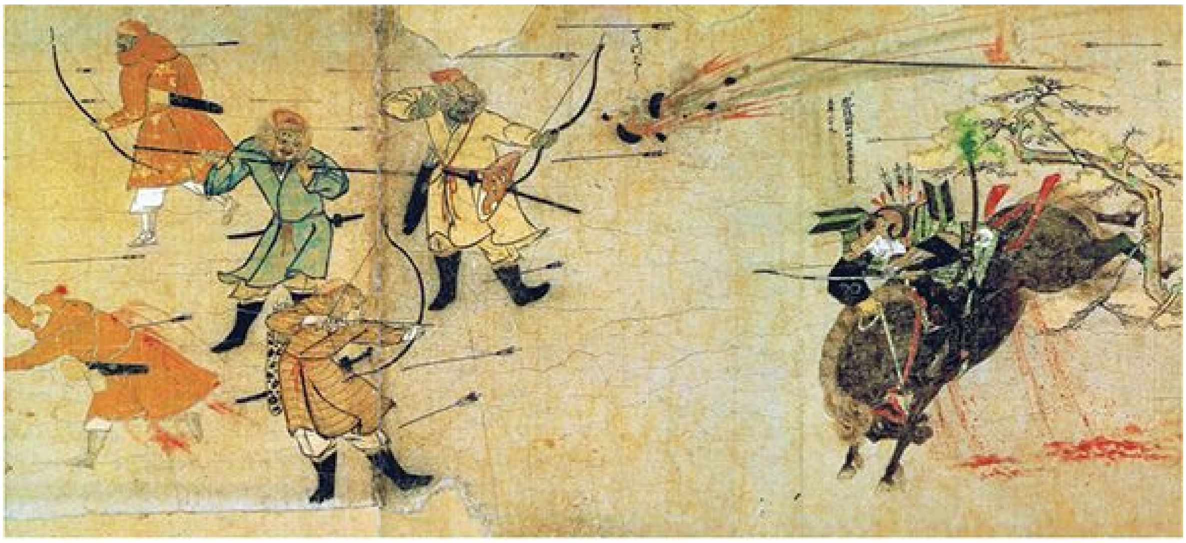
2 **John of Plano Carpini, *History of the Mongols*, 1240s.** John of Plano Carpini was a Franciscan friar sent by Pope Innocent IV to make contact with the Mongols. Although his diplomacy did not achieve its purpose, he wrote a full account of what he observed about the Mongols during his 1245–1247 travels.

■ Having spoken of their empire, we will now deal with war in the following manner: first we will tell of their battle array, second of their arms, thirdly of their cunning in engagements, fourthly of the cruelty they show to captives, fifthly of how they make assaults on forts and cities, and sixthly of the bad faith they show to those who surrender to them.…

When however they are going to join battle, they draw up all the battle lines just as they are to fight. The chiefs or princes of the army do not take part in the fighting but take up their stand some distance away facing the enemy…. They send a detachment of captives and men of other nationalities who are fighting with them to meet the enemy head-on, and some Tartars may perhaps accompany them. Other columns of stronger men they dispatch far off to the right and the left so that they are not seen by the enemy and in this way they surround them and close in and so the fighting begins from all sides….

All those they take prisoner in battle they put to death unless they happen to want to keep some as slaves. They divide those who are to be killed among the captains of a hundred to be executed by them with a battle-axe; they in their turn divide them among the captives, giving each slave to kill ten or more or less as the officers think fit.

3 **Scene from the *Moko Shurai Ekotoba,* 1293.** After repelling the Mongol invaders in 1274, some of the Japanese samurai who fought wished to document their accomplishment by having a pictorial scroll of it made, to show their valor.



Pictures from History/Bridgeman Images

4 **Zhu Sisun, testimony on the 1236 Mongol attack in Sichuan.** Zhu Sisun (1214–1280), who survived the Mongol slaughter in Sichuan in 1236, later reported what he went through (referring to himself by his own name). This was the Mongols’ first major attack on the Southern Song.

■ Here is how the people of Sichuan went to their deaths: groups of fifty people were clustered together, and the Mongols impaled them all with swords and piled up the corpses. At sunset, those who did not appear dead were again stabbed. Sisun lay at the bottom of a pile of corpses, and by chance the evening stabbing did not reach him. The blood of the corpses above him dripped steadily into his mouth. Halfway through the night Sisun began to revive, and crawling into the woods he made his escape.

5 **Marco Polo, *Description of the World,* ca. 1300.** The Venetian Marco Polo (ca. 1254–1324) accompanied his father and uncle to China, arriving at age twenty-one and staying sixteen years. After he returned to Italy, he dictated his account to a storyteller named Rusticello. His admiration for the Mongol rulers is evident in many of his accounts.

■ They are brave in battle, almost to desperation, setting little value upon their lives, and exposing themselves without hesitation to all manner of danger. Their disposition is cruel. They are capable of supporting every kind of privation, and when there is a necessity for it, can live for a month on the milk of their mares, and upon such wild animals as they may chance to catch. The men are habituated to remain on horseback during two days and two nights, without dismounting, sleeping in that situation whilst their horses graze. No people on earth can surpass them in fortitude under difficulties, nor show greater patience under wants of every kind.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. How would you explain the differences in what the writers of Sources 1, 2, 4, and 5 chose to mention?
2. Does anything in the accounts in Sources 1, 2, 4, or 5 seem exaggerated? How can you judge?
3. Does the visual depiction in Source 3 offer anything that the textual sources do not?
4. If you were writing a history of the Mongols, would you consider all the sources equally valid as evidence, or would you find some more reliable than others?

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

Using the sources above, along with what you have learned in class and in this chapter, write a short essay that analyzes the Mongol army and its tactics.

Sources: (1) Li Xinchuan, *Jianyan yilai chaoye zaji* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000), pp. 847–851, trans. Patricia Ebrey; (2) Christopher Dawson, ed., *The Mongol Mission: Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1955), pp. 32–38; (4) Paul J. Smith, “Family, Landsman, and Status–Group Affinity in Refugee Mobility Strategies: The Mongol Invasions and the Diaspora of Sichuanese Elites, 1230–1330,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 52.2 (1992): 671–672, slightly modified; (5) *The Travels of Marco Polo, the Venetian,* ed. Manuel Komroff (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1926), p. 93.

The Mongols as Rulers

The success of the Mongols in ruling vast territories was due in large part to their willingness to incorporate other ethnic groups into their armies and governments. Whatever their original country or religion, those who served the Mongols loyally were rewarded. Uighurs, Tibetans, Persians, Chinese, and Russians came to hold powerful positions in the Mongol governments.

Since, in Mongol eyes, the purpose of fighting was to gain riches, the Mongols would regularly loot the settlements they conquered, taking whatever they wanted, including the residents. Land would be granted to military commanders, nobles, and army units to be governed and exploited as the recipients wished. Those working the land would be given to them as serfs. The Mongols built a capital city called Karakorum in modern Mongolia, and to bring it up to the level of the cities they conquered, they transported skilled workers from those cities. For instance, after Bukhara and Samarkand were captured in 1219–1220, some thirty thousand artisans were enslaved and transported to Mongolia.

The traditional nomad disdain for farmers led some commanders to suggest turning north China into a gigantic pasture after it was conquered. In time, though, the Mongols came to realize that simply appropriating the wealth and human resources of the settled lands was not as good as extracting regular revenue from them. The Mongols gave Chinese methods of taxation a try, but soon political rivals convinced the khan that he would gain even more by letting Central Asian Muslim merchants bid against each other for licenses to collect taxes any way they could, a system called **tax-farming**. Ordinary Chinese found this method of tax collecting much more oppressive than traditional Chinese methods, since there was little to keep the tax collectors from seizing everything they could.

tax-farming Assigning the collection of taxes to whoever bids the most for the privilege.

By the second half of the thirteenth century there was no longer a genuine pan-Asian Mongol Empire. Much of Asia was in the hands of Mongol successor states, but these were generally hostile to each other. Khubilai was often at war with the khanate of Central Asia, then held by his cousin Khaidu, and he had little contact with the khanate of the Golden Horde in south Russia. The Mongols adapted their methods of government to the existing traditions of each place they ruled, and the regions went their separate ways.

In China the Mongols resisted assimilation and purposely avoided many Chinese practices. The rulers conducted their business in the Mongol language and spent their summers in Mongolia. Khubilai discouraged Mongols from marrying Chinese and took only Mongol women into the palace. Chinese were treated as legally inferior not only to the Mongols but also to all other non-Chinese.

In Central Asia, Persia, and Russia the Mongols tended to merge with the Turkish groups already there and, like them, converted to Islam. Russia in the thirteenth century was not a strongly centralized state, and the Mongols allowed Russian princes and lords to continue to rule their territories as long as they turned over adequate tribute. The city of Moscow became the center of Mongol tribute collection and grew in importance. In the Middle East the Mongol Il-khans (as they were known in Persia) were more active as rulers, again continuing the traditions of the caliphate. In Mongolia itself, however, Mongol traditions were maintained.

Mongol control in each of the khanates lasted about a century. In the mid-fourteenth century the Mongol dynasty in China deteriorated into civil war, and in the 1360s the Mongols withdrew back to Mongolia. There was a similar loss of Mongol power in Persia and Central Asia. Only on the south Russian steppe did the Golden Horde maintain its hold for another century.

As Mongol rule in Central Asia declined, a new conqueror emerged, Timur, also known as Tamerlane (Timur the Lame). Not a nomad but a highly civilized Turkish noble, Timur in the 1360s struck out from his base in Samarkand into Persia, north India (see “The Delhi Sultanate”), southern Russia, and beyond. His armies used the terror tactics that the Mongols had perfected, massacring the citizens of cities that resisted. In the decades after his death in 1405, however, Timur’s empire went into decline.

East-West Communication During the Mongol Era

How did the Mongol conquests facilitate the spread of ideas, religions, inventions, and diseases?

The Mongol governments did more than any earlier political entities to encourage the movement of people and goods across Eurasia. With these vast movements came cultural accommodation as the Mongols, their conquered subjects, and their trading partners learned from one another. This cultural exchange involved both physical goods and the sharing of ideas, including the introduction of new religious beliefs and the adoption of new ways to organize and rule the Mongol Empire. It also facilitated the spread of the plague and the unwilling movement of enslaved captives.

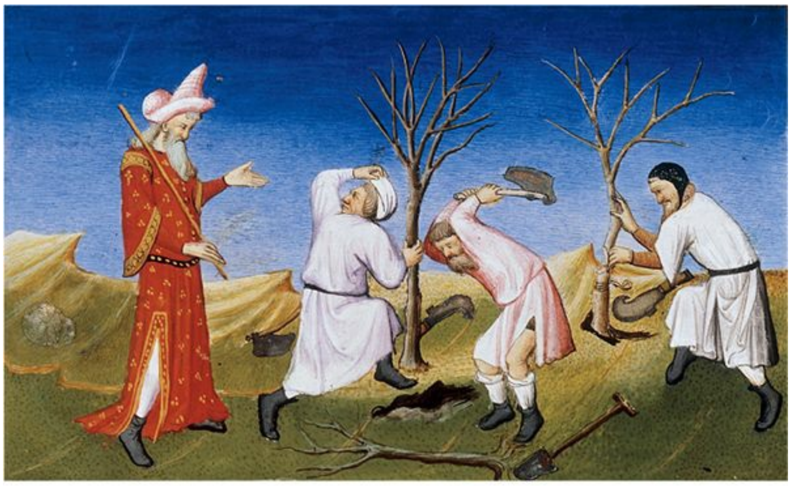
The Movement of Peoples

The Mongols had never looked down on merchants the way the elites of many traditional states did, and they welcomed the arrival of merchants from distant lands. Even when different groups of Mongols were fighting among themselves, they usually allowed caravans to pass without harassing them.

The Mongol practice of transporting skilled people from the lands they conquered also brought people into contact with each other in new ways. Besides those forced to move, the Mongols recruited administrators from all over. Especially prominent were the Uighur Turks of Chinese Central Asia, whose familiarity with Chinese civilization and fluency in Turkish were extremely valuable in facilitating communication.

One of those who served the Mongols was Rashid al-Din (ca. 1247–1318). A Jew from Persia and the son of an apothecary, Rashid al-Din converted to Islam at the age of thirty and entered the service of the Mongol Il-khan of Persia as a physician. He rose in government service, traveled widely, and eventually became prime minister. Rashid al-Din became friends with the ambassador from China, and together they arranged for translations of Chinese works on medicine, agronomy, and statecraft. Aware of the great differences between cultures, he believed that the Mongols should try to rule in accord with the moral principles of the majority in each land. On that basis he convinced the Mongol khan of Persia to convert to Islam. Rashid al-Din undertook to explain the great variety of cultures by writing a world history more comprehensive than any previously written. (See “Global Viewpoints: Explaining the Workings of Paper Money in China, Persia, and Europe,” page 332.)

The Mongols were remarkably open to religious experts from all the lands they encountered. More Europeans made their way as far as Mongolia and China in the Mongol period than ever before. Popes and kings sent envoys to the Mongol court in the hope of enlisting the Mongols on their side in their long-standing conflict with Muslim forces over the Holy Land. European visitors were also interested in finding Christians who had been cut off from the West by the spread of Islam, and in fact there were considerable numbers of Nestorian Christians in Central Asia.



Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris/akg-images

Planting Trees The illustrations in early copies of Marco Polo’s book show the elements that Europeans found most interesting. This page illustrates Khubilai’s order that trees be planted along the main roads.

The most famous European visitor to the Mongol lands was the Venetian Marco Polo (ca. 1254–1324). In his famous *Description of the World*, Marco Polo described all the places he visited or learned about during his seventeen years away from home. He reported being warmly received by Khubilai, who impressed him enormously. He was also awed by the wealth and splendor of Chinese cities and spread the notion of Asia as a land of riches.

GLOBAL VIEWPOINTS

Explaining the Workings of Paper Money in China, Persia, and Europe

In China the Mongols maintained the established practice of circulating paper money (see "The Medieval Chinese Economic Revolution" in Chapter 13), which amazed visitors from other parts of Eurasia. The three texts below give different perspectives on the use of paper money. The first is a legal ruling issued in 1291 by the Mongols in China, the second is Marco Polo's description of the practice as he witnessed it in the 1290s, and the third is Rashid al-Din's account of the failed attempt to introduce the practice in Mongol-ruled Persia in 1294.

The Yuan Code of 1291

■ At any Treasury for Note Circulation, when a person comes to exchange worn-out notes for new notes, the responsible official shall oversee the counting of the notes in the presence of the owner. If none of the notes are patched or counterfeited, the official shall apply the stamp "Exchanged" to them and place them in the treasury and hand over new notes to the owner. The supervising authorities shall send inspectors to make frequent inspections. Any violator of these provisions shall be investigated and punished.

Marco Polo

■ The coinage of this paper money is authenticated with as much form and ceremony as if it were actually pure gold or silver; for to each note a number of officers, specially appointed, not only subscribe their names, but affix their seals also…. This paper currency is circulated in every part of the Great Khan's dominions; nor dares any person, at the peril of his life, refuse to accept it in payment. All his subjects receive it without hesitation, because, wherever their business may call them, they can dispose of it again in the purchase of merchandise they may require….

When any person happens to be possessed of paper money which from long use has become damaged, they carry it to the mint, where, upon the payment of only three per cent, they receive fresh notes in exchange. Should any be desirous of procuring gold or silver for the purpose of manufacture, such as of drinking-cups, girdles, or other articles wrought of these metals, they in like manner apply to the mint, and for their paper obtain the bullion they require.

Rashid al-Din

■ On Friday [July 27, 1294], Akbuka, Togachar, Sadr al-Din, and Tamachi-Inak went to Tabriz to launch the paper money [*chao*]. They arrived there on [August 13], promulgated the decree, and prepared a great quantity of paper money. On Saturday [September 12, 1294], in the city of Tabriz, they put the paper money into circulation. The decree laid down that any person who refused to accept it would be summarily executed. For one week, in fear of the sword, they accepted it, but they gave very little in return. Most of the people of Tabriz perforce chose to leave, taking the textiles and foodstuffs from the bazaars with them, so that nothing was available, and people who wanted to eat fruit went secretly to the orchards. The city, which had been so populous, was completely emptied of people. Vagabonds and ruffians looted whatever they found in the streets. Caravans ceased to go there….

Sadr al-Din, affected by the words [of a dervish], and with the assent of the retainers after this ruination, obtained a decree authorizing the sale of foodstuffs for gold. Because of this people became bold and transacted business openly in gold, and the absent returned to the city, and within a short time it was flourishing again. In the end, the attempt to introduce paper money did not succeed.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What do you learn about the processes of cultural borrowing from these sources?
2. What features of paper money most impressed Marco Polo?
3. What made it difficult to introduce paper money in Tabriz?

Sources: *Dayuan tongzhi tiaoge* (Taipei: Huasheng shuju, 1980), 14.1b–2a, trans. Patricia Ebrey; Manuel Komroff, ed., *The Travels of Marco Polo* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1926), pp. 159–161; Bernard Lewis, ed. and trans., *Islam from the Prophet Muhammad to the Capture of Constantinople*. Vol. 2: *Religion and Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 292w from p. 192, slightly modified. © 1974 by Bernard Lewis. Used by permission of Oxford University Press, USA.

The Spread of Disease, Goods, and Ideas

The rapid transfer of people and goods across Central Asia spread more than ideas and inventions. It also spread diseases, the most deadly of which was the plague known in Europe as the Black Death, which scholars identify today as the bubonic plague. In the early fourteenth century, transmitted by rats and fleas, the plague began to spread from Central Asia into West Asia, the Mediterranean, and western Europe. The confusion of the mid-fourteenth century that led to the loss of Mongol power in China, Iran, and Central Asia undoubtedly owes something to the effect of the spread of the plague and other diseases. (For more on the Black Death, see Chapter 14.)

Traditionally, the historians of each of the countries conquered by the Mongols portrayed them as a scourge. Among contemporary Western historians, it is now more common to celebrate the genius of the Mongol military machine and treat the spread of ideas and inventions as an obvious good. There is no reason to assume, however, that people benefited equally from the improved communications and the new political institutions of the Mongol era. Merchants involved in long-distance trade prospered, but those enslaved and transported hundreds or thousands of miles from home would have seen themselves not as the beneficiaries of opportunities to encounter cultures different from their own but rather as the most pitiable of victims. Moreover, the places that were ruled by Mongol governments for a century or more — China, Central Asia, Persia, and Russia — do not seem to have advanced at a more rapid rate during that century than they did in earlier centuries, either economically or culturally.

In terms of the spread of technological and scientific ideas, Europe seems to have been by far the main beneficiary of increased communication, largely because in 1200 it lagged farther behind than the other areas. Chinese inventions such as printing, gunpowder, and the compass spread westward. Persian and Indian expertise in astronomy and mathematics also spread. In terms of the spread of religions, Islam probably gained the most. It came to dominate in Chinese Central Asia, which had previously been Buddhist.

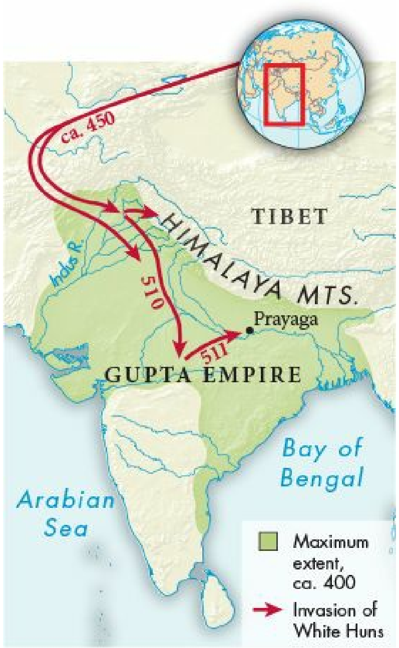
India, Islam, and the Development of Regional Cultures, 300–1400

What was the result of India's encounters with Turks, Mongols, and Islam?

After the Mauryan Empire broke apart in 185 B.C.E. (see "The Reign of Ashoka" in Chapter 3), India was politically divided into small kingdoms for several centuries. Only the Guptas in the fourth century would emerge to unite much of north India, though their rule was cut short by the invasion of the Huns in about 450. A few centuries later, India was profoundly shaped by Turkish nomads from Central Asia who brought their culture and, most important, Islam to India. Despite these events, the lives of most Indians remained unchanged, with the majority of the people living in villages in a society defined by caste.

The Gupta Empire, ca. 320–480

In the early fourth century a state emerged in the Ganges plain that was able to bring large parts of north India under its control. The rulers of this Indian empire, the Guptas, consciously modeled their rule after that of the Mauryan Empire, and the founder took the name of the founder of that dynasty, Chandragupta. The Guptas united north India and received tribute from states in Nepal and the Indus Valley, thus giving large parts of India a period of peace and political unity.



Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

The Gupta Empire, ca. 320–480

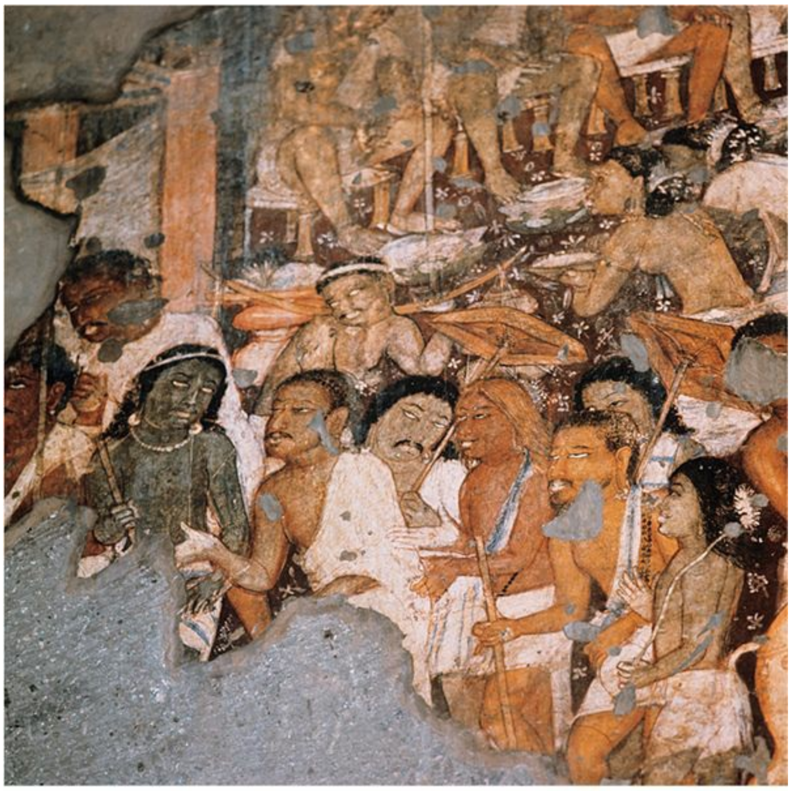
The Guptas' administrative system was not as centralized as that of the Mauryans. In the central regions they drew their revenue from a tax on agriculture of one-quarter of the harvest and maintained monopolies on key products such as metals and salt (reminiscent of Chinese practice). They also exacted labor service for the construction and upkeep of roads, wells, and irrigation systems. More distant areas were assigned to governors who were allowed considerable leeway, and governorships often became hereditary. Areas still farther away were encouraged to become vassal states.

The Gupta kings were patrons of the arts. Poets composed epics for the courts of the Gupta kings, and other writers experimented with prose romances and popular tales. India's greatest poet, Kalidasa (ca. 380–450), like Shakespeare, wrote poems as well as plays in verse.

In mathematics, too, the Gupta period could boast of impressive intellectual achievements. The so-called Arabic numerals are actually of Indian origin. Indian mathematicians developed the place-value notation system, with separate columns for ones, tens, and hundreds, as well as a zero sign to indicate the absence of units in a given column. This system greatly facilitated calculation and had spread as far as Europe by the seventh century.

The Gupta rulers were Hindus, but they tolerated all faiths. Buddhist pilgrims from other areas of Asia reported that Buddhist monasteries with hundreds or even thousands of monks and nuns flourished in the cities. The success of Buddhism did not hinder Hinduism with its many gods, which remained popular among ordinary people.

The great crisis of the Gupta Empire was the invasion of the Huns in about 450. Mustering his full might, the Gupta ruler Skandagupta (r. ca. 455–467) threw back the invaders, but they had dealt the dynasty a fatal blow.



SEF/Art Resource, NY

Wall Painting at Ajanta Many of the best surviving examples of Gupta period painting are found at the twenty-nine Buddhist cave temples at Ajanta in central India. The walls of these caves were decorated in the fifth and sixth centuries with scenes from the former lives of the Buddha. This scene shows members of different castes.

India’s Medieval Age and the First Encounter with Islam

After the decline of the Gupta Empire, India once again broke into separate kingdoms that were frequently at war with each other. Most of the dynasties of India’s medieval age (ca. 500–1400) were short-lived, but a balance of power was maintained between the major regions of India, with none gaining enough of an advantage to conquer the others. Particularly notable are the Cholas, who dominated the southern tip of the peninsula, Sri Lanka, and much of the eastern Indian Ocean to the twelfth century (see Map 12.2, page 339).

Political division fostered the development of regional cultures. Literature came to be written in India’s regional languages, among them Marathi, Bengali, and Assamese. Commerce continued as before, and the coasts of India remained important in the sea trade of the Indian Ocean.

The first encounters with Islam occurred in this period. In 711 the Umayyad governor of Iraq seized the Sind area in western India (modern Pakistan). The western part of India remained part of the caliphate for centuries, but Islam did not spread much beyond this foothold. During the ninth and tenth centuries Turks from Central Asia moved into the region of today's northeastern Iran and western Afghanistan, then known as Khurasan. Converts to Islam, they first served as military forces for the caliphate in Baghdad, but as its authority weakened, they made themselves rulers of an effectively independent Khurasan and frequently sent raiding parties into north India. Beginning in 997 Mahmud of Ghazni (r. 997–1030) led seventeen annual forays into India from his base in modern Afghanistan. He systematically looted Indian palaces and temples, viewing religious statues as infidels' idols. Eventually the Arab conquerors of the Sind fell to the Turks. By 1030 the Indus Valley, the Punjab, and the rest of northwest India were in the grip of the Turks.

Yvan Travert/akg-images

Kandariyâ Mahâdeva Hindu Temple Built around 1050 by a local king in central India, this is one of the best-preserved Hindu temples from the medieval period. The main spire rises 100 feet, and the sides are decorated with more than six hundred stone statues.

The new rulers encouraged the spread of Islam, but the Indian caste system (see "Life in Early India" in Chapter 3) made it difficult to convert higher-caste Indians. Notions of purity were fundamental, as a Persian scholar explained:

> They totally differ from us in religion, as we believe in nothing in which they believe, and vice versa. On the whole, there is very little disputing about theological topics among them; at the utmost they fight with words, but they will never stake their soul or body or property on religious controversy…. They call foreigners impure and forbid having any connection with them, be it by intermarriage or any kind of relationship, or by sitting, eating, and drinking with them, because thereby, they think, they would be polluted.[2]

After the initial period of raids and destruction of temples, the Muslim Turks came to an accommodation with the Hindus, who were classed as a **protected people**, like the Christians and Jews, and allowed to follow their religion. They had to pay a special tax but did not have to perform military service. Local chiefs and rajas were often allowed to remain in control of their domains as long as they paid tribute. Most Indians looked on the Muslim conquerors as a new ruling caste, capable of governing and taxing them but otherwise peripheral to their lives. The myriad castes largely governed themselves, isolating the newcomers.

protected people The Muslim classification used for Hindus, Christians, and Jews; they were allowed to follow their religions but had to pay a special tax.

Nevertheless, over the course of several centuries Islam gained a stronghold on north India, especially in the Indus Valley (modern Pakistan) and in Bengal at the mouth of the Ganges River (modern Bangladesh). Moreover, the sultanate seems to have had a positive effect on the economy. Much of the wealth confiscated from temples was put to more productive use, and India's first truly large cities emerged. The Turks also were eager to employ skilled workers, giving new opportunities to low-caste manual and artisan labor.

The Muslim rulers were much more hostile to Buddhism than to Hinduism, seeing Buddhism as a competitive proselytizing religion. In 1193 a Turkish raiding party destroyed the great Buddhist university at Nalanda in Bihar. Buddhist monks were killed or forced to flee to Buddhist centers in Southeast Asia, Nepal, and Tibet. Buddhism, which had thrived for so long in peaceful and friendly competition with Hinduism, subsequently went into decline in its native land.

Hinduism, however, remained as strong as ever. South India was largely unaffected by these invasions, and traditional Hindu culture flourished there under native kings ruling small kingdoms. (See "Individuals in Society: Bhaskara the Teacher," at right.) Devotional cults and mystical movements flourished. This was a great age of religious art and architecture in India. Extraordinary temples covered with elaborate bas-relief were built in many areas.

INDIVIDUALS IN SOCIETY

Bhaskara the Teacher

© Anirudha Cheoolkar/Dinodia Photo/age-fotostock

The observatory where Bhaskara worked in Ujjain today stands in ruins.

IN INDIA, AS IN MANY OTHER SOCIETIES, ASTRONOMY and mathematics were closely linked, and many of the most important mathematicians served their rulers as astronomers. Bhaskara (1114–ca. 1185) was such an astronomer- mathematician. For generations his Brahmin family had been astronomers at the Ujjain astronomical observatory in north-central India, and his father had written a popular book on astrology.

Bhaskara was a highly erudite man. A disciple wrote that he had thoroughly mastered eight books on grammar, six on medicine, six on philosophy, five on mathematics, and the four Vedas. Bhaskara eventually wrote six books on mathematics and mathematical astronomy. They deal with solutions to simple and quadratic equations and show his knowledge of trigonometry, including the sine table and relationships between different trigonometric functions, and even some of the basic elements of calculus.

A court poet who centuries later translated Bhaskara's book titled *The Beautiful* explained its title by saying Bhaskara wrote it for his daughter named Beautiful (Lilavati) as consolation when his divination of the best time for her to marry went awry. Whether Bhaskara did or did not write this book for his daughter, many of the problems he provides in it have a certain charm:

> On an expedition to seize his enemy’s elephants, a king marched two yojanas the first day. Say, intelligent calculator, with what increasing rate of daily march did he proceed, since he reached his foe’s city, a distance of eighty yojanas, in a week?*
>
> Out of a heap of pure lotus flower, a third part, a fifth, and a sixth were offered respectively to the gods Siva, Vishnu, and the Sun; and a quarter was presented to Bhavani. The remaining six lotuses were given to the venerable preceptor. Tell quickly the whole number of lotus.†
>
> If eight best variegated silk scarfs, measuring three cubits in breadth and eight in length, cost a hundred nishkas, say quickly, merchant, if thou understand trade, what a like scarf, three and a half cubits long and half a cubit wide will cost.‡

Bhaskara had a long career. His first book on mathematical astronomy, written in 1150 when he was thirty-six, used mathematics to calculate solar and lunar eclipses or planetary conjunctions. Thirty-three years later he was still writing on the subject, this time providing simpler ways to solve problems encountered before. Bhaskara wrote his books in Sanskrit, already a literary language rather than a vernacular language, but even in his own day some of them were translated into other Indian languages.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What might have been the advantages of making occupations like astronomer hereditary in India?
2. Are the problems Bhaskara poses ones that people would face in ordinary life?

---

*Quotations from Haran Chandra Banerji, *Colebrooke’s Translation of the Lilavati*, 2d ed. (Calcutta: The Book Co., 1927), pp. 80–81, 30, 51, 200. The answer is that each day he must travel 22/7 yojanas farther than the day before.

†The answer is 120.

‡The answer, from the formula $x = (1 \times 7 \times 1 \times 100) / (8 \times 3 \times 8 \times 2 \times 2)$, is given in currencies smaller than the nishka: 14 drammas, 9 panas, 1 kakini, and 6 $^{2/3}$ cowry shells. (20 cowry shells = 1 kakini, 4 kakini = 1 pana, 16 panas = 1 dramma, and 16 drammas = 1 nishka.)

The Delhi Sultanate

In the twelfth century a new line of Turkish rulers arose in Afghanistan, led by Muhammad of Ghur (d. 1206). Muhammad captured Delhi and extended his control nearly throughout north India. When he fell to an assassin in 1206, one of his generals, the former slave Qutb-ud-din, seized the reins of power and established a government at Delhi, separate from the government in Afghanistan. This sultanate of Delhi lasted for three centuries, even though dynasties changed several times.

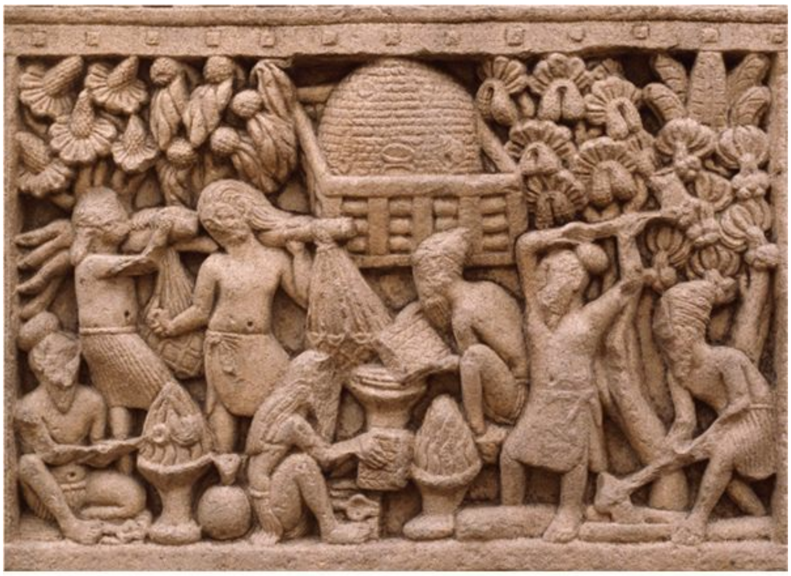
A major accomplishment of the Delhi sultanate was holding off the Mongols. Chinggis Khan and his troops entered the Indus Valley in 1221 in pursuit of the shah of Khurasan. The sultan wisely kept out of the way, and when Chinggis Khan left some troops in the area, the sultan made no attempt to challenge them. Two generations later, in 1299, a Mongol khan launched a campaign into India with two hundred thousand men, but the sultan of the time was able to defeat them. Two years later the Mongols returned and camped at Delhi for two months, but they eventually left without taking the sultan’s fort. Another Mongol raid in 1306–1307 also was successfully repulsed.

During the fourteenth century, however, the Delhi sultanate was in decline and proved unable to ward off the armies of Timur, who took Delhi in 1398. Timur’s invasion left a weakened sultanate. The Delhi sultanate endured under different rulers until 1526, when it was conquered by the Mughals, a Muslim dynasty that would rule over most of northern India from the sixteenth into the nineteenth century.

Life in Medieval India

Local institutions played a much larger role in the lives of people in medieval India than did the state. Craft guilds oversaw conditions of work and trade, local councils handled law and order at the town or village level, and local castes gave members a sense of belonging and identity.

Like peasant societies elsewhere, including in China, Japan, and Southeast Asia, agricultural life in India ordinarily meant village life. The average farmer worked a small plot of land outside the village. All the family members pooled their resources — human, animal, and material — under the direction of the head of the family. These joint efforts strengthened family solidarity.



DEA/G. Nimatallah/De Agostini Picture Library/Getty Images

Men at Work This stone frieze from the Buddhist stupa in Sanchi depicts Indian men doing a variety of everyday jobs. Although the stone was carved to convey religious ideas, we can use it as a source for such details of daily life as the sort of clothing men wore while working and how they carried loads.

The agricultural year began with spring plowing. The traditional plow, drawn by two oxen wearing yokes and collars, had an iron-tipped share and a handle with which the farmer guided it. Rice, the most important grain, was sown at the beginning of the long rainy season. Beans, lentils, and peas were the farmer's friends, for they grew during the cold season and were harvested in the spring, when fresh food was scarce. Cereal crops such as wheat, barley, and millet provided carbohydrates and other nutrients. Some families cultivated vegetables, spices, fruit trees, and flowers in their gardens. Sugarcane was another important crop.

Farmers also raised livestock. Most highly valued were cattle, which were raised for plowing and milk, hides, and horns, but Hindus did not slaughter them for meat. Like the Islamic and Jewish prohibition on the consumption of pork, the eating of beef was forbidden among Hindus.

Local craftsmen and tradesmen were frequently organized into guilds, with guild heads and guild rules. The textile industries were particularly well developed. Textiles were produced in large quantities and traded throughout India and beyond. The cutting and polishing of precious stones was another industry associated closely with foreign trade.

In the cities shops were open to the street; families lived on the floors above. The busiest tradesmen dealt in milk and cheese, oil, spices, and perfumes. In addition to these tradesmen and merchants, a host of peddlers shuffled through towns and villages selling everything from needles to freshly cut flowers.

During the first millennium C.E., the caste system reached its mature form. Within the broad division into the four varnas (strata) of Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya, and Shudra (see “Life in Early India” in Chapter 3), the population was subdivided into numerous castes, or **jati**. Each caste had a proper occupation. In addition, its members married only within the caste and ate only with other members. Members of high-status castes feared pollution from contact with lower-caste individuals and had to undertake rituals of purification to remove the taint.

jati The thousands of Indian castes.

Eventually Indian society comprised perhaps as many as three thousand castes. Each caste had its own governing body, which enforced the rules of the caste. Those incapable of living up to the rules were expelled, becoming outcastes. These unfortunates lived hard lives, performing tasks that others considered unclean or lowly.

Villages were often walled, as in north China and the Middle East. Cattle and sheep roamed as freely as people. Some families kept pets, such as cats or parrots. Half-wild mongooses served as effective protection against snakes. The pond outside the village was its main source of water and also a spawning ground for fish, birds, and mosquitoes. After the farmers returned from the fields in the evening, the village gates were closed until morning.

For all members of Indian society regardless of caste, marriage and family were the focus of life. As in China, the family was under the authority of the eldest male, who might take several wives, and ideally sons stayed home with their parents after they married. The family affirmed its solidarity by the religious ritual of honoring its dead ancestors — a ritual that linked the living and the dead, much like ancestor worship in China (see “Shang Society” in Chapter 4). People commonly lived in extended families: grandparents, uncles and aunts, cousins, and nieces and nephews all lived together in the same house or compound.

Children in poor households worked as soon as they were able. Children in wealthier households faced the age-old irritations of learning reading, writing, and arithmetic. Less attention was paid to daughters than to sons, though in more prosperous families they were often literate. Because girls who had lost their virginity could seldom hope to find good husbands, daughters were customarily married as children, with consummation delayed until they reached puberty.

A wife was expected to have no life apart from her husband. A widow was expected to lead the hard life of the ascetic: sleeping on the ground; eating only one simple meal a day, without meat, wine, salt, or honey; wearing plain, undyed clothes without jewelry; and shaving her head. She was viewed as inauspicious to everyone but her children, and she did not attend family festivals. Among high-caste Hindus, a widow would be praised for throwing herself on her husband's funeral pyre. Buddhist sects objected to this practice, called **sati**, but some Hindu religious authorities declared that by self-immolation a widow could expunge both her own and her husband's sins, so that both would enjoy eternal bliss in Heaven.

sati A practice whereby a high-caste Hindu woman would throw herself on her husband's funeral pyre.

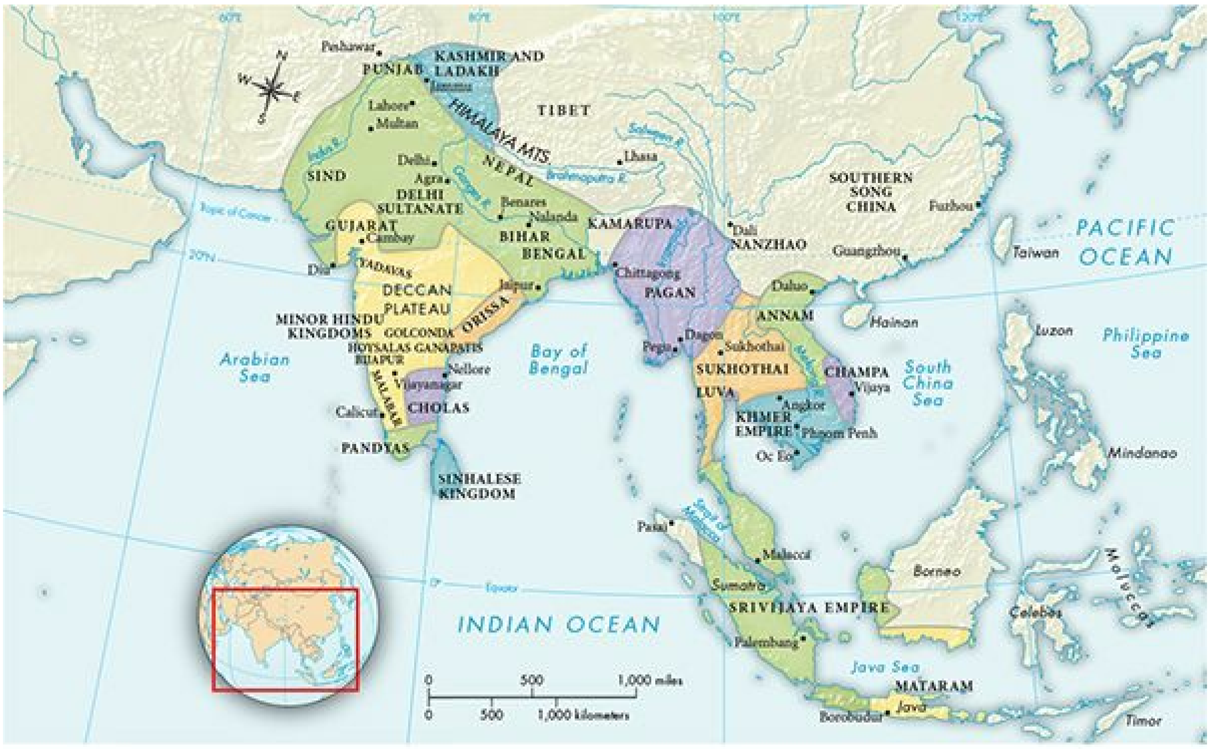
Within the home the position of a wife depended on her own intelligence and strength of character. Wives were supposed to be humble, cheerful, and diligent, even toward worthless husbands. As in other patriarchal societies, however, occasionally a woman ruled the household. For women who did not want to accept the strictures of married life, the main way out was to join a Buddhist or Jain religious community.

Southeast Asia, the Pacific Islands, and the Growth of Maritime Trade

How did states develop along the maritime trade routes of Southeast Asia and beyond?

Much as Roman culture spread to northern Europe and Chinese culture spread to Korea, Japan, and Vietnam, in the first millennium C.E. Indian learning, technology, and material culture spread to the mainland and islands of Southeast Asia. The spread of Indian culture was facilitated by the growth of maritime trade, but this interchange did not occur uniformly, and by 1400 there were still isolated societies in this region, most notably in the Pacific Islands east of Indonesia.

Southeast Asia is a tropical region that is more like India than China. The topography of mainland Southeast Asia is marked by north-south mountain ranges separated by river valleys (Map 12.2). It was easy for people to migrate south along these rivers but harder for them to cross the heavily forested mountains that divided the region into areas that had limited contact with each other. The indigenous population was originally mostly Malay, but migrations over the centuries brought many other peoples, including speakers of Austro-Asiatic (such as Vietnamese and Cambodian), Austronesian (such as Malay and Polynesian), and Sino-Tibetan-Burmese (such as Burmese and possibly Thai) languages, some of whom moved to the islands offshore and farther into the Pacific Ocean.

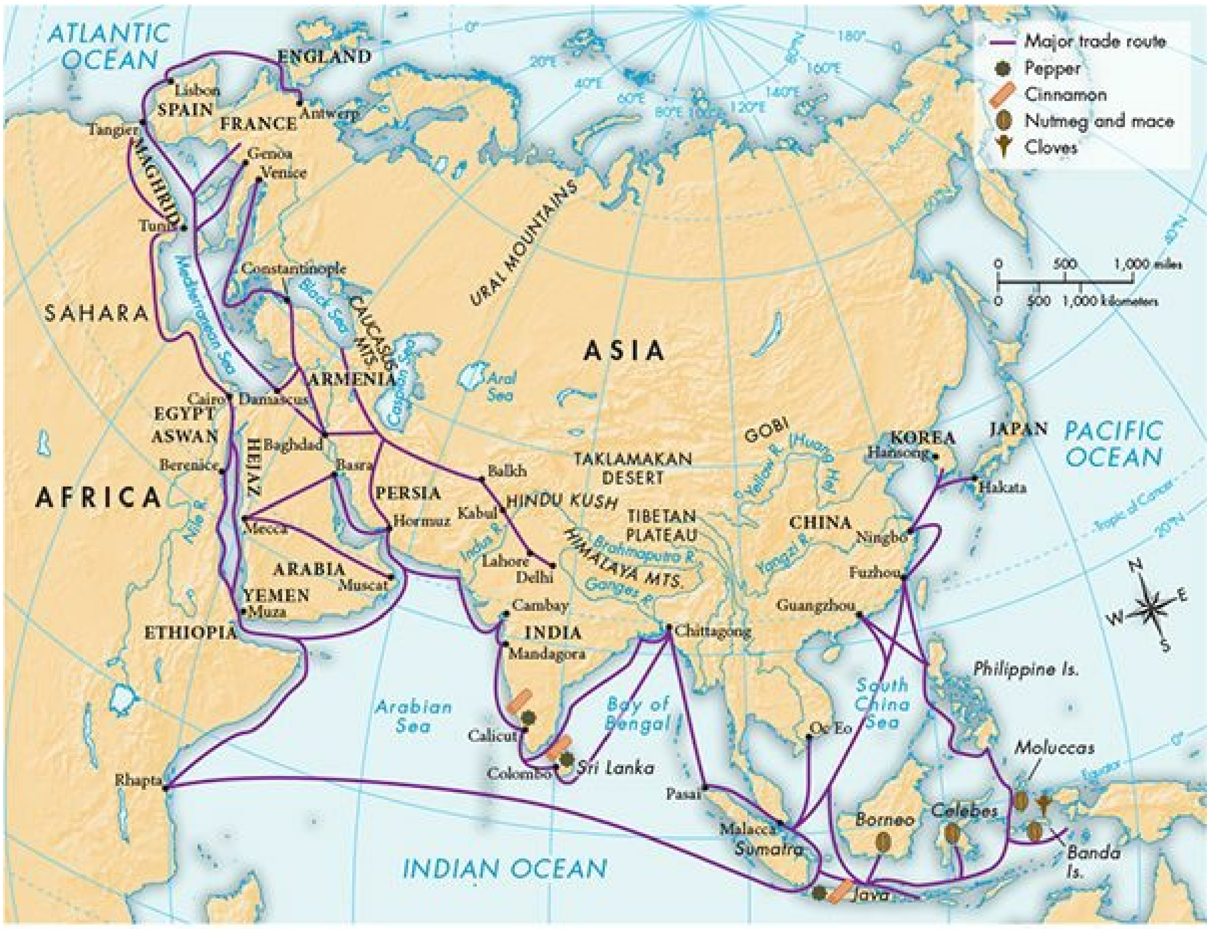

Peshawar
PUNJAB
KASHMIR AND LADAKH
Jammu
Lahore
Multan
TIBET
HIMALAYA MTS.
Indus R.
SIND
Delhi
Agra
DELHI SULTANATE
NEPAL
Lhasa
Salween R.
Brahmaputra R.
Ganges R.
Benares
Nalanda
BIHAR
BENGAL
KAMARUPA
Tropic of Cancer
GUJARAT
Cambay
20°N
Diu
YADAVAS
DECCAN PLATEAU
Jajpur
ORISSA
MINOR HINDU KINGDOMS
GOLCONDA
HOYSALAS
GANAPATIS
BIJAPUR
Nellore
Vijayanagar
MALABAR
Calicut
CHOLAS
PANDYAS
SINHALESE KINGDOM
Arabian Sea
Bay of Bengal
INDIAN OCEAN
Equator
0°
0 500 1,000 miles
0 500 1,000 kilometers
N
S
E
W
60°E
80°E
100°E
120°E
SOUTHERN SONG CHINA
Fuzhou
Dali
NANZHAO
Guangzhou
Chittagong
PAGAN
Daluo
ANNAM
Hainan
Taiwan
PACIFIC OCEAN
Luzon
Philippine Sea
Pegu
Dagon
Sukhothai
SUKHOTHAI
LUVA
CHAMPA
Vijaya
South China Sea
Angkor
KHMER EMPIRE
Phnom Penh
Oc Eo
Mindanao
Pasai
Strait of Malacca
Malacca
Sumatra
SRIVIJAYA EMPIRE
Palembang
Borneo
Celebes
Moluccas
Java Sea
MATARAM
Java
Borobudur
Timor

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 12.2 South and Southeast Asia in the Thirteenth Century The extensive coastlines of South and Southeast Asia and the predictable monsoon winds aided seafaring in this region. Note the Strait of Malacca, through which most east-west sea trade passed.

State Formation and Indian Influences

Southeast Asia was long a crossroads. Traders from China, India, Africa, and Europe either passed through the region when traveling from the Indian to the Pacific Ocean or came for its resources, notably spices (Map 12.3).


Major trade route
Pepper
Cinnamon
Nutmeg and mace
Cloves
0 500 1,000 miles
0 500 1,000 kilometers
ATLANTIC OCEAN
ENGLAND
Lisbon
SPAIN
FRANCE
Antwerp
Tangier
Genoa
Venice
MAGHRIB
Tunis
SAHARA
Mediterranean Sea
Constantinople
Black Sea
CAUCASUS MTS.
Caspian Sea
ARMENIA
Aral Sea
URAL MOUNTAINS
ASIA
Cairo
Damascus
EGYPT
ASWAN
Baghdad
Berenice
HEJAZ
Basra
AFRICA
Nile R.
PERSIA
Balkh
Hormuz
Kabul
Mecca
ARABIA
Muscat
YEMEN
Muza
ETHIOPIA
Indus R.
Lahore
Delhi
HINDU KUSH
TAKLAMAKAN DESERT
TIBETAN PLATEAU
HIMALAYA MTS.
Brahmaputra R.
Ganges R.
Cambay
INDIA
Mandagora
Chittagong
Arabian Sea
Calicut
Bay of Bengal
Colombo
Sri Lanka
Rhapta
GOBI
Yellow R. (Huang He)
KOREA
Hansong
JAPAN
Hakata
PACIFIC OCEAN
CHINA
Ningbo
Yangzi R.
Fuzhou
Guangzhou
Tropic of Cancer
20°N
40°N
Philippine Is.
South China Sea
Oc Eo
Moluccas
Equator
Pasai
Malacca
Sumatra
Borneo
Celebes
Banda Is.
Java
INDIAN OCEAN
Arctic Circle
N
E
S
W
0°
20°E
40°E
60°E
80°E
100°E
120°E
140°E
160°E
180°
80°N

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 12.3 The Spice Trade, ca. 100 B.C.E.–1500 C.E. From ancient times on, the high demand for spices was a major reason for both Europeans and Chinese to trade with South and Southeast Asia. Spices were used not only for flavor in food but also for medicinal purposes. The spice trade was largely a maritime one, conducted through a series of middlemen who shipped between ports.

The northern part of modern Vietnam was under Chinese political control off and on from the second century B.C.E. to the tenth century C.E. (see “Vietnam” in Chapter 7), but Indian influence was of much greater significance for the rest of Southeast Asia. The first state to appear in historical records, called Funan by Chinese visitors, had its capital in southern Vietnam. In the first to sixth centuries C.E. Funan extended its control over much of Indochina and the Malay Peninsula. Merchants from northwest India would offload their goods and carry them across the narrowest part of the Malay Peninsula. The ports of Funan offered food and lodging to the merchants as they waited for the winds to shift to continue their voyages. Brahmin priests and Buddhist monks from India settled along with the traders, serving the Indian population and attracting local converts. Rulers often invited Indian priests and monks to serve under them.

Sixth-century Chinese sources report that the Funan king lived in a multistory palace and the common people lived in houses built on piles with roofs of bamboo leaves. The king rode around on an elephant, but narrow boats measuring up to ninety feet long were a more important means of transportation. The people enjoyed both cockfighting and pig fighting. Instead of drawing water from wells, as the Chinese did, they made pools, from which dozens of nearby families would draw water.

After the decline of Funan, maritime trade continued to grow, and petty kingdoms appeared in many places. Indian traders frequently established small settlements, generally located on the coast. Contact with the local populations led to intermarriage and the creation of hybrid cultures. Local rulers often adopted Indian customs and values, embraced Hinduism and Buddhism, and learned **Sanskrit**, India's classical literary language. Sanskrit gave different peoples a common mode of written expression, much as Chinese did in East Asia and Latin did in Europe.

Sanskrit India's classical literary language.

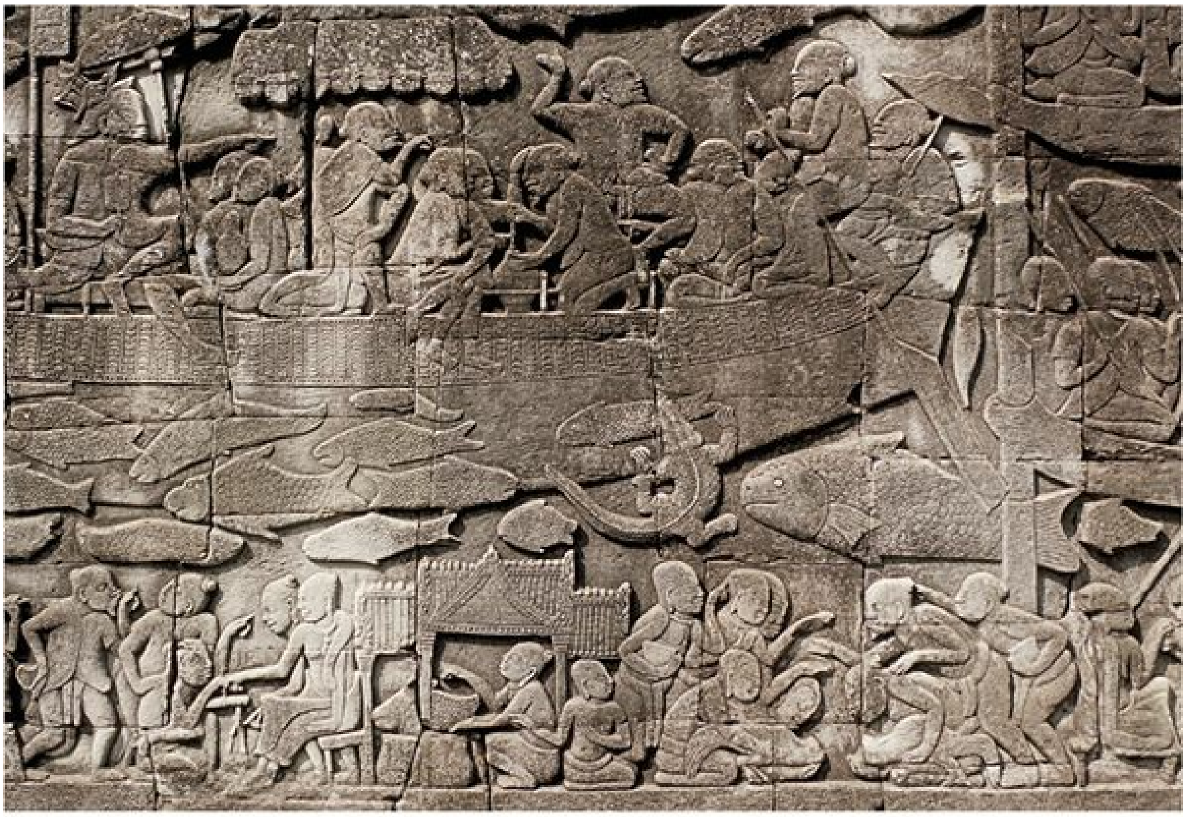
When Indian traders, migrants, and adventurers entered mainland Southeast Asia, they encountered both long-settled peoples and migrants moving southward from the frontiers of China. As in other extensive migrations, the newcomers fought one another as often as they fought the native populations. In 939 the north Vietnamese became independent of China and extended their power southward along the coast of present-day Vietnam. The Thais had long lived in what is today southwest China and north Myanmar. In the eighth century the Thai tribes united in a confederacy and expanded northward against Tang China. Like China, however, the Thai confederacy fell to the Mongols in 1253. Still farther west another tribal people, the Burmese, migrated to the area of modern Myanmar in the eighth century. They also established a state, which they ruled from their capital, Pagan, and came into contact with India and Sri Lanka.

The most important mainland state was the Khmer (kuh-MAIR) Empire of Cambodia (802–1432), which controlled the heart of the region. The Khmers were indigenous to the area. Their empire eventually extended south to the sea and the northeast Malay Peninsula. Indian influence was pervasive; the impressive temple complex at Angkor Wat built in the early twelfth century was dedicated to the Hindu god Vishnu. (See "Analyzing the Evidence: Bayon Relief at Angkor Thom," page 342.)

Social organization, however, was modeled not on the Indian caste system but on indigenous traditions of social hierarchy. A large part of the population was of slave status, many descended from non-Khmer mountain tribes defeated by the Khmers. Generally successful in a long series of wars with the Vietnamese, the Khmers reached the peak of their power in 1219 and then gradually declined.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

Bayon Relief at Angkor Thom



Hervé Champollion/akg-images

The Khmer were master builders, devoting great resources to constructing stone temples and palaces and decorating them with stone statues and pictorial reliefs. Some forty sites can be visited today, spread out over an area of 70 square miles. The most famous is Angkor Wat, built in the early twelfth century by King Suryavarman II. It drew on Hindu religious traditions and was dedicated to the Hindu god Vishnu. Less than a century after its construction, another magnificent city was built about a mile north. This complex, Angkor Thom, was built as the official state temple of King Jayavarman VII, perhaps because he was a Mahayana Buddhist and wanted a Buddhist complex that would rival the magnificence of his predecessor's Hindu complex.

Angkor Thom is especially notable for the Bayon Relief, a series of bas-reliefs depicting mythology, historical events, and scenes from everyday life. These stone reliefs decorate a series of walls that surround the central mountain-shaped temple. Since there are no inscriptions identifying the scenes carved into the walls, scholars do not always agree on what they represent. Among the many subjects depicted are naval battles, land battles with soldiers armed with crossbows and catapults, and a marching army with musicians and officers mounted on elephants. Palace scenes depict princesses, servants, feasts, and people engaged in conversations. A scene of royal entertainment shows athletes, jugglers, and acrobats. Other images include ascetics sitting in a forest and a procession of animals. Equally interesting are depictions of ordinary life, with men weighing goods in markets, people cooking outdoors, women tending to children, people watching a cockfight, and fishermen fishing in their boats.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Find the boat. What do the people on it seem to be doing? What fish and animals do you see in the picture? Can you find the alligator eating a fish?
2. What do the boats and fish in the relief suggest about the significance of the sea to life in Southeast Asia?
3. Why would a ruler devote so many resources to decorating the walls of a temple? Why include scenes like this one?

The Srivijayan Maritime Trade Empire

Far different from these land-based states was the maritime empire of **Srivijaya** (SCHREE-vuh-jie-uh), based on the island of Sumatra in modern Indonesia. From about 500 on, it held the important Strait of Malacca, through which most of the sea traffic between China and India passed. This state, held together as much by alliances as by direct rule, was in many ways like the Gupta state of the same period in India, securing its prominence and binding its vassals and allies through its splendor and the promise of riches through trade.

Srivijaya A maritime empire that held the Strait of Malacca and the waters around Sumatra and adjacent islands.

National Gallery of Australia, Canberra/Bridgeman Images

Bronze Weaving Woman Found in the Indonesian island of Flores and probably dating to the sixth century, this 10-inch-tall bronze statue portrays a woman who is nursing an infant and at the same time weaving a length of cloth using a foot-braced, body-tension loom. Notice also her large earrings, necklace, and plaited hair.

Much as the Korean and Japanese rulers adopted Chinese models (see “The East Asian Cultural Sphere” in Chapter 7), the Srivijayan rulers drew on Indian traditions to justify their rule and organize their state. The Sanskrit writing system was used for government documents, and Indians were often employed as priests, scribes, and administrators. Indian mythology took hold, as did Indian architecture and sculpture. Kings and their courts, the first to embrace Indian culture, consciously spread it to their subjects.

After several centuries of prosperity, Srivijaya suffered a stunning blow in 1025. The Chola state in south India launched a large naval raid and captured the Srivijayan king and capital. Unable to hold their gains, the Indians retreated, but the Srivijayan Empire never regained its vigor.

During the era of the Srivijayan kingdom, other kingdoms flourished as well in island Southeast Asia. Borobudur, the magnificent Buddhist temple complex, was begun under patronage of Javan rulers around 780. This stone monument depicts the ten tiers of Buddhist cosmology. When pilgrims made the three-mile-long winding ascent, they passed numerous sculpted reliefs depicting the journey from ignorance to enlightenment.

Buddhism became progressively more dominant in Southeast Asia after 800. Mahayana Buddhism became important in Srivijaya and Vietnam, but Theravada Buddhism, closer to the original Buddhism of early India, became the dominant form in the rest of mainland Southeast Asia. Buddhist missionaries from India and Sri Lanka played a prominent role in these developments. Local converts continued the process by making pilgrimages to India and Sri Lanka to worship and to observe Indian life for themselves.

The Spread of Indian Culture in Comparative Perspective

The social, cultural, and political systems developed in India, China, and Rome all had enormous impact on neighboring peoples whose cultures were originally not as technologically advanced. Some of the mechanisms for cultural spread were similar in all three cases, but differences were important as well.

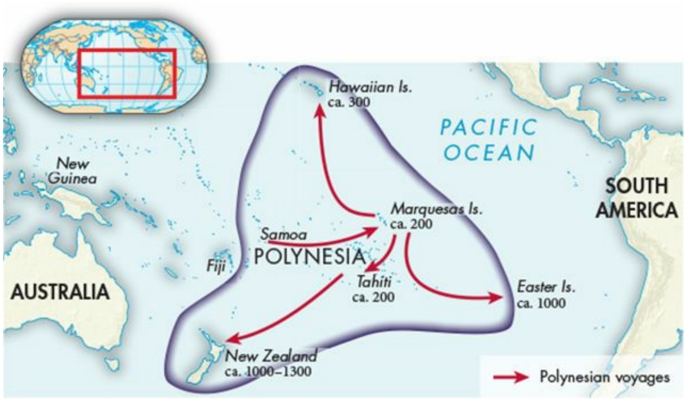
In the case of Rome and both Han and Tang China, strong states directly ruled outlying regions, bringing their civilizations with them.

India’s states, even its largest empires, such as the Mauryan and Gupta, did not have comparable bureaucratic reach. The expansion of Indian culture into Southeast Asia thus came not from conquest and the extension of direct political control but from the extension of trading networks, with missionaries following along. This made it closer to the way Japan adopted features of Chinese culture, often through the intermediary of Korea. In both cases, the cultural exchange was largely voluntary.

The Settlement of the Pacific Islands

Through most of Eurasia, societies became progressively less isolated over time. But in 1400 there still remained many isolated societies, especially in the islands east of modern Indonesia. As discussed in Chapter 1, *Homo sapiens* began settling the western Pacific Islands very early, reaching Australia by 50,000 years ago and New Guinea by 35,000 years ago. The process did not stop there, however. The ancient Austronesians (speakers of Austronesian languages) were skilled mariners who settled numerous islands of the Pacific in subsequent centuries, generally following the coasts. Their descendants, the Polynesians, learned how to sail into the open ocean with only the stars, currents, wind patterns, paths of birds, and perhaps paths of whales and dolphins to help them navigate. They reached Tahiti and the Marquesas Islands in the central Pacific by about 200 C.E.

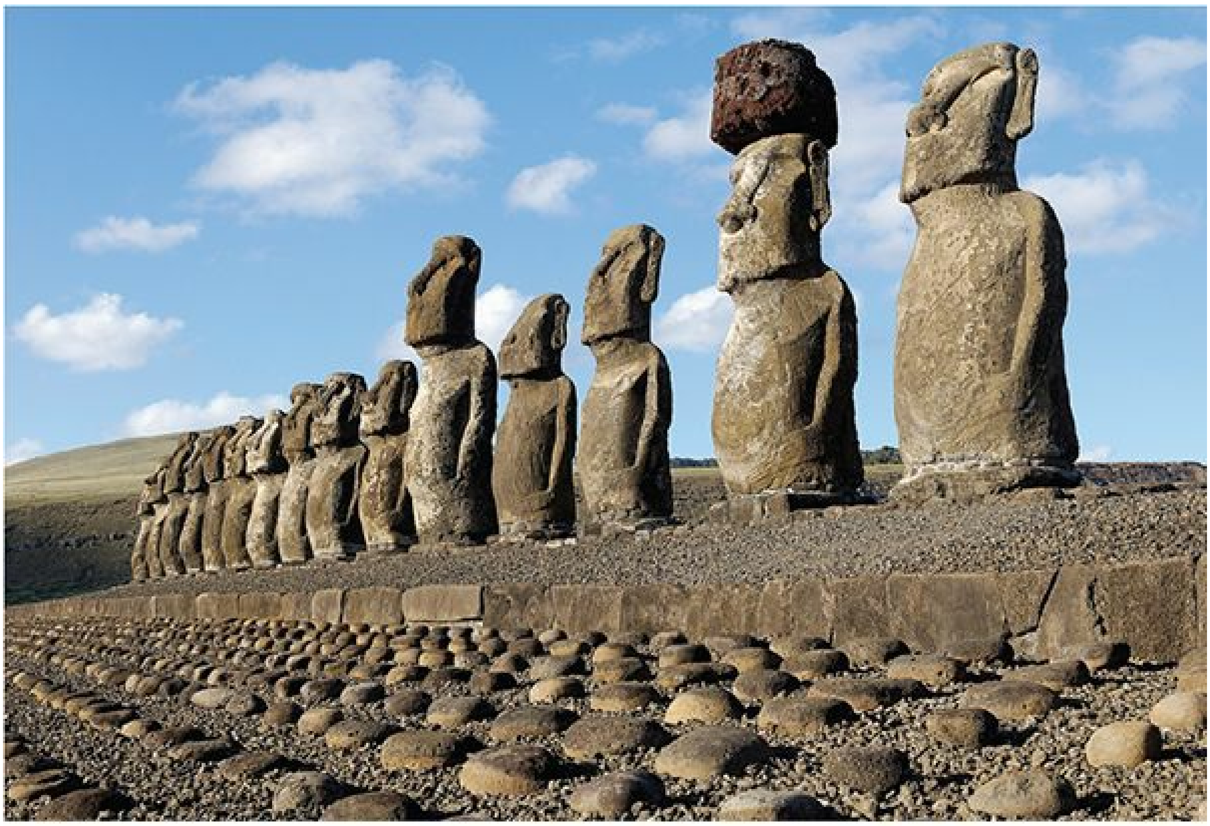
After reaching the central Pacific, Polynesians continued to fan out, in some cases traveling a thousand or more miles away. They reached the Hawaiian Islands in about 300 C.E., Easter Island in perhaps 1000, and New Zealand not until about 1000–1300. There even were groups who sailed west, eventually settling in Madagascar between 200 and 500.



Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin’s

Settlement of the Pacific Islands

In the more remote islands, such as Hawai‘i, Easter Island, and New Zealand, the societies that developed were limited by the small range of domesticated plants and animals that the settlers brought with them and those that were indigenous to the place. Easter Island is perhaps the most extreme case. Only 15 miles wide at its widest point (only 63 square miles in total area), it is 1,300 miles from the nearest inhabited island (Pitcairn) and 2,240 miles from the coast of South America. At some point there was communication with South America, as sweet potatoes originally from there made their way to Easter Island. The community that developed on the island raised chickens and cultivated sweet potatoes, taro, and sugarcane. The population is thought to have reached about fifteen thousand at Easter Island's most prosperous period, which began about 1200 C.E. and lasted a couple of centuries. It was then that its people devoted remarkable efforts to fashioning and erecting the large stone statues that still dot the island.



Jean-Pierre De Mann/Robert Harding World Imagery

Easter Island Statues Archaeologists have excavated and restored many of Easter Island's huge statues, which display remarkable stylistic consistency, with the heads disproportionately large and the legs not visible.

What led the residents of such a small island to erect more than eight hundred statues, most weighing around ten tons and standing twenty to seventy feet tall? One common theory is that they were central to the islanders' religion and that rival clans competed with each other to erect the most impressive statues. The effort they had to expend to carve them with stone tools, move them to the chosen site, and erect them would have been formidable.

After its heyday, Easter Island suffered severe environmental stress with the decline of its forests. The islanders could not make boats to fish in the ocean, and bird colonies shrank as nesting areas decreased, also reducing the food supply. Scholars still disagree on how much weight to give the many different elements that contributed to the decline in the prosperity of Easter Island from the age when the statues were erected.

Certainly, early settlers of an island could have a drastic impact on its ecology. When Polynesians first reached New Zealand, they found large birds up to ten feet tall. They hunted them so eagerly that within a century the birds had all but disappeared. Hunting seals and sea lions also led to their rapid depletion. But the islands of New Zealand were much larger than Easter Island, and in time the Maori (the indigenous people of New Zealand) found more sustainable ways to feed themselves, depending more and more on agriculture.

Chapter Summary

The pastoral societies that stretched across Eurasia had the great military advantage of being able to raise horses in large numbers and support themselves from their flocks of sheep, goats, and other animals. Nomadic pastoralists generally were organized on the basis of clans and tribes that selected chiefs for their military talent. Much of the time these tribes fought with each other, but several times in history leaders formed larger confederations capable of coordinated attacks on cities and towns.

From the fifth to the twelfth centuries the most successful nomadic groups on the Eurasian steppes were Turks who gained ascendancy in many of the societies from the Middle East to northern India. In the early thirteenth century, through his charismatic leadership and military genius, the Mongol leader Chinggis Khan conquered much of Eurasia.

After Chinggis's death, the empire was divided into four khanates ruled by four of Chinggis's descendants. For a century the Mongol Empire fostered unprecedented East-West contact. The Mongols encouraged trade and often moved craftsmen and other specialists from one place to another. The Mongols were tolerant of other religions. As more Europeans made their way east, Chinese inventions such as printing and the compass made their way west. Europe especially benefited from the spread of technical and scientific ideas. Diseases also spread, including the Black Death.

India was invaded by the Mongols but not conquered. After the fall of the Gupta Empire in about 480, India was for the next millennium ruled by small kingdoms, which allowed regional cultures to flourish. For several centuries Muslim Turks ruled north India from Delhi. Over time Islam gained adherents throughout South Asia. Hinduism continued to flourish, but Buddhism declined.

Throughout the medieval period India continued to be the center of active seaborne trade, and this trade helped carry Indian ideas and practices to Southeast Asia. Local rulers used experts from India to establish strong states, such as the Khmer kingdom and the Srivijayan kingdom. Buddhism became the dominant religion throughout the region. The Pacific Islands east of Indonesia remained isolated culturally for centuries.

CONNECTIONS

The societies of Eurasia became progressively more connected to each other during the centuries discussed in this chapter. One element promoting connection was the military superiority of the nomadic warriors of the steppe: first the Turks, then the Mongols, who conquered many of the settled civilizations near them. Invading Turks brought Islam to India. Connection between societies also came from maritime trade across the Indian Ocean and East Asia. Maritime trade was a key element in the spread of Indian culture to both the mainland and insular Southeast Asia. Other elements connecting these societies included Sanskrit as a language of administration and missionaries who brought both Hinduism and Buddhism far beyond their homelands. Some societies did remain isolated, probably none more than the remote islands of the Pacific, such as Hawaiʻi, Easter Island, and New Zealand. East Asia was a key element in both the empires created by nomadic horsemen and the South Asian maritime trading networks. As discussed in Chapter 13, before East Asia had to cope with the rise of the Mongols, it experienced one of its most prosperous periods, during which China, Korea, and Japan became more distinct culturally. China's economy boomed during the Song Dynasty, and the scholar-official class, defined through the civil service examination system, came more and more to dominate culture. In Korea and Japan, by contrast, aristocrats and military men gained ascendancy. Although China, Korea, and Japan all drew on both Confucian and Buddhist teachings, they ended up with elites as distinct as the Chinese scholar-official, the Korean aristocrat, and the Japanese samurai.

CHAPTER 12 Review and Explore

Identify Key Terms

Identify and explain the significance of each item below.

nomads (p. 320)
steppe (p. 320)
yurts (p. 321)
Chinggis Khan (p. 323)
khanates (p. 325)
tax-farming (p. 328)
protected people (p. 335)
jati (p. 336)
sati (p. 338)
Sanskrit (p. 340)
Srivijaya (p. 341)

Review the Main Ideas

Answer the focus questions from each section of the chapter.

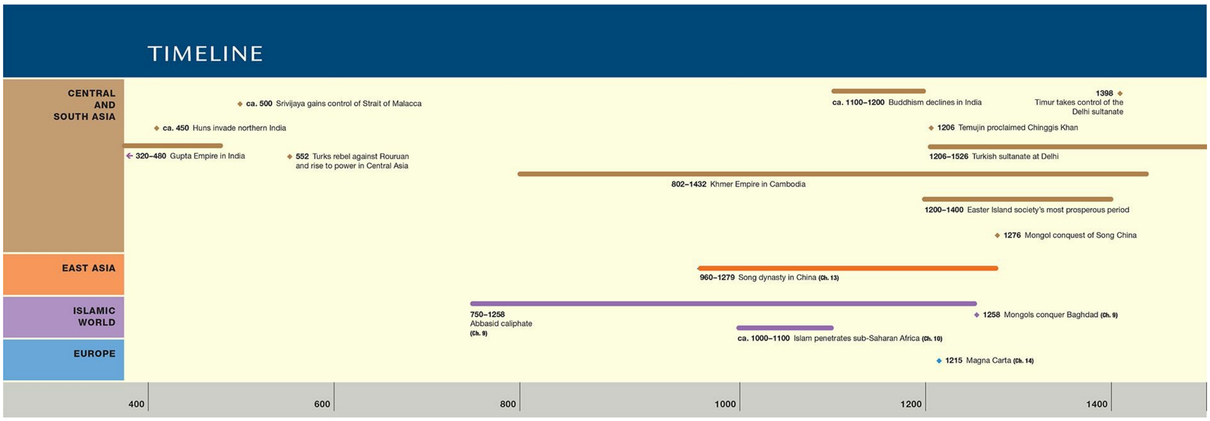
1. What aspects of nomadic life gave the nomads of Central Asia military advantages over nearby settled civilizations? (p. 320)
2. How did Chinggis Khan and his successors conquer much of Eurasia, and how did the Mongol conquests change the regions affected? (p. 323)
3. How did the Mongol conquests facilitate the spread of ideas, religions, inventions, and diseases? (p. 329)
4. What was the result of India’s encounters with Turks, Mongols, and Islam? (p. 333)
5. How did states develop along the maritime trade routes of Southeast Asia and beyond? (p. 338)

Make Comparisons and Connections

Analyze the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters.

1. How do the states established by Arabs in the seventh and eighth centuries (Chapter 9) compare to those established by Turks in the tenth and eleventh centuries?
2. What similarities and differences are there in the military feats of Alexander the Great (Chapter 5) and Chinggis Khan?
3. How does the slow spread of Buddhism and Indian culture to Southeast Asia

compare to the slow spread of Christianity and Roman culture in Europe (Chapters 6 and 8)?



Suggested Resources

Books

Abu-Lughod, Janet L. *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250 – 1350*. 1989. Examines the period of Mongol domination from a global perspective.

Ali, Daud. *Courtly Culture and Political Life in Early Medieval India*. 2004. Explores the growth of royal households and the development of a courtly worldview in India from 350 to 1200.

Chaudhuri, K. N. *Asia Before Europe*. 1990. Discusses the economy and civilization of cultures within the basin of the Indian Ocean.

Findley, Carter Vaughn. *The Turks in World History*. 2005. Covers both the early Turks and the connections between the Turks and the Mongols.

Fischer, Steven Roger. *A History of the Pacific Islands*. 2002. A broad-ranging history, from early settlement to modern times.

Foltz, Richard. *Religions of the Silk Road: Premodern Patterns of Globalization*. 2010. Considers the spread of religions from the perspective of a region that was home to many universal religions in succession.

Franke, Herbert, and Denis Twitchett, eds. *The Cambridge History of China*. Vol. 6: *Alien Regimes and Border States*. 1994. Clear and thoughtful accounts of the Mongols and their predecessors in East Asia.

Golden, Peter B. *Central Asia in World History*. 2011. Concise and up-to-date account.

Jackson, Peter. *The Delhi Sultanate*. 2003. Provides a close examination of north India in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Jackson, Peter. *The Mongols and the West, 1221 – 1410*. 2005. A close examination of many different types of connections between the Mongols and both Europe and the Islamic lands.

Lane, George. *Daily Life in the Mongol Empire*. 2006. Treats many topics, including food, health, dwellings, women, and folktales.

Lieberman, Victor. *Strange Parallels: Southeast Asia in Global Context, c. 800*

– *1830*, 2 vols. 2003, 2009. Ambitious and challenging effort to see Southeast Asia as a part of Eurasia.

Ratchnevsky, Paul. *Genghis Khan: His Life and Legacy*. 1992. A reliable account by a leading Mongolist.

Rossabi, Morris. *Khubilai Khan: His Life and Times*. 1988. Provides a lively account of the life of one of the most important Mongol rulers.

Shaffer, Lynda. *Maritime Southeast Asia to 1500*. 1996. A short account of early Southeast Asia from a world history perspective.

Documentaries

History of India (BBC, 2007). Episodes 4 and 5 of this series cover the period of Indian history discussed in this chapter.

Secrets of Lost Empires: Easter Island (PBS, 2000). This *Nova* special examines how the huge stone statues could have been moved.

Television Drama

Marco Polo (Netflix, 2014 –). This multipart, continuing serial dramatization is based loosely on Marco Polo's life.

Websites

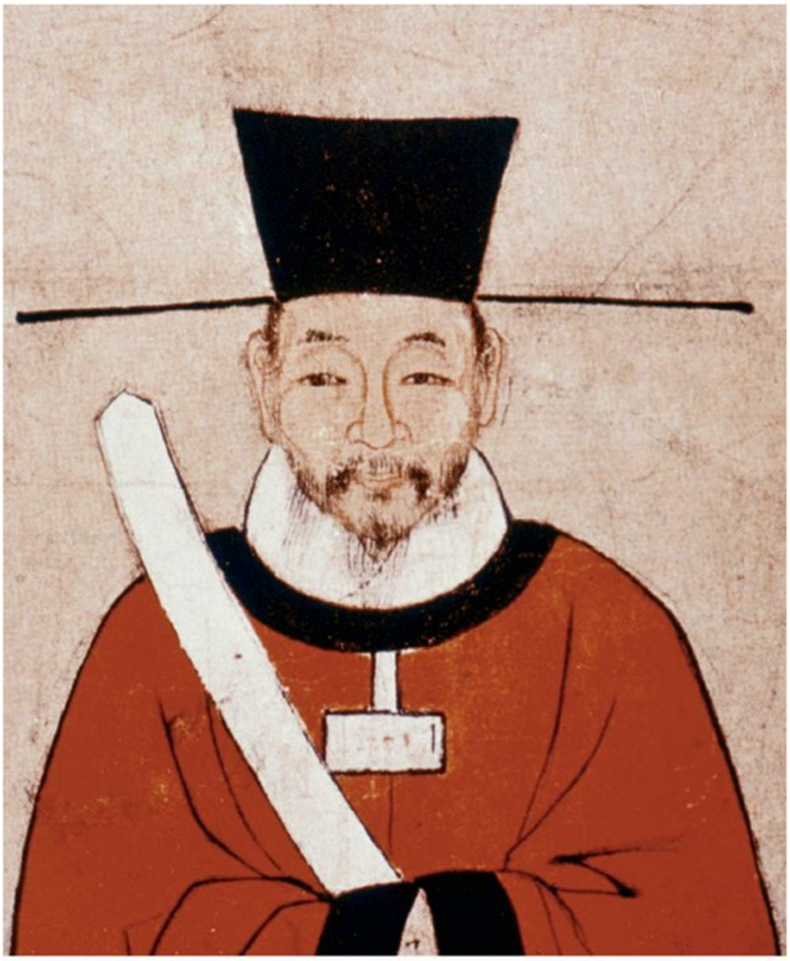
Companion Site to Secrets of Lost Empires: Easter Island. This website provides supplementary materials about the creation of the documentary, as well as additional resources. **www.pbs.org/wgbh/nova/lostempires/easter/**

Silk Road Narratives: A Collection of Historical Texts. Part of the Silk Road Seattle Project, this informative website provides descriptions of and links to a variety of interesting historical sources related to the Silk Road. **depts.washington.edu/silkroad/texts/texts.html**

13

States and Cultures in East Asia

800–1400



Granger, NYC — All rights reserved

Song Chancellor

Known for his stern demeanor, Sima Guang (1019–1086) was an eminent historian and a leading official.

During the six centuries between 800 and 1400, East Asia was the most advanced region of the world. For several centuries the Chinese economy had grown spectacularly, and China’s methods of production were highly advanced in fields as diverse as rice cultivation, the production of iron and steel, and the printing of books. Philosophy and the arts all flourished. China’s system of government was also advanced for its time. In the Song period, the principle that the government should be in the hands of highly educated scholar-officials, selected through competitive written civil service examinations, became well established. Song China’s great wealth and sophisticated government did not give it military advantage, however, and in this period China had to pay tribute to militarily more powerful northern neighbors, the Khitans (key-tuns), the Jurchens, and finally the Mongols, who conquered all of China in 1279.

During the previous millennium, basic elements of Chinese culture had spread beyond China’s borders, creating the East Asian cultural sphere based on the use of Chinese as the language of civilization. Beginning around 800, however, the pendulum shifted toward cultural differentiation as Japan, Korea, and China developed in distinctive ways. In both Korea and Japan, for several centuries court aristocrats were dominant both politically and culturally, and then aristocrats lost out to military men with power in the countryside. By 1200 Japan was dominated by warriors — known as samurai — whose ethos was quite unlike that of China’s educated elite. In both Korea and Japan, Buddhism retained a very strong hold, one of the ties that continued to link the countries of East Asia. In addition, China and Korea both had to deal with the same menacing neighbors to the north. Even Japan had to mobilize its resources to fend off two seaborne Mongol attacks.

CHAPTER PREVIEW

THE MEDIEVAL CHINESE ECONOMIC REVOLUTION, 800–1100
What made possible the expansion of the Chinese economy, and what were the outcomes of this economic growth?

CHINA DURING THE SONG AND YUAN DYNASTIES, 960–1368
How did the civil service examinations and the scholar-official class shape Chinese society and culture, and what impact did the Mongol conquest have on them?

KOREA UNDER THE KORYŎ DYNASTY, 935–1392
How did Korean society and culture develop in an age when its northern neighbors were Khitans, Jurchens, and Mongols?

JAPAN’S HEIAN PERIOD, 794–1185

How did the Heian form of government contribute to the cultural flowering of Japan in this period?

THE SAMURAI AND THE KAMAKURA SHOGUNATE, 1185–1333

What were the causes and consequences of military rule in Japan?

The Medieval Chinese Economic Revolution, 800–1100

What made possible the expansion of the Chinese economy, and what were the outcomes of this economic growth?

Chinese historians traditionally viewed dynasties as following a standard cyclical pattern. Founders were vigorous men able to recruit capable followers to serve as officials and generals. Externally they would extend China’s borders; internally they would bring peace. Over time, however, emperors born in the palace would get used to luxury and lack the founders’ strength and wisdom. Families with wealth or political power would find ways to avoid taxes, forcing the government to impose heavier taxes on the poor. As a result, impoverished peasants would flee, the morale of those in the government and armies would decline, and the dynasty would find itself able neither to maintain internal peace nor to defend its borders.

Viewed in terms of this theory of the **dynastic cycle**, by 800 the Tang Dynasty was in decline (see “The Chinese Empire Re-created: Sui [581–618] and Tang [618–907]” in Chapter 7). It had ruled China for nearly two centuries, and its high point was in the past. A massive rebellion had wracked it in the mid-eighth century, and the Uighur Turks and Tibetans were menacing its borders. Many of the centralizing features of the government had been abandoned, with power falling more and more to regional military governors.

dynastic cycle The theory that Chinese dynasties go through a predictable cycle from early vigor and growth to subsequent decline as administrators become lax and the well-off find ways to avoid paying taxes, cutting state revenues.

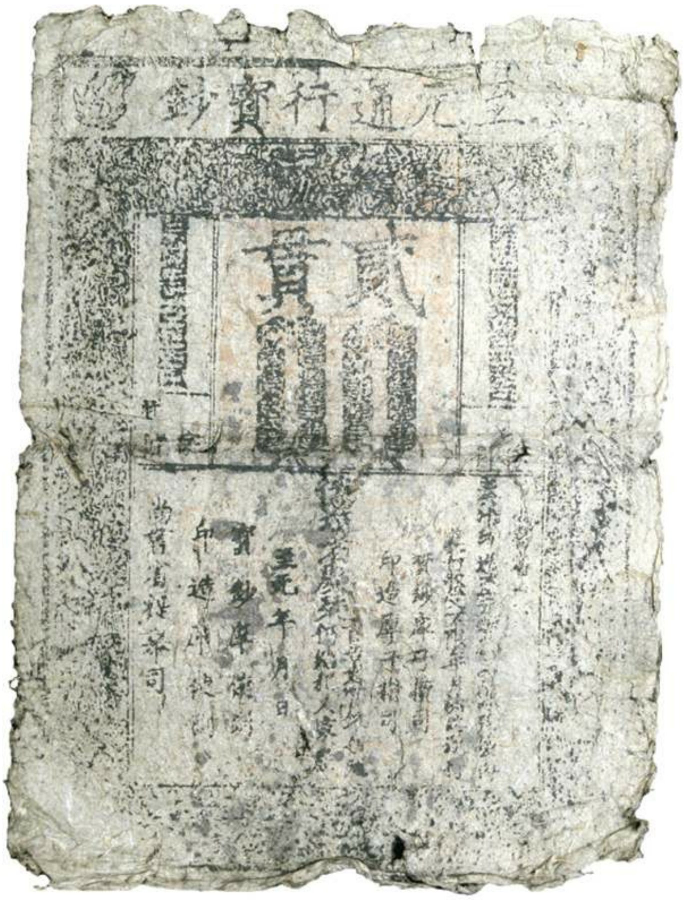
Historically, Chinese political theorists always assumed that a strong, centralized government was better than a weak one or than political division, but, if anything, the Tang toward the end of its dynastic cycle seems to have been both intellectually and economically more vibrant than the early Tang had been. Less control from the central government seems to have stimulated trade and economic growth.

A government census conducted in 742 shows that China’s population was still approximately 50 million, very close to what it had been in 2 C.E.

Over the next three centuries, with the expansion of wet-field rice cultivation in central and south China, the country’s food supply steadily increased, and so did its population, which had reached 100 million by 1100. China’s population probably already exceeded that of all the Islamic countries of the time or that of all the countries of Europe put together. Urbanization increased, and both literature and the arts thrived. (See “Global Viewpoints: Painters of Uncanny Skill in China and Rome,” at right.)

Agricultural prosperity and denser settlement patterns aided commercialization of the economy. Farmers in Song China no longer merely aimed at self-sufficiency. Instead, farmers sold their surpluses and used their profits to buy charcoal, tea, oil, and wine. In many places farmers specialized in commercial crops, such as sugar, oranges, cotton, silk, and tea. The need to transport the products of interregional trade stimulated the inland and coastal shipping industries.

As marketing increased, demand for money grew enormously, leading eventually to the creation of the world’s first paper money. To avoid the weight and bulk of coins for large transactions, local merchants in late Tang times started trading receipts from deposit shops where they had left money or goods. The early Song authorities awarded a small set of these shops a monopoly on the issuing of these certificates of deposit, and in the 1120s the government took over the system, producing the world’s first government-issued paper money.



National Museum of Chinese History, Beijing, China/Ancient Art & Architecture Collection, Ltd./Bridgeman Images

Chinese Paper Money Chinese paper currency indicated the unit of currency and the date and place of issue. The Mongols continued the use of paper money, as this note from the Mongol period attests.

With the intensification of trade, merchants became progressively more specialized and organized. They set up partnerships and joint stock companies, with a separation of owners (shareholders) and managers. In the large cities merchants were organized into guilds according to the type of product sold, and they arranged sales from wholesalers to shop owners and periodically set prices.

Foreign trade also flourished in the Song period. Chinese ships began to displace Indian and Arab merchants in the South Seas, and ship design was improved in several ways. Watertight bulkheads improved buoyancy and protected cargo. Stern-mounted rudders improved steering. Some of the ships were powered by both oars and sails and were large enough to hold several hundred men.

Also important to oceangoing travel was the perfection of the **compass**. The ability of a magnetic needle to point north had been known for some time, but in Song times the needle was reduced in size and attached to a fixed stem (rather than floated in water). In some instances it was put in a small protective case with a glass top, making it suitable for sea travel. The first reports of a compass used in this way date to 1119.

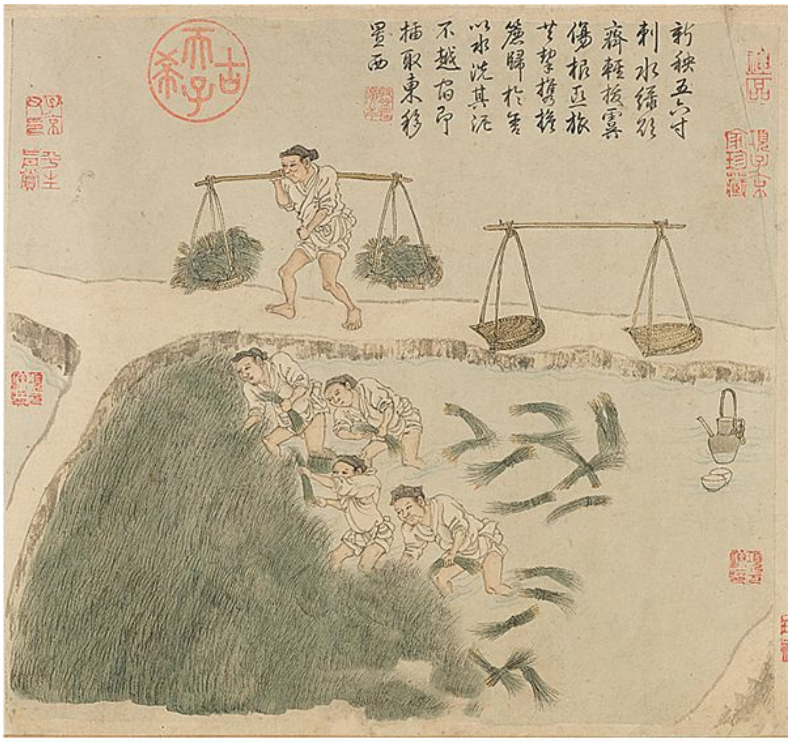
compass A tool for identifying north using a magnetic needle; it was made useful for sea navigation in Song times when placed in a protective case.

The Song also witnessed many advances in industrial techniques. Heavy industry, especially iron, grew astoundingly. With advances in metallurgy, iron production reached around 125,000 tons per year in 1078, a sixfold increase over the output in 800. Much of the iron was used for military purposes. Mass-production methods were used to make iron armor in small, medium, and large sizes. High-quality steel for swords was made through high-temperature metallurgy. The needs of the army also brought Chinese engineers to experiment with the use of gunpowder. In the twelfth-century wars against the Jurchens, those defending a besieged city used gunpowder to propel projectiles at the enemy.

Economic expansion fueled the growth of cities. Dozens of cities had 50,000 or more residents, and quite a few had more than 100,000, very large populations compared to other places in the world at the time. China’s two successive capitals, Kaifeng (kigh-fuhng) and Hangzhou (hahng-joh), each had an estimated 1 million residents. Marco Polo described Hangzhou as the finest and most splendid city in the world. He reported that it had ten marketplaces, each half a mile long, where 40,000 to 50,000 people would shop on any given day. There were also bathhouses; permanent shops selling items such as spices, drugs, and pearls; and innumerable courtesans, whom Marco Polo described as “adorned in much finery, highly perfumed, occupying well-furnished houses, and attended by many female domestics.”[1]

The medieval economic revolution shifted the economic center of China south to the Yangzi River drainage area. This area had many advantages over the north China plain. Rice, which grew in the south, provides more calories per unit of land and therefore allows denser settlement. The milder temperatures often allowed two crops to be grown on the same plot of land, first a summer crop of rice and then a winter crop of wheat or vegetables. The abundance of rivers and streams facilitated shipping, which reduced the cost of transportation and thus made regional specialization economically more feasible.

Ordinary people benefited from the Song economic revolution in many ways. There were more opportunities for the sons of farmers to leave agriculture and find work in cities. Those who stayed in agriculture had a better chance of improving their situations by taking up sideline production of wine, charcoal, paper, or textiles. Energetic farmers who grew cash crops such as sugar, tea, mulberry leaves (for silk), and cotton (recently introduced from India) could grow rich. Greater interregional trade led to the availability of more goods at the rural markets held every five or ten days.



Tilling Rice, Yuan Dynasty [ink and color on paper], Qi, Cheng [attr. to]/Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution/Bridgeman Images

Transplanting Rice To get the maximum yield per plot and to make it possible to grow two crops in the same field, Chinese farmers grew rice seedlings in a seedbed and then, when a field was free, transplanted the seedlings into the flooded field. Because the Song government wanted to promote up-to-date agricultural technology, in the twelfth century it commissioned a set of twelve illustrations of the steps to be followed. This painting comes from a later version of those illustrations.

Of course, not everyone grew rich. Poor farmers who fell into debt had to sell their land, and if they still owed money they could be forced to sell their daughters as maids, concubines, or prostitutes. The prosperity of the cities created a huge demand for women to serve the rich in these ways, and Song sources mention that criminals would kidnap girls and women to sell in distant cities at huge profits.

GLOBAL VIEWPOINTS

Painters of Uncanny Skill in China and Rome

Chinese art critics often expressed astonishment at the ability of exceptional painters to evoke an emotional reaction in viewers. A good example is the account of the eighth-century painter Wu Daozi, written by a ninth-century critic, Zhu Jingxuan, in his *Famous Painters of the Tang Dynasty*. It can be compared to remarks on painters by the Roman man of letters Pliny the Elder (23–79 C.E.).

Zhu Jingxuan on the Painter Wu Daozi

■ A poor orphan, Wu Daozi was so talented by nature that even before he was twenty he had mastered all the subtleties of painting. When he was in Luoyang, the emperor heard of his fame and summoned him to court….

The General Pei Min sent a gift of gold and silk to Wu Daozi and asked him to paint the walls of the Paradise Buddhist monastery. Wu Daozi returned the gold and silk with a note saying, “I have long heard of General Pei. If he would do a sword dance for me, that would be reward enough, and the sight of such vigor will inspire my brush.” So the general, even though in mourning, did the sword dance for Wu Daozi, and when the dance was finished Wu made his brush fly with such strength that the painting was done in no time, as though some god was helping him. Wu Daozi also did the laying on of the colors himself. One can still see the painting in the western corridor of the temple….

During the Tianbao period (742–755), the emperor Xuanzong suddenly longed for the Jialing River on the road to Sichuan. So he allowed Wu Daozi the use of post horses and ordered him to go there and make sketches of the scenery. On his return, in response to the emperor’s query, Wu said, “I have not brought back a single sketch, but everything is recorded in my mind.” He was commanded to depict it on the walls of Great Accord Hall. He painted a landscape of more than 300 *li*, finishing it all in a single day…. He also painted five dragons in the Inner Hall whose scales seemed to move. Whenever it was about to rain, mist would emanate from them….

I also heard from an old monk of Scenic Clouds Monastery that when Master Wu painted a Hell scene at the temple, butchers and fishmongers who saw it became so frightened by it that they decided to change their profession and turn to doing good works.

Pliny on the Painters Arellius and Lepidus

■ Not long before the time of the god Augustus, Arellius had earned distinction at Rome, save for the sacrilege by which he notoriously degraded his art. Always desirous of flattering some woman or other with whom he chanced to be in love, he painted goddesses in the person of his mistresses, of whom his paintings are a mere catalogue. The painter Famulus also lived not long ago; he was grave and severe in his person, while his painting was rich and vivid. He painted an Athena whose eyes are turned to the spectator from whatever side he may be looking….

While on the subject of painting I must not omit the well-known story of Lepidus. Once during his triumvirate he had been escorted by the magistrates of a certain town to a lodging in the middle of a wood, and on the next morning complained with threats that the singing of the birds prevented him from sleeping. They painted a snake on an immense strip of parchment and stretched it all round the grove. We are told that by this means they terrified the birds into silence and that this has ever since been a recognized device for quieting them.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

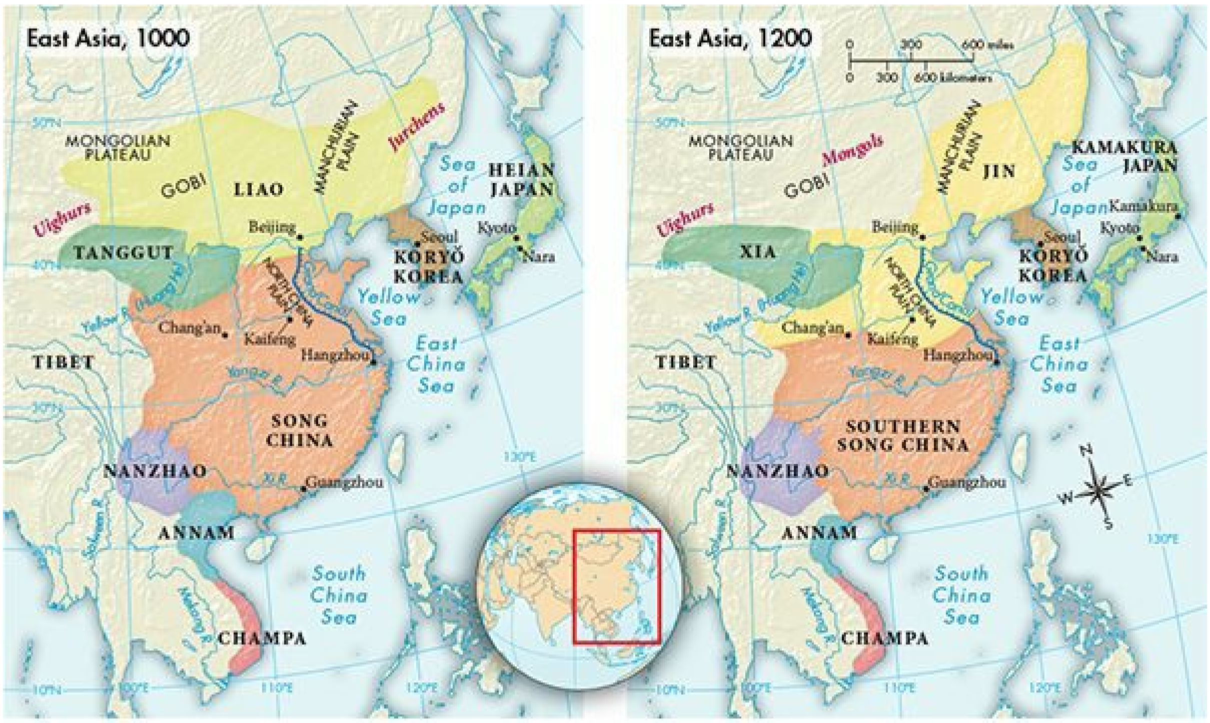
1. What assumptions, if any, did the Chinese and Roman authors share about artistic creativity?
2. In what ways did painters gain fame in these two societies?

Sources: Zhu Jingxuan, *Tangchao minghua lu*, in *Tang Wudai hualun* (Changsha: Hunan Meishu Chubanshe, 1997), pp. 83–85, trans. Patricia Ebrey; *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art*, trans. K. Jex-Blake (London: Macmillan, 1896), pp. 149–150.

China During the Song and Yuan Dynasties, 960–1368

How did the civil service examinations and the scholar-official class shape Chinese society and culture, and what impact did the Mongol conquest have on them?

In the tenth century Tang China broke up into separate contending states, some of which had non-Chinese rulers. The two states that proved to be long lasting were the Song, which came to control almost all of China proper south of the Great Wall, and the Liao (leeow), whose ruling house was Khitan and which held the territory of modern Beijing and areas north (Map 13.1). Although the Song Dynasty had a much larger population, the Liao was militarily the stronger of the two. In the early twelfth century the Liao state was defeated by the Jurchens, another non-Chinese people, who founded the Jin Dynasty and went on to conquer most of north China in 1127, leaving Song to control only the south. After a century the Jurchens' Jin Dynasty was defeated by the Mongols, who extended their Yuan Dynasty to control all of China by 1276.


East Asia, 1000
MONGOLIAN PLATEAU
GOBI
LIAO
MANCHURIAN PLAIN
Jurchens
Uighurs
TANGGUT
Beijing
Seoul
KORYŎ KOREA
HEIAN JAPAN
Kyoto
Nara
Sea of Japan
Yellow Sea
East China Sea
Yellow R. (Huang He)
NORTH CHINA PLAIN
Grand Canal
Chang'an
Kaifeng
Hangzhou
Yangzi R.
TIBET
SONG CHINA
NANZHAO
Xi R.
Guangzhou
ANNAM
Salween R.
Mekong R.
CHAMPA
South China Sea
East Asia, 1200
0 300 600 miles
0 300 600 kilometers
Mongols
JIN
XIA
KAMAKURA JAPAN
Kamakura
SOUTHERN SONG CHINA
N
E
S
W
50°N
40°N
30°N
10°N
100°E
110°E
120°E
130°E

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Mapping the Past

MAP 13.1 East Asia in 1000 and 1200 The Song empire did not extend as far as its predecessor, the Tang, and faced powerful rivals to the north — the Liao Dynasty of the

Khitans and the Xia Dynasty of the Tanguts. Koryŏ Korea maintained regular contact with Song China, but Japan, by the late Heian period, was no longer deeply involved with the mainland. By 1200 military families dominated both Korea and Japan, but the borders were little changed. On the mainland the Liao Dynasty had been overthrown by the Jurchens' Jin Dynasty, which also seized the northern third of the Song empire. Because the Song relocated its capital to Hangzhou in the south, this period is called the Southern Song period.

ANALYZING THE MAP What were the countries of East Asia in 1000? What were the major differences in 1200?

CONNECTIONS What connections do you see between the length of their northern borders and the histories of China, Korea, and Japan?

The Song Dynasty

The founder of the Song Dynasty, Taizu (r. 960–976), was a general whose troops elevated him to emperor (in an act somewhat reminiscent of Roman practice). To make sure that such an act could not happen in the future, Taizu retired or rotated his generals and assigned civil officials to supervise them. In time these civil bureaucrats came to dominate every aspect of Song government and society. The civil service examination system established during the Sui Dynasty (see "The Chinese Empire Re-created: Sui [581–618] and Tang [618–907]" in Chapter 7) was greatly expanded to provide the dynasty with a constant flow of men trained in the Confucian classics.

Curbing the generals' power ended warlordism but did not solve the military problem of defending against the nomadic Khitans' Liao Dynasty to the north. After several attempts to push the Liao back beyond the Great Wall, the Song concluded a peace treaty with them. The Song agreed to make huge annual payments of gold and silk to the Khitans, in a sense paying them not to invade. Even so, the Song rulers had to maintain a standing army of more than a million men. By the middle of the eleventh century military expenses consumed half the government's revenues. Song had the industrial base to produce swords, armor, and arrowheads in huge quantities, but had difficulty maintaining enough horses and well-trained horsemen. Even though China was the economic powerhouse of the region, with by far the largest population, the horse was a major weapon of war in this period, and it was not easy to convert wealth to military advantage.

In the early twelfth century the military situation rapidly worsened when the Khitan state was destroyed by another tribal confederation led by the Jurchens, who quickly realized how easy it would be to defeat the Song. After setting siege to the Song capital in 1126, they captured the emperor and former emperor and took them and the entire court into captivity. Song forces rallied around one of the emperor's sons who had escaped capture, and this prince re-established a Song court in the south at Hangzhou (see Map 13.1). This Southern Song Dynasty controlled only about two-thirds of the former Song territories, but the social, cultural, and intellectual life there remained vibrant until the Song fell to the Mongols in 1279.

The Scholar-Officials and Neo-Confucianism

The Song period saw the full flowering of one of the most distinctive features of Chinese civilization, the **scholar-official class** certified through highly competitive civil service examinations. This elite was both broader and better educated than the elites of earlier periods in Chinese history. Once the **examination system** was fully developed, aristocratic habits and prejudices largely disappeared.

scholar-official class Chinese educated elite that included both scholars and officials. The officials had usually gained office by passing the highly competitive civil service examination.

examination system A system of selecting officials in imperial China based on competitive written examinations.

To prepare for the examinations, men had to memorize the classics in order to be able to recognize even the most obscure passages. They also had to master specific forms of composition, including poetry, and be ready to discuss policy issues, citing appropriate historical examples. Those who became officials this way had usually tried the exams several times and were on average a little over thirty years of age when they succeeded.

The invention of printing should be given some credit for the trend toward a better-educated elite. Tang craftsmen developed the art of carving words and pictures into wooden blocks, inking the blocks, and pressing paper onto them. Each block held an entire page of text. Such whole-page blocks were used for printing as early as the middle of the ninth century, and in the eleventh century **movable type** (one piece of type for each character) was invented, but it was rarely used because whole-block printing was cheaper. In China, as in Europe a couple of centuries later, the introduction of printing dramatically lowered the price of books, thus aiding the spread of literacy.

movable type A system of printing in which one piece of type is used for each unique character.

Among the upper class the availability of cheaper books enabled scholars to amass their own libraries. Song publishers printed the classics of Chinese literature in huge editions. Works on philosophy, science, and medicine were also avidly consumed, as were Buddhist texts. Han and Tang poetry and historical works became the models for Song writers. One popular literary innovation was the encyclopedia, which first appeared in the Song period.

The life of the educated man involved more than study for the civil service examinations and service in office. Many took to refined pursuits such as collecting antiques or old books and practicing the arts — especially poetry writing, calligraphy, and painting. (See “Analyzing the Evidence: Ma Yuan’s Painting *On a Mountain Path in Spring*, at right.)

The new scholar-official elite produced some extraordinary men able to hold high court offices while pursuing diverse intellectual interests. (See “Individuals in Society: Shen Gua,” at right.) Ouyang Xiu spared time in his busy official career to write love songs, histories, and the first analytical catalogue of rubbings of ancient stone and bronze inscriptions. Sima Guang, besides serving as chancellor, wrote a narrative history of China from the Warring States Period (403–221 B.C.E.) to the founding of the Song Dynasty. Su Shi wrote more than twenty-seven hundred poems and eight hundred letters while active in opposition politics. He was also an esteemed painter, calligrapher, and theorist of the arts. Su Song, another high official, constructed an eighty-foot-tall mechanical clock that told not only the time of day but also the day of the month, the phase of the moon, and the position of certain stars and planets in the sky. As in Renaissance Europe a couple of centuries later (see Chapter 15), gifted men made advances in a wide range of fields.

Besides politics, scholars also debated issues in ethics and metaphysics. For several centuries Buddhism had been more vital than Confucianism. Beginning in the late Tang period, Confucian teachers began claiming that the teachings of the Confucian sages contained all the wisdom one needed and that a true Confucian would reject Buddhist teachings. During the eleventh century many Confucian teachers urged students to set their sights not on exam success but on the higher goals of attaining the wisdom of the sages. Metaphysical theories about the workings of the cosmos in terms of *li* (principle) and *qi* (vital energy) were developed in response to the challenge of the sophisticated metaphysics of

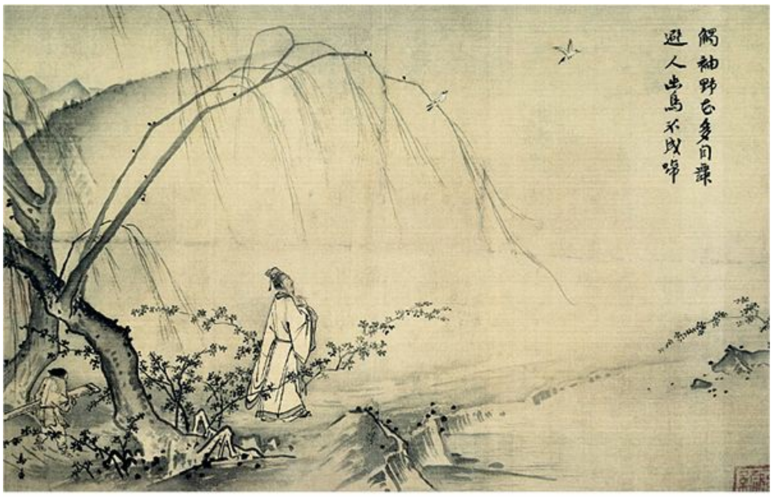
Buddhism.

Neo-Confucianism, as this movement is generally termed, was more fully developed in the twelfth century by the immensely learned Zhu Xi (joo shee) (1130–1200). Besides serving in office, he wrote, compiled, or edited almost a hundred books; corresponded with dozens of other scholars; and still regularly taught groups of disciples, many of whom stayed with him for years at a time. Although he was treated as a political threat during his lifetime, within decades of his death his writings came to be considered orthodox, and in subsequent centuries candidates for the examinations had to be familiar with his commentaries on the classics.

Neo-Confucianism The revival of Confucian thinking that began in the eleventh century, characterized by the goal of attaining the wisdom of the sages, not exam success.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

Ma Yuan’s Painting *On a Mountain Path in Spring*


觸袖野花多自舞
避人幽鳥不成啼

National Palace Museum, Taipei, Taiwan/photo © AISA/The Everett Collection

Because competition for the civil service examinations was so fierce, the great majority of those who devoted years to memorizing the classics and preparing for the exams never became officials. But they found many other agreeable ways to fill their time, such as writing poetry, practicing calligraphy, and viewing each other’s treasures such as old paintings or calligraphies. A large share of the social life of upper-class men was centered on these refined pastimes: they gathered to compose or criticize poetry, view each other’s art treasures, and patronize young talents. Still, they often imagined themselves as solitary figures, walking in the mountains and drawing inspiration from the beauty of the landscape. Paintings of scholars in landscapes became quite common.

It was in fact during the Song period that the art of landscape painting was perfected. In earlier periods, painters had added background to images of people, birds, and buildings, but in Song times they often made the landscape itself the central element in the composition, developing new ways to show depth. Some landscape paintings focused on a large central mountain, but more intimate scenes came to be preferred in the later half of the Song Dynasty (the Southern Song period). Birds and flowers were also a popular subject for paintings. Song painters also developed ways to depict a scene entirely in shades of ink, rather than add colors. In addition, the image was sometimes coupled with a poem, which could be provided by the painter or by someone else, such as the person who requested the painting. In the Southern Song period, painters at court frequently worked closely with members of the court, including empresses and other consorts, who supplied the calligraphy for paintings.

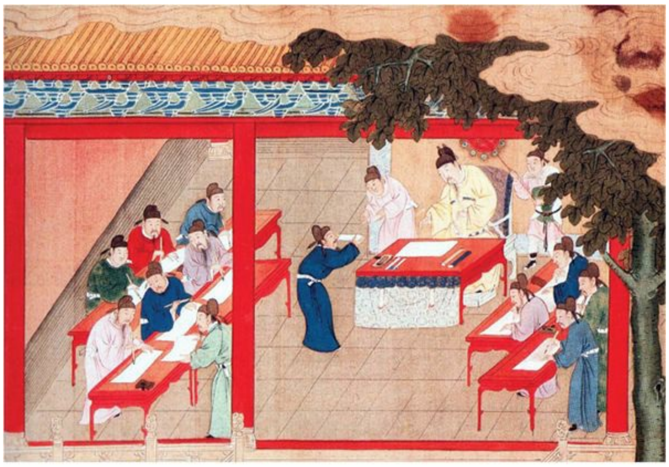
In this painting, the court painter Ma Yuan (ca. 1190–1225) depicts a scholar on an outing accompanied by his boy servant carrying a lute. The scholar gazes into the mist, his eyes attracted by a bird in flight. The poetic couplet was inscribed by Emperor Ningzong (r. 1194–1124), at whose court Ma Yuan served. It reads: “Brushed by his sleeves, wild flowers dance in the wind. / Fleeing from him, hidden birds cut short their songs.”

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Find the key elements in this picture: the scholar, the servant boy, the bird, the willow tree. Are these elements skillfully conveyed? Are there other elements in the painting that you find hard to read?
2. What does the poetic couplet add to this painting? Do you view the painting differently knowing that the poem was supplied by the emperor rather than the painter?
3. If the painter had added more colors, how would this have changed the painting? Would it be better or worse?

INDIVIDUALS IN SOCIETY

Shen Gua


Pictures from History/Bridgeman Images

Depicted here are officials reading and discussing examination papers.

IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY IT WAS NOT RARE FOR CHINESE men of letters to have broad interests, but few could compare to Shen Gua (1031–1095), a man who tried his hand at everything from mathematics, geography, economics, engineering, medicine, divination, and archaeology to military strategy and diplomacy.

Shen Gua's father was an official, and Shen Gua often accompanied him on his assignments. In 1063 he passed the civil service examinations, and in 1066 he received a post in the capital. He eventually held high astronomical, ritual, and financial posts and became involved in waterworks and the construction of defense walls. He was sent as an envoy to the Khitans in 1075 to try to settle a boundary dispute. When a military campaign that he advised failed in 1082, he was demoted, and he later retired to write.

It is from his book of miscellaneous notes that we know the breadth of his interests. In one note Shen describes how, on assignment to inspect the frontier, he made a relief map of wood and glue-soaked sawdust to show the mountains, roads, rivers, and passes. The emperor was so impressed when he saw it that he ordered all the border prefectures to make relief maps. Elsewhere Shen describes the use of petroleum and explains how to make movable type from clay. Shen Gua often applied a mathematical approach to issues that his contemporaries did not think of in those terms. He once computed the total number of possible situations on a Go board, and another time he calculated the longest possible military campaign given the limits of human carriers, who had to carry their own food as well as food for the soldiers.

Shen Gua is especially known for his scientific explanations. He explained the deflection of the compass from due south. He identified petrified bamboo and from its existence argued that the region where it was found must have been much warmer and more humid in ancient times. He argued against the theory that tides are caused by the rising and setting of the sun, demonstrating that they correlate with the cycles of the moon. He proposed switching from a lunar calendar to a solar one of 365 days, saying that even though his contemporaries would reject his idea, “surely in the future some will adopt my idea.” To convince his readers that the sun and the moon were spherical, not flat, he suggested that they cover a ball with fine powder on one side and then look at it obliquely. The powder was the part of the moon illuminated by the sun, and as the viewer looked at it obliquely, the white part would be crescent shaped, like a waxing moon. Shen Gua, however, did not realize that the sun and moon had entirely different orbits, and he explained why they did not collide by positing that both were composed of *qi* (vital energy) and had form but not substance.

Shen Gua also wrote on medicine and criticized his contemporaries for paying more attention to old treatises than to clinical experience. Yet he, too, was sometimes stronger on theory than on observation. In one note he argued that longevity pills could be made from cinnabar. He reasoned that if cinnabar could be transformed in one direction, it ought to be susceptible to transformation in the opposite direction as well. Therefore, since melted cinnabar causes death, solid cinnabar should prevent death.

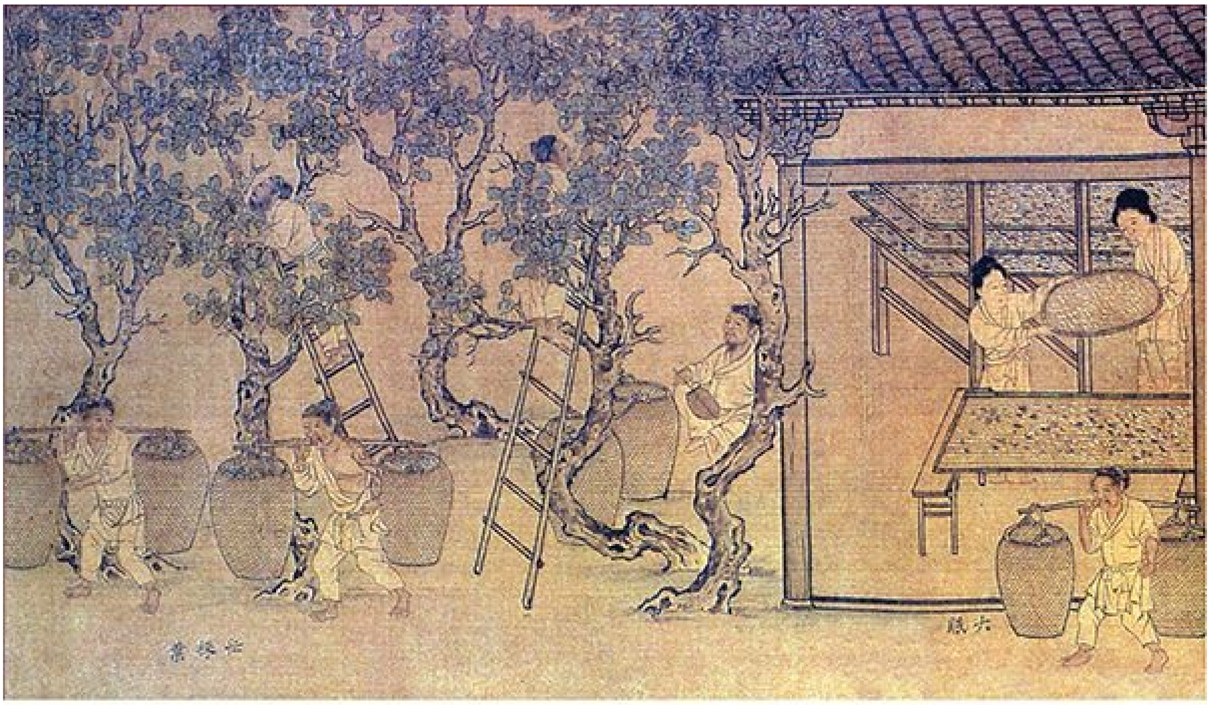
QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. In what ways could Shen Gua have used his scientific interests in his work as a government official?
2. How does Shen Gua’s understanding of the natural world compare to that of the early Greeks? (See “The Flowering of Philosophy” in Chapter 5.)

Women’s Lives in Song Times

Thanks to the spread of printing, more books survive from the Song period than from earlier periods, giving us more glimpses of women’s lives. Stories, documents, and legal cases show us widows who ran inns, midwives who delivered babies, pious women who spent their days chanting Buddhist sutras, girls who learned to read with their brothers, farmers’ daughters who made money by weaving mats, childless widows who accused their nephews of stealing their property, and wives who were jealous of the concubines their husbands brought home.

Families who could afford it usually tried to keep their wives and daughters within the walls of the house, rather than let them work in the fields or in shops or inns. At home there was plenty for them to do. Not only was there the work of tending children and preparing meals, but spinning, weaving, and sewing were considered women’s work as well and took a great deal of time. Families that raised silkworms also needed women to do much of the work of coddling the worms and getting them to spin their cocoons. Within the home women generally had considerable say and took an active interest in issues such as the selection of marriage partners for their children.



Pictures from History/Bridgeman Images

Picking Mulberry Leaves and Feeding Silkworms This is one scene in a long scroll depicting the work required for the creation of silk textiles. Here we see men climbing ladders to pick mulberry leaves and women feeding the leaves to the silkworms, so that they will spin cocoons from which strands can be separated and twisted into threads.

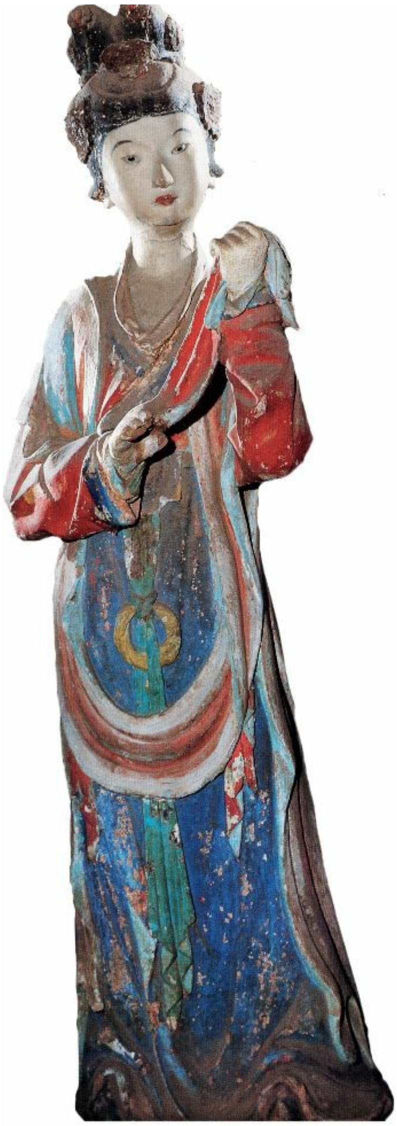
Women tended to marry between the ages of sixteen and twenty. Their husbands were, on average, a couple of years older than they were. Marriages were arranged by their parents, who would have either called on a professional matchmaker or turned to a friend or relative for suggestions. Before a wedding took place, written agreements were exchanged, listing the prospective bride's and groom's birth dates, parents, and grandparents; the gifts that would be exchanged; and the dowry the bride would bring.

The young bride's first priority was to try to win over her mother-in-law. One way to do this was to quickly bear a son for the family. Within the patrilineal system, a woman fully secured her position in the family by becoming the mother of one of the men. Every community had older women skilled in midwifery who were called to help when a woman went into labor. If the family was well-to-do, arrangements might be made for a wet nurse to help her take care of the newborn.

Women frequently had four, five, or six children, but likely one or more would die in infancy. If a son reached adulthood and married before the woman herself was widowed, she would be considered fortunate, for she would have always had an adult man who could take care of business for her — first her husband, then her grown son.

A woman with a healthy and prosperous husband faced another challenge in middle age: her husband could bring home a **concubine**. Wives outranked concubines and could give them orders in the house, but a concubine had her own ways of getting back through her hold on the husband. The children born to a concubine were considered just as much children of the family as the wife's children, and if the wife had had only daughters and the concubine had a son, the wife would find herself dependent on the concubine's son in her old age. Moralists insisted that it was wrong for a wife to be jealous of her husband's concubines, but contemporary documents suggest that jealousy was very common.

concubine A woman contracted to a man as a secondary spouse; although subordinate to the wife, her sons were considered legitimate heirs.



Taiyuan Jinci/Goddess Hall/ Uniphoto Press International Japan/Art and Architecture Collection Ltd.

Woman Attendant The Song emperors were patrons of a still-extant temple in northern China that enshrined a statue of the “holy mother,” the mother of the founder of the ancient Zhou Dynasty. The forty-two maids who attend her, one of whom is shown here, seem to have been modeled on the palace ladies who attended Song emperors.

Neo-Confucianism is sometimes blamed for a decline in the status of women in Song times, largely because one of the best known of the Neo-Confucian teachers, Cheng Yi, once told a follower that it would be better for a widow to die of starvation than to lose her virtue by remarrying. In later centuries this saying was often quoted to justify pressuring widows, even very young ones, to stay with their husbands' families and not remarry. In Song times, however, widows frequently remarried.

It is true that **foot binding** began during the Song Dynasty, but it was not recommended by Neo-Confucian teachers; rather it was associated with the pleasure quarters and with women's efforts to beautify themselves. In this practice, the feet of girls were bound with long strips of cloth to keep them from growing large and to make the feet narrow and arched. (See "Thinking Like a Historian: When and Why Did Foot Binding Begin?" page 360.)

foot binding The practice of binding the feet of girls with long strips of cloth to keep them from growing large.

THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN

When and Why Did Foot Binding Begin?

Both archaeological and textual evidence indicate that by the end of the Song Dynasty some girls in China were having their feet bound to keep them small. Striking archaeological evidence comes from the grave of Huang Sheng, buried in 1243 at age sixteen. Her feet were bound with a long strip of cloth, and her coffin included shoes measuring from 5 to 5½ inches long, for bound feet. In Song period sources, historians have found casual mentions of foot binding and a couple of discussions of the practice's origins and purpose. Foreign visitors to China began to refer to foot binding in the early 1300s.

1 **Su Shi, poem, ca. 1060–1100.** About twenty-seven hundred poems by the renowned poet Su Shi (1036–1101) survive. One of these seems to refer to the small bound foot of a dancer.

■ Anointed with fragrance, she takes lotus steps;
Though often sad, she steps with swift lightness.
She dances like the wind, leaving no physical trace.
Another stealthily but happily tries on the palace style,
But feels such distress when she tries to walk!
Look at them in the palms of your hands,
So wondrously small that they defy description.

2 **Chen Liang, letter to Zhu Xi, ca. 1180.** Chen Liang (1143–1194) wrote this letter in response to a letter he had received from Zhu Xi (1130–1200). In it Chen Liang's reference to foot binding is metaphorical.

■ My whole life I have been obsessed with predicting what is going on among leading people but now I know that it is impossible. I must not stumble about like a blind person who cannot find his cane.… I am so obstinate that I write letters every day to my juniors. It is just like an ugly woman of thirty or forty who decides to chinch her waist and bind her feet — not only is it laughable, but it is also very painful.

3 **Che Ruoshui, *Jiaoqi ji*, 1274.** Che Ruoshui questioned the morality of binding girls' feet in this short note.

■ No one knows when foot binding began. Little girls not yet four or five years old, who have done nothing wrong, nevertheless are made to suffer unlimited pain to bind [their feet] small. I do not know what purpose this serves.

Zhou Mi, *Elegant Conversations from the Impetuous Hall*, late thirteenth century. Zhou Mi (1232–1298) gave thought to the origins of foot binding and concluded that it

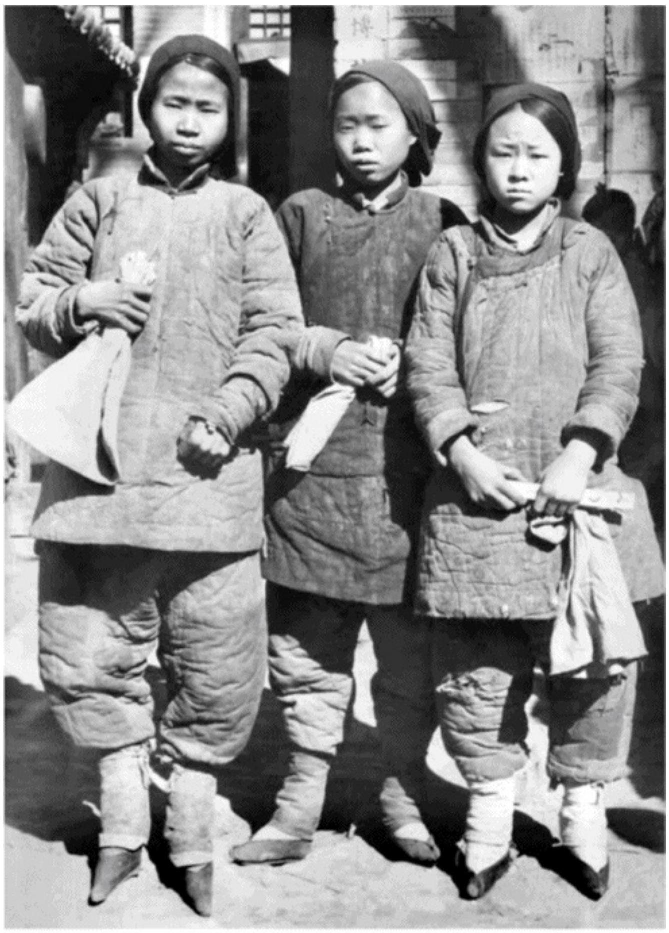
4 began with a dancer at the court of a highly cultivated ruler of the tenth century, prior to the Song Dynasty.

■ Slender and beautiful, Yaoniang was skilled in dancing. The ruler made a six-foot-tall golden lotus festooned with jewels, ribbons, and garlands of pearls and gems. Inside the lotus he piled five-colored auspicious clouds. He had Yaoniang wrap her feet with silk; he had them rendered slender and small, curving upward like the new moon. In plain socks she danced to the music “In the Clouds,” her posture was as though she was soaring into the clouds…. Later people imitated her, finding arched and slender feet wonderful. Thus is the origin of foot binding.

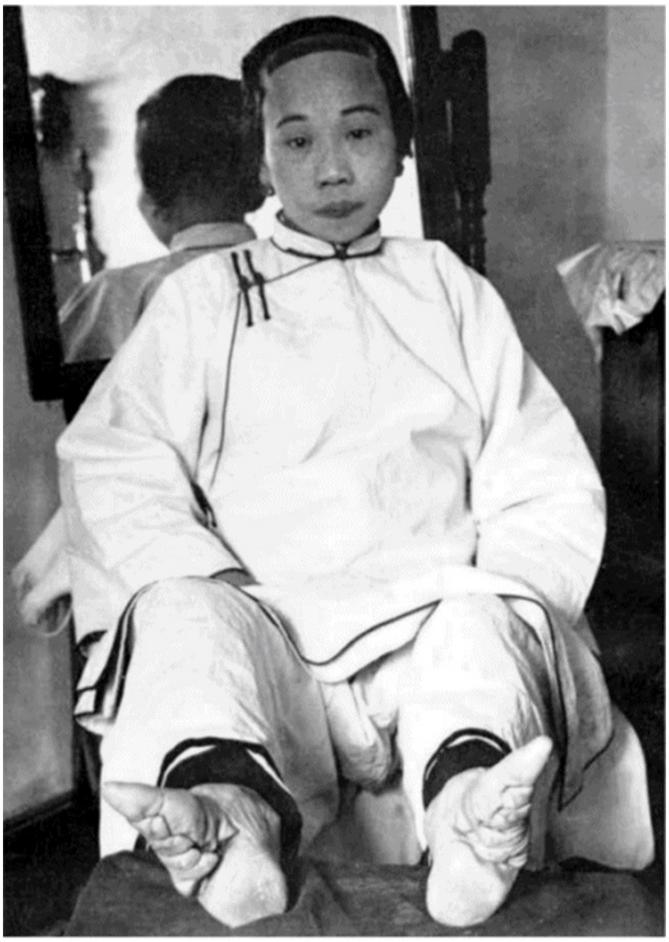
5 **Friar Odoric of Pordenone, *Travels of Friar Odoric*, ca. 1350.** Odoric, a friar from Pordenone, in Italy, visited north China in the 1320s and briefly mentioned foot binding in an account he dictated on his return.

■ And with the women the great beauty is to have little feet; and for this reason, mothers are accustomed, as soon as girls are born to them, to swathe their feet tightly so that they can never grow in the least.

6 **Photographic evidence of later practice, early twentieth century.** Western visitors to China in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries found the practice of binding women’s feet strange and took photographs of women whose tiny pointed shoes could be seen, as well as women who were willing to pose with their feet uncovered, probably for pay. These two photographs were taken in the early twentieth century, shortly before an anti-foot-binding movement led most people to give up the practice.



Pictures from History/Bridgeman Images



Pictures from History/Bridgeman Images

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. Few men mentioned foot binding in their poetry, letters, or essays. Can we infer from this fact that foot binding was not widely practiced? Based on Sources 1–5, what other reasons could there have been for men not to mention it?
2. Which of the written sources (Sources 1–5) is most relevant in judging how common foot binding was? Explain your answer. Do you find in the evidence here any clues to why foot binding spread?
3. Do you think Odoric, the author of Source 5, saw women with bound feet or just heard about them? What is your evidence?
4. How would you compare the comments of the Italian visitor in Source 5 to those of the Chinese authors in Sources 1–4?
5. Is it useful to use much later photographic evidence, such as the images in Source 6, when trying to understand foot binding in Song and Yuan times? Is there any information that you cannot obtain any other way? What might have changed over the centuries in the ways feet were bound?

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

Using the sources above, along with what you have learned in class and in this chapter, write a short essay that analyzes the early stage of the spread of foot binding in China.

Sources: (1) Quoted in Howard S. Levy, *Chinese Footbinding: The History of a Curious Erotic Custom* (New York: Bell, 1967), p. 47; (2) Chen Liang, *Chen Liang ji* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 20.273, trans. Patricia Ebrey; (3) Che Ruoshui, *Jiaoqi ji* (Baibu congshu jicheng ed.), 1.2a, trans. Patricia Ebrey; (4) Zhou Mi, *Haoran zhai yatan* (Siku quanshu ed.), 2.10a–b, in Dorothy Ko, trans., *Cinderella's Sisters: A Revisionist History of Footbinding* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), p. 114; (5) Henry Yule, trans., *Cathay and the Way Thither: Being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China,* vol. 2 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1915), p. 256.

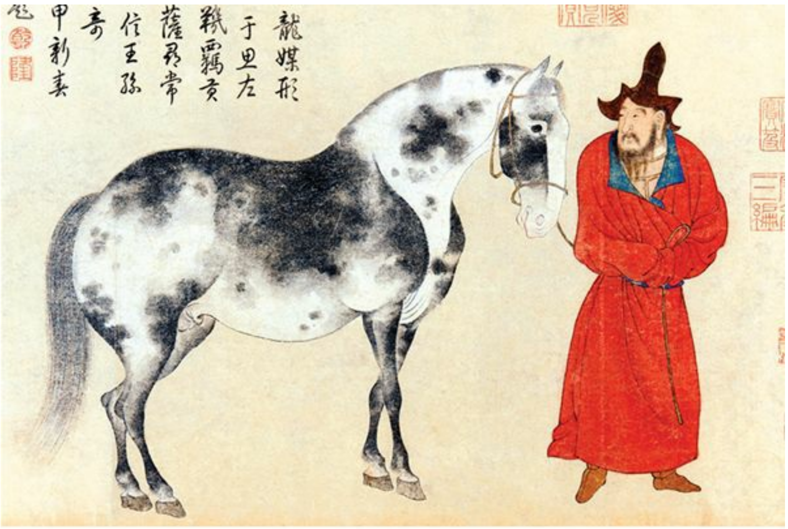
China Under Mongol Rule

As discussed in Chapter 12, the Mongols conquered China in stages, gaining much of north China by 1215 and all of it by 1234, but not taking the south till the 1270s. The north suffered the most devastation. The non-Chinese rulers in the north, the Jin Dynasty of the Jurchen, thought they had the strongest army known to history. Yet Mongol tactics frustrated them. The Mongols would take a city, plunder it, and then withdraw, letting the Jin take it back and deal with the resulting food shortages and destruction. Under these circumstances, Jurchen power rapidly collapsed.

Not until Khubilai was Great Khan was the Song Dynasty defeated and south China brought under the control of the Mongols' Yuan Dynasty. Non-Chinese rulers had gained control of north China several times in Chinese history, but none of them had been able to secure control of the region south of the Yangzi River, which required a navy. By the 1260s Khubilai had put Chinese shipbuilders to work building a fleet, crucial to his victory over the Song (see "Chinggis's Successors" in Chapter 12).

Life in China under the Mongols was much like life in China under earlier alien rulers. Once order was restored, people did their best to get on with their lives. Some were deprived of their land, business, or freedom and suffered real hardship. Yet people still spoke Chinese, followed Chinese customary practices in dividing their family property, made offerings at local temples, and celebrated the new year and other customary festivals. Teachers still taught students the classics, scholars continued to write books, and books continued to be printed.

The Mongols, like other foreign rulers before them, did not see anything particularly desirable in the social mobility of Chinese society. Preferring stability, they assigned people hereditary occupations such as farmer, Confucian scholar, physician, astrologer, soldier, artisan, salt producer, miner, and Buddhist monk; the occupations came with obligations to the state. Besides these occupational categories, the Mongols classified the population into four grades, with the Mongols occupying the top grade. Next came various non-Chinese, such as the Uighurs and Persians. Below them were Chinese former subjects of the Jurchen, called the Han. At the bottom were the former subjects of the Song, called southerners.



Pictures from History/Bridgeman Images

Horse and Groom This painting by the Chinese artist Zhao Yong (1291–1361) would likely have appealed to the Mongol rulers, whose way of life was tied closely to their horses.

The reason for codifying ethnic differences this way was to preserve the Mongols’ privileges as conquerors. Chinese were not allowed to take Mongol names, and great efforts were made to keep them from passing as Mongols or marrying Mongols. To keep Chinese from rebelling, they were forbidden to own weapons or congregate in public.

As the Mongols captured Chinese territory, they recruited Chinese into their armies and government. Although some refused to serve the Mongols, others argued that the Chinese would fare better if Chinese were the administrators and could shield Chinese society from the most brutal effects of Mongol rule.

Nevertheless, government service, which had long been central to the identity and income of the educated elite in China, was not as widely available under the Mongols. The Mongols reinstituted the civil service examinations in 1315, but filled only about 2 percent of the positions in the bureaucracy through them and reserved half of those places for Mongols.

The scholar-official elite without government employment turned to alternative ways to support themselves. Those who did not have land to live off of found work as physicians, fortune-tellers, children’s teachers, Daoist priests, publishers, booksellers, or playwrights. Many took leadership roles at the local level, such as founding academies for Confucian learning or promoting local charitable ventures. Through such activities, scholars without government offices could assert the importance of civil over military values and see themselves as trustees of the Confucian tradition.

Since the Mongols wanted to extract wealth from China, they had every incentive to develop the economy. They encouraged trade both within China and beyond its borders and tried to keep paper money in circulation. (See “Global Viewpoints: Explaining the Workings of Paper Money in China, Persia, and Europe” in Chapter 12.) They repaired the Grand Canal, which had been ruined during their initial conquest of north China. Chinese industries with strong foreign markets, such as porcelain, thrived. Nevertheless, the economic expansion of late Tang and Song times did not continue under the alien rule of the Jurchens and Mongols.

The Mongols’ Yuan Dynasty began a rapid decline in the 1330s as disease, rebellions, and poor leadership led to disorder throughout the country. When a Chinese strongman succeeded in consolidating the south, the Mongol rulers retreated to Mongolia before he could take Beijing. By 1368 the Yuan Dynasty had given way to a new Chinese-led dynasty: the Ming.

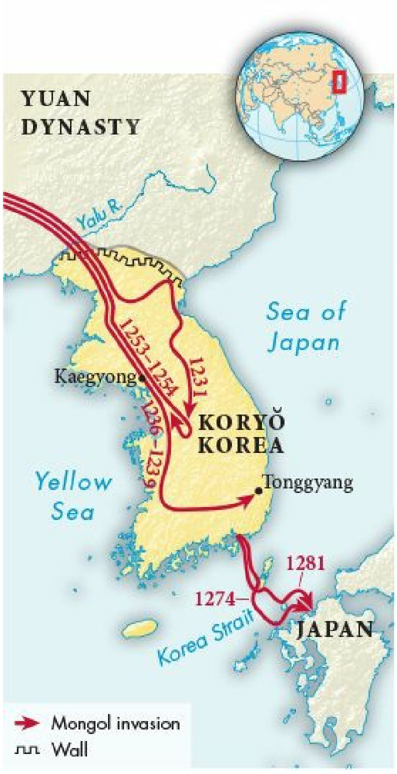
Korea Under the Koryŏ Dynasty, 935–1392

How did Korean society and culture develop in an age when its northern neighbors were Khitans, Jurchens, and Mongols?

During the Silla period, Korea was strongly tied to Tang China and avidly copied China's model (see "Korea" in Chapter 7). This changed along with much else in North Asia between 800 and 1400. In this period Korea lived more in the shadows of the powerful states of the Khitans, Jurchens, and Mongols than in those of the Chinese.

The Silla Dynasty began to decline after the king was killed in a revolt in 780. For the next 155 years, rebellions and coups d'état followed one after the other, as different groups of nobles placed their candidates on the throne and killed as many of their opponents as they could.

The dynasty that emerged from this confusion was called Koryŏ (935–1392). (The English word *Korea* derives from the name of this dynasty.) During this time Korea developed more independently of the China model than it had in Silla times. This was not because the Chinese model was rejected; the Koryŏ (KAWR-yoh) capital was laid out on the Chinese model, and the government was closely patterned on the Tang system. But despite Chinese influence, Korean society remained deeply aristocratic.


YUAN DYNASTY
Yalu R.
Sea of Japan
Kaegyong
1253–1254
1231
1236–1239
KORYŎ KOREA
Tonggyang
Yellow Sea
1281
1274
Korea Strait
JAPAN
Mongol invasion
Wall

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

The Koryŏ Dynasty, 935–1392

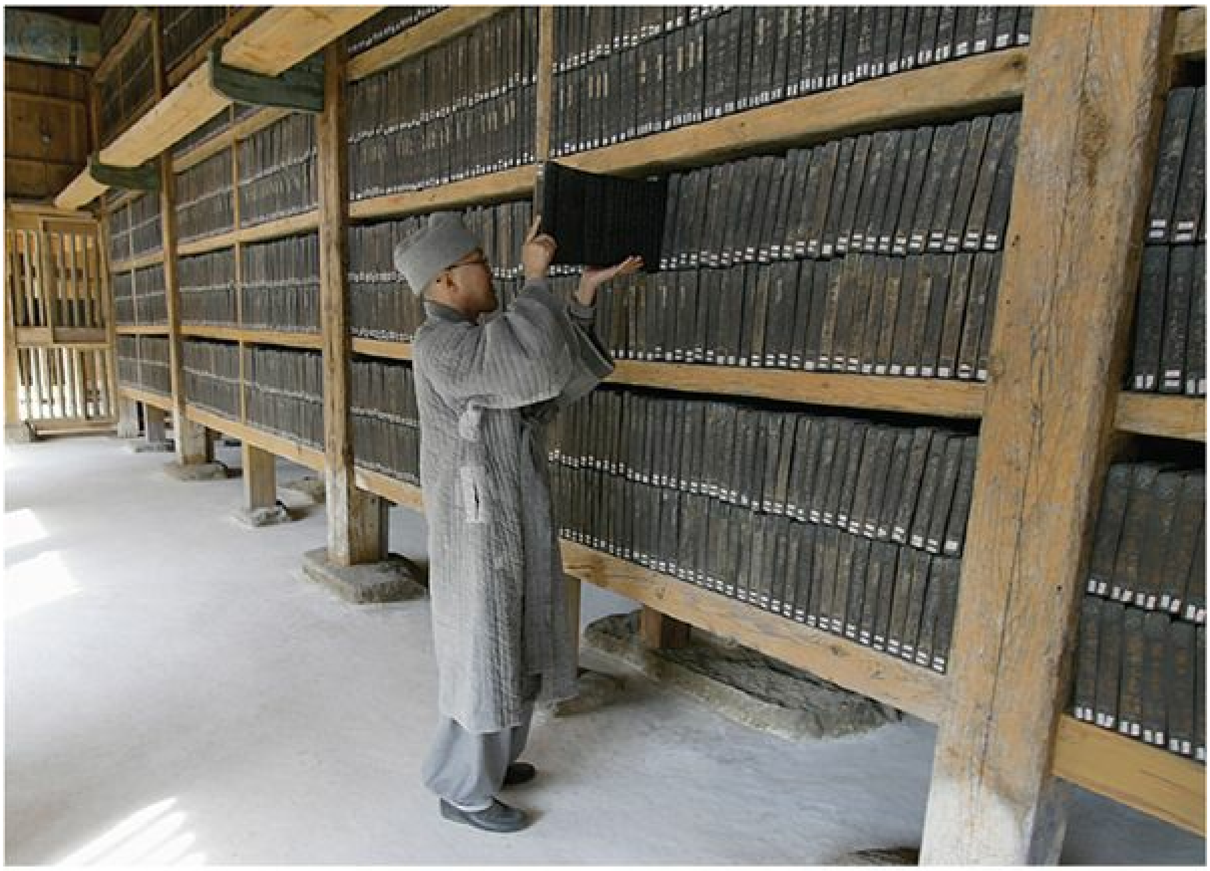
The founder of the dynasty, Wang Kon (877–943), was a man of relatively obscure maritime background, and he needed the support of the old aristocracy to maintain control. His successors introduced civil service examinations on the Chinese model, as well as examinations for Buddhist clergy, but because the aristocrats were the best educated and the government schools admitted only the sons of aristocrats, this system served primarily to solidify their control.

At the other end of the social scale, the number of people in the serf-slave stratum seems to have increased. This lowborn stratum included not only privately held slaves but also large numbers of government slaves as well as government workers in mines, porcelain factories, and other government industries. Sometimes entire villages or groups of villages were considered lowborn. There were occasional slave revolts, and some freed slaves did rise in status, but prejudice against anyone with slave ancestors was so strong that the law provided that "only if there is no evidence of lowborn status for eight generations in one's official household registration may one receive a position in the government."[2] In China and Japan, by contrast, slavery was a much more minor element in the social landscape.

The commercial economy declined in Korea during this period. Except for the capital, there were no cities of commercial importance, and in the countryside the use of money declined. One industry that did flourish was ceramics.

Buddhism remained strong throughout Korea, and monasteries became major centers of art and learning. As in Song China and Kamakura Japan, Chan (Zen) and Tiantai (Tendai) were the leading Buddhist teachings. The founder of the Koryŏ Dynasty attributed the dynasty's success to the Buddha's protection, and he and his successors were ardent patrons of the church. The entire Buddhist canon was printed in the eleventh century and again in the thirteenth. As in medieval Europe, aristocrats who entered the church occupied the major abbacies. As in Japan (but not China), some monasteries accumulated military power.

The Koryŏ Dynasty was preserved in name long after the ruling family had lost most of its power. In 1170 the palace guards massacred the civil officials at court and placed a new king on the throne. After incessant infighting among the generals and a series of coups, in 1196 the general Ch'oe Ch'ung-hon took control. The domination of Korea by the Ch'oe family was much like the contemporaneous situation in Japan, where warrior bands were seizing power. Moreover, because the Ch’oes were content to dominate the government while leaving the Koryŏ king on the throne, they had much in common with the Japanese shoguns, who followed a similar strategy.



© OUR PLACE THE WORLD HERITAGE COLLECTION,
www.ourplaceworldheritage.com

Wooden Blocks for Printing The Heainsa Buddhist Temple in Korea has preserved the more than eighty thousand woodblocks used to print the huge Buddhist canon in the thirteenth century. The monk shown here is replacing a block. All the blocks are carved on both sides and stabilized by wooden frames that have kept them from warping.

Korea, from early times, recognized China as being in many ways senior to it, but when strong non-Chinese states emerged to its north in Manchuria, Korea was ready to accommodate them as well. Koryŏ ’s first neighbor to the north was the Khitan state of Liao, which in 1010 invaded and sacked the capital. To avoid destruction, Koryŏ acceded to vassal status, but Liao invaded again in 1018. This time Koryŏ was able to repel the nomadic Khitans. Afterward a defensive wall was built across the Korean peninsula south of the Yalu River. When the Jurchens and their Jin Dynasty supplanted the Khitans’ Liao Dynasty, Koryŏ agreed to send them tribute as well.

As mentioned in Chapter 12, Korea was conquered by the Mongols, and the figurehead Koryŏ kings were moved to Beijing, where they married Mongol princesses, their descendants becoming more Mongol than Korean. This was a time of hardship for the Korean people. In the year 1254 alone, the Mongols enslaved two hundred thousand Koreans and took them away. Ordinary people in Korea suffered grievously when their land was used as a launching pad for the huge Mongol invasions of Japan. In this period Korea also suffered from frequent attacks by Japanese pirates, somewhat like the depredations of the Vikings in Europe a little earlier (see "Invasions and Migrations" in Chapter 14).

When Mongol rule in China fell apart in the mid-fourteenth century, it declined in Korea as well. Chinese rebels opposing the Mongols entered Korea and even briefly captured the capital in 1361. When the Ming Dynasty was established in China in 1368, the Koryŏ court was unsure how to respond. In 1388 a general, Yi Song-gye, was sent to oppose a Ming army at the northwest frontier. When he saw the strength of the Ming, he concluded that making an alliance was more sensible than fighting, and he led his troops back to the capital, where in 1392 he usurped the throne, founding the Chosŏn Dynasty.

Japan’s Heian Period, 794–1185

How did the Heian form of government contribute to the cultural flowering of Japan in this period?

As described in Chapter 7, during the seventh and eighth centuries the Japanese ruling house pursued a vigorous policy of adopting useful ideas, techniques, and policies from the more advanced civilization of China. The rulers built a splendid capital along Chinese lines in Nara and fostered the growth of Buddhism. Monasteries grew so powerful in Nara, however, that in less than a century the court decided to move away from them and encourage other sects of Buddhism.

The new capital was built about twenty-five miles away at Heian (HAY-ahn) (modern Kyoto). Like Nara, Heian was modeled on the Tang capital of Chang’an. For the first century at Heian the government continued to follow Chinese models, but it turned away from them with the decline of the Tang Dynasty in the late ninth century. During the Heian period (794–1185), Japan witnessed a literary and cultural flowering under the rule of the Fujiwara family.

Fujiwara Rule

Only the first two Heian emperors were much involved in governing. By 860 political management had been taken over by a series of regents from the Fujiwara family, who supplied most of the empresses in this period. The emperors continued to be honored, but the Fujiwaras ruled. Fujiwara dominance represented the privatization of political power and a return to clan politics. Political history thus took a very different course in Japan than in China, where, when a dynasty weakened, military strongmen would compete to depose the emperor and found their own dynasties. In Japan for the next thousand years, political contenders sought to manipulate the emperors rather than supplant them.

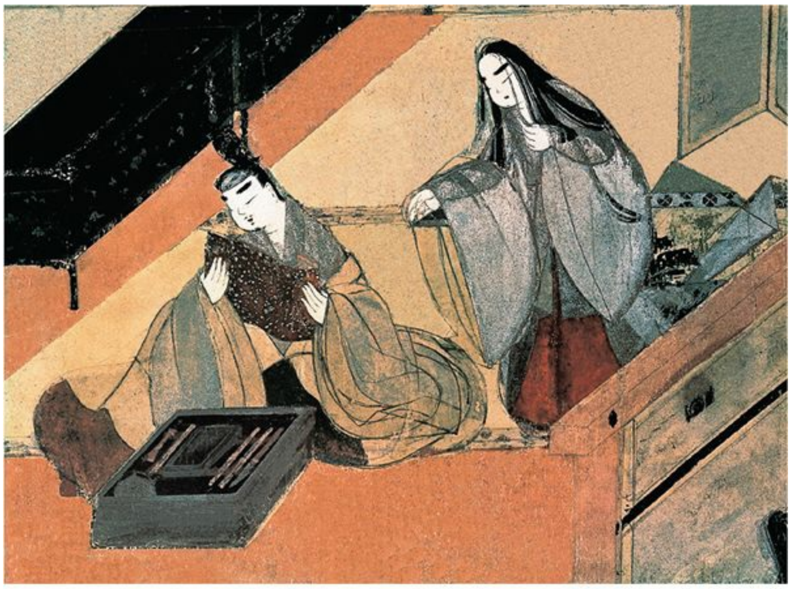
The Fujiwaras reached the apogee of their glory under Fujiwara Michinaga (r. 995–1027). Like many aristocrats of the period, he was learned in Buddhism, music, poetry, and Chinese literature and history. He dominated the court for more than thirty years as the father of four empresses, the uncle of two emperors, and the grandfather of three emperors. He acquired great landholdings and built fine palaces for himself and his family. After ensuring that his sons could continue to rule, he retired to a Buddhist monastery, all the while continuing to maintain control.

By the end of the eleventh century several emperors who did not have Fujiwara mothers had found a device to counter Fujiwara control: they abdicated but continued to exercise power by controlling their young sons on the throne. This system of rule has been called **cloistered government** because the retired emperors took Buddhist orders, while maintaining control of the government from behind the scenes.

cloistered government A system in which an emperor retired to a Buddhist monastery but continued to exercise power by controlling his young son on the throne.

Aristocratic Culture

A brilliant aristocratic culture developed in the Heian period. In the capital at Heian, nobles, palace ladies, and imperial family members lived a highly refined and leisured life. In their society, niceties of birth, rank, and breeding counted for everything. The elegance of one's calligraphy and the allusions in one's poems were matters of intense concern to both men and women at court, as was their dress. Courtiers did not like to leave the capital, and some like the court lady Sei Shonagon shuddered at the sight of ordinary working people. In her *Pillow Book*, she wrote of encountering a group of commoners on a pilgrimage: "They looked like so many basket-worms as they crowded together in their hideous clothes, leaving hardly an inch of space between themselves and me. I really felt like pushing them all over sideways."[3] (See "Analyzing the Evidence: *The Pillow Book* of Sei Shonagon," page 366.)



Gotoh Museum, Tokyo, Japan/Photo © AISA/Bridgeman Images

The Tale of Genji In this scene from a twelfth-century painting illustrating *The Tale of Genji*, Genji has his inkstone and brushes ready to respond to the letter he is reading.

In this period a new script was developed for writing Japanese phonetically. Each symbol was based on a simplified Chinese character and represented one of the syllables used in Japanese (such as *ka*, *ki*, *ku*, *ke*, *ko*). Although “serious” essays, histories, and government documents continued to be written in Chinese, less formal works such as poetry and memoirs were written in Japanese. Mastering the new writing system took much less time than mastering writing in Chinese and this aided the spread of literacy, especially among women in court society.

In the Heian period, women played important roles at all levels of society. Women educated in the arts and letters could advance at court as attendants to the ruler’s empress and other consorts. Women could inherit property from their parents, and they would compete with their brothers for shares of the family property. In political life, marrying a daughter to an emperor or shogun was one of the best ways to gain power, and women often became major players in power struggles.

The literary masterpiece of this period is **The Tale of Genji**, written in Japanese by Lady Murasaki over several years (ca. 1000–1010). This long narrative depicts a cast of characters enmeshed in court life, with close attention to dialogue and personality. Murasaki also wrote a diary that is similarly revealing of aristocratic culture.

The Tale of Genji A Japanese literary masterpiece about court life written by Lady Murasaki.

Murasaki was one of many women writers in this period. The wife of a high-ranking court official wrote a poetic memoir of her unhappy twenty-year marriage to him and his rare visits. A woman wrote both an autobiography that related her father's efforts to find favor at court and a love story of a hero who travels to China. Another woman even wrote a history that concludes with a triumphal biography of Fujiwara Michinaga.

Buddhism remained very strong throughout the Heian period. A mission sent to China in 804 included two monks in search of new texts. One of the monks, Saichō, spent time at the monasteries on Mount Tiantai and brought back the Buddhist teachings associated with that mountain (called Tendai in Japanese). Tendai's basic message is that all living beings share the Buddha nature and can be brought to salvation. Once back in Japan, Saichō established a monastery on Mount Hiei outside Kyoto, which grew to be one of the most important monasteries in Japan. By the twelfth century this monastery and its many branch temples had vast lands and a powerful army of monk-soldiers to protect its interests.

Kūkai, the other monk on the 804 mission to China, came back with texts from another school of Buddhism — Shingon, or "True Word," a form of **Esoteric Buddhism**. Esoteric Buddhism is based on the idea that teachings containing the secrets of enlightenment had been secretly transmitted from the Buddha. People can gain access to these mysteries through initiation into the mandalas (cosmic diagrams), mudras (gestures), and mantras (verbal formulas). On his return to Japan, Kūkai attracted many followers and was allowed to establish a monastery at Mount Kōya, south of Osaka. The popularity of Esoteric Buddhism was a great stimulus to Buddhist art.

Esoteric Buddhism A sect of Buddhism that maintains that the secrets of enlightenment have been secretly transmitted from the Buddha and can be accessed through initiation into the mandalas, mudras, and mantras.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

The Pillow Book of Sei Shonagon

Beginning in the late tenth century Japan produced a series of great women writers. At the time women were much freer than men to write in vernacular Japanese, giving them a large advantage. Lady Murasaki, author of the novel The Tale of Genji, is the most famous of the women writers of the period, but her contemporary Sei Shonagon is equally noteworthy. Sei Shonagon served as a lady in waiting to Empress Sadako during the last decade of the tenth century (990–1000). Her only known work is The Pillow Book, a collection of notes, character sketches, anecdotes, descriptions of nature, and eccentric lists such as boring things, awkward things, hateful things, and things that have lost their power.

The Pillow Book portrays the lovemaking/marriage system among the aristocracy more or less as it is depicted in The Tale of Genji. Marriages were arranged for family interests, and a man could have more than one wife. Wives and their children commonly stayed in their own homes, where their husbands and fathers would visit them. But once a man had an heir by his wife, there was nothing to prevent him from establishing relations with other women. Some relationships were long-term, but many were brief, and men often had several lovers at the same time. Some women became known as lovers with many conquests, others as abandoned women whose husbands ignored them. The following passage from The Pillow Book looks on this lovemaking system with amused detachment.

It is so stiflingly hot in the Seventh Month that even at night one keeps all the doors and lattices open. At such times it is delightful to wake up when the moon is shining and to look outside. I enjoy it even when there is no moon. But to wake up at dawn and see a pale sliver of a moon in the sky — well, I need hardly say how perfect that is.

I like to see a bright new straw mat that has just been spread out on a well-polished floor. The best place for one’s three-foot curtain of state is in the front of the room near the veranda. It is pointless to put it in the rear of the room, as it is most unlikely that anyone will peer in from that direction.

It is dawn and a woman is lying in bed after her lover has taken his leave. She is covered up to her head with a light mauve robe that has a lining of dark violet; the colour of both the outside and the lining is fresh and glossy. The woman, who appears to be asleep, wears an unlined orange robe and a dark crimson skirt of stiff silk whose cords hang loosely by her side, as if they have been left untied. Her thick tresses tumble over each other in cascades, and one can imagine how long her hair must be when it falls freely down her back.

Nearby another woman’s lover is making his way home in the misty dawn. He is wearing loose violet trousers, an orange hunting costume, so lightly coloured that one can hardly tell whether it has been dyed or not, a white robe of still silk, and a scarlet robe of glossy, beaten silk. His clothes, which are damp from the mist, hang loosely about him. From the dishevelment of his side locks one can tell how negligently he must have tucked his hair into the black lacquered headdress when he got up. He wants to return and write his next-morning letter before the dew on the morning glories has had time to vanish; but the path seems endless, and to divert himself he hums “the sprouts in the flax fields.”

As he walks along, he passes a house with an open lattice. He is on his way to report for official duty, but cannot help stopping to lift up the blind and peep into the room. It amuses him to think that a man has probably been spending the night here and has only recently got up to leave, just as happened to himself. Perhaps that man too had felt the charm of the dew.

Looking around the room, he notices near the woman’s pillow an open fan with a magnolia frame and purple paper; and at the foot of her curtain of state he sees some narrow strips of Michinoku paper and also some other paper of a faded colour, either orange-red or maple.

The woman senses that someone is watching her and, looking up from under her bedclothes, sees a gentleman leaning against the wall by the threshold, a smile on his face. She can tell at once that he is the sort of man with whom she need feel no reserve. All the same, she does not want to enter into any familiar relations with him, and she is annoyed that he should have seen her asleep.

“Well, well, Madam,” says the man, leaning forward so that the upper part of his body comes behind her curtains, “what a long nap you’re having after your morning adieu! You really are a lie-abed!”

“You call me that, Sir,” she replied, “only because you’re annoyed at having had to get up before the dew had time to settle.”

Their conversation may be commonplace, yet I find there is something delightful about the scene.

Now the gentleman leans further forward and, using his own fan, tries to get hold of the fan by the woman’s pillow. Fearing his closeness, she moves further back into her curtain enclosure, her heart pounding. The gentleman picks up the magnolia fan and, while examining it, says in a slightly bitter tone, “How standoffish you are!”

But now it is growing light; there is a sound of people’s voices, and it looks as if the sun will soon be up. Only a short while ago this same man was hurrying home to write his next-morning letter before the mists had time to clear. Alas, how easily his intentions have been forgotten!

While all this is afoot, the woman’s original lover has been busy with his own next-morning letter, and now, quite unexpectedly, the messenger arrives at her house. The letter is attached to a spray of bush-clover, still damp with dew, and the paper gives off a delicious aroma of incense. Because of the new visitor, however, the woman’s servants cannot deliver it to her.

Finally it becomes unseemly for the gentleman to stay any longer. As he goes, he is amused to think that a similar scene may be taking place in the house he left earlier that morning.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What sorts of images does Sei Shonagon evoke to convey an impression of a scene?
2. What can you learn from this passage about the material culture of Japan in this period?
3. Why do you think Sei Shonagon was highly esteemed as a writer?

Source: *The Pillow Book of Sei Shonagon,* edited and translated by Ivan Morris, pp. 60–62. Reproduced by permission of COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS in the format Republish in a book via Copyright Clearance Center.

The Samurai and the Kamakura Shogunate, 1185–1333

What were the causes and consequences of military rule in Japan?

The gradual rise of a warrior elite over the course of the Heian period finally brought an end to the domination of the Fujiwaras and other Heian aristocratic families. In 1156 civil war broke out between the Taira and Minamoto warrior clans based in western and eastern Japan, respectively. Both clans relied on skilled warriors, later called samurai, who were rapidly becoming a new social class. A samurai and his lord had a double bond: in return for the samurai's loyalty and service, the lord granted him land or income. From 1159 to 1181 a Taira named Kiyomori dominated the court, taking the position of prime minister and marrying his daughter to the emperor. His relatives became governors of more than thirty provinces. Still, the Minamoto clan managed to defeat the Taira, and the Minamoto leader, Yoritomo, became **shogun**, or general-in-chief. With him began the Kamakura Shogunate (1185–1333). This period is often referred to as Japan's feudal period because it was dominated by a military class whose members were tied to their superiors by bonds of loyalty and supported by landed estates rather than salaries.

shogun The Japanese general-in-chief.

Military Rule

The similarities between military rule in Japan and feudalism in medieval Europe during roughly the same period have fascinated scholars, as have the very significant differences. In Europe feudalism emerged out of the fusion of Germanic and Roman social institutions and flowered under the impact of Muslim and Viking invasions. In Japan military rule evolved from a combination of the native warrior tradition and Confucian ethical principles of duty to superiors.

The emergence of the samurai was made possible by the development of private landholding. The government land allotment system, copied from Tang China, began breaking down in the eighth century (much as it did in China). By the ninth century local lords had begun escaping imperial taxes and control by commending (formally giving) their land to tax-exempt entities such as monasteries, the imperial family, and high-ranking officials. The local lord then received his land back as a tenant and paid his protector a small rent. The monastery or privileged individual received a steady income from the land, and the local lord escaped imperial taxes and control. By the end of the thirteenth century most land seems to have been taken off the tax rolls this way. Unlike peasants in medieval Europe, where similar practices of commendation occurred, those working the land in Japan never became serfs. Moreover, Japanese lords rarely lived on the lands they had rights in, unlike English or French lords, who lived on their manors.

National Museum, Tokyo, Japan/akg-images

The Shogun Minamoto Yoritomo in Court Dress This wooden sculpture, 27.8 inches tall, was made about a half century after Yoritomo's death for use in a shrine dedicated to his memory. The bold shapes convey Yoritomo's dignity and power.

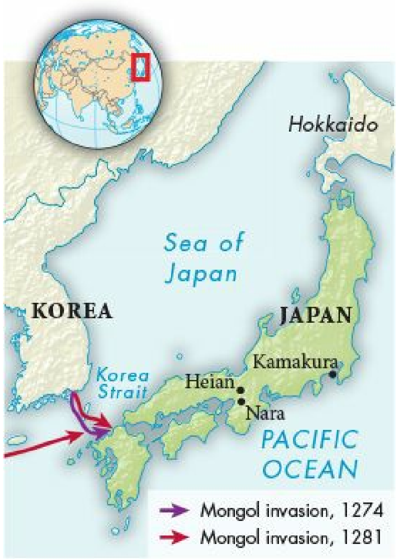
Samurai (SAM-moo-righ) resembled European knights in several ways. Both were armed with expensive weapons, and both fought on horseback. Just as the knight was supposed to live according to the chivalric code, so Japanese samurai were expected to live according to **Bushido** (boo-she-doh), or "way of the warrior." Physical hardship was accepted as routine, and soft living was despised as weak and unworthy. Disloyalty brought social disgrace, which the samurai could avoid only through *seppuku*, ritual suicide by slashing his belly.

Bushido Literally, the "way of the warrior"; the code of conduct by which samurai were expected to live.

The Kamakura Shogunate derives its name from Kamakura, a city near modern Tokyo that was the seat of the Minamoto clan. The founder, Yoritomo, ruled the country much the way he ran his own estates, appointing his retainers to newly created offices. To cope with the emergence of hard-to-tax estates, he put military land stewards in charge of seeing to the estates’ proper operation. To bring order to the lawless countryside, he appointed military governors to oversee the military and enforce the law in the provinces. They supervised the conduct of the land stewards in peacetime and commanded the provincial samurai in war.

Yoritomo’s wife, Masako, protected the interests of her own family, the Hōjōs, especially after Yoritomo died. She went so far as to force her first son to abdicate when he showed signs of preferring the family of his wife to the family of his mother. She later helped her brother take power away from her father. Thus the process of reducing power holders to figureheads went one step further in 1219 when the Hōjō family reduced the shogun to a figurehead. The Hōjō family held the reins of power for more than a century until 1333.

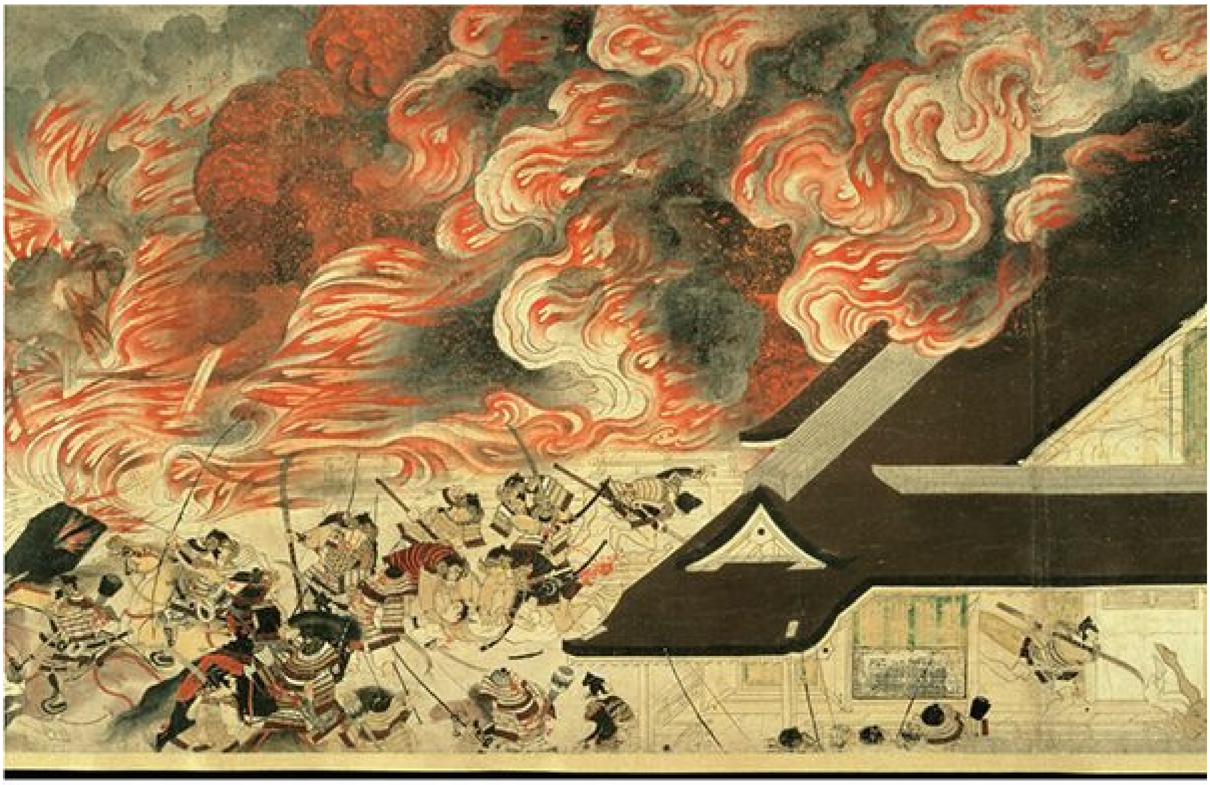
The Mongols’ two massive seaborne invasions in 1274 and 1281 were a huge shock to the shogunate. Although the Hōjō regents, with the help of a “divine wind” (kamikaze), repelled the Mongols, they were unable to reward their vassals in the traditional way because little booty was found among the wreckage of the Mongol fleets. Discontent grew among the samurai, and by the fourteenth century the entire political system was breaking down. Both the imperial and the shogunate families were fighting among themselves. As land grants were divided, samurai became impoverished.


Hokkaido
Sea of Japan
KOREA
JAPAN
Korea Strait
Kamakura
Heian
Nara
PACIFIC OCEAN
Mongol invasion, 1274
Mongol invasion, 1281

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Kamakura Shogunate, 1185–1333

The factional disputes among Japan's leading families remained explosive until 1331, when the emperor Go-Daigo tried to recapture real power. Go-Daigo destroyed the Kamakura Shogunate in 1333 but soon lost the loyalty of his followers. By 1336 one of his most important military supporters, Ashikaga Takauji, had turned on him and established the Ashikaga Shogunate, which lasted until 1573. Takauji's victory was also a victory for the samurai, who took over civil authority throughout Japan.



“Night Attack on the Sanjo Palace,” detail from the *Illustrated Scrolls of the Events of the Heiji Era* [Heiju monogatari emaki], Kamakura period, Japan, late 13th century [ink and color on paper handscroll]/Museum of Fine Arts, Boston/Fenollosa-Weld Collection/Bridgeman Images

Night Attack on the Sanjo Palace The twelfth-century civil wars in Japan became the subject of long novels and pictorial handscrolls. This scene from a mid-thirteenth-century painting shows the quick, violent attack on the palace where the retired emperor lived.

Cultural Trends

The cultural distance between the elites and the commoners narrowed a little during the Kamakura period. Buddhism was spread to ordinary Japanese by energetic preachers. Honen (1133–1212) propagated the Pure Land teaching, preaching that paradise could be reached through simple faith in the Buddha and repeating the name of the Buddha Amitabha (ah-mee-tah-bah). His follower Shinran (1173–1263) taught that monks should not shut themselves off in monasteries but should marry and have children. A different path was promoted by Nichiren (1222–1282), a fiery and intolerant preacher who proclaimed that to be saved, people had only to invoke sincerely the Lotus Sutra, one of the most important of the Buddhist sutras. These lay versions of Buddhism found a receptive audience among ordinary people in the countryside.

It was also during the Kamakura period that **Zen** came to flourish in Japan. Zen teachings originated in Tang China, where they were known as Chan (see “Tang Culture” in Chapter 7). Rejecting the authority of the sutras, Zen teachers claimed the superiority of mind-to-mind transmission of Buddhist truth. This teaching found eager patrons among the samurai, who were attracted to its discipline and strong master-disciple bonds.

Zen A school of Buddhism that emphasized meditation and truths that could not be conveyed in words.

During the Kamakura period, war tales continued the tradition of long narrative prose works. *The Tale of the Heike* tells the story of the fall of the Taira family and the rise of the Minamoto clan. The tale reached a large and mostly illiterate audience because blind minstrels would chant sections to the accompaniment of a lute. The story is suffused with the Buddhist idea of the transience of life and the illusory nature of glory. Yet it also celebrates strength, courage, loyalty, and pride.

After stagnating in the Heian period, agricultural productivity began to improve in the Kamakura period, and the population grew, reaching perhaps 8.2 million by 1333. Much like farmers in contemporary Song China, Japanese farmers adopted new strains of rice, often double-cropped in warmer regions, made increased use of fertilizers, and improved irrigation for paddy rice. Besides farming, ordinary people made their livings as artisans, traders, fishermen, and entertainers. A vague category of outcasts occupied the fringes of society, in a manner reminiscent of India. Buddhist strictures against killing and Shinto ideas of pollution probably account for the exclusion of butchers, leatherworkers, morticians, and lepers, but other groups, such as bamboo whisk makers, were also traditionally excluded for no obvious reason.

Chapter Summary

The countries of East Asia — China, Japan, and Korea — all underwent major changes in the six centuries from 800 to 1400. In China the loosening of the central government's control of the economy stimulated trade and economic growth. Between 800 and 1100 China's population doubled to 100 million. The economic center of China shifted from the north China plain to the south, the milder region drained by the Yangzi River.

In the Song period, the booming economy and the invention of printing allowed for expansion of the scholar-official class, which came to dominate government and society. Repeatedly, the Song government chose to pay tribute to its militarily powerful neighbors — first the Khitans, then the Jurchens, then the Mongols — to keep the peace. Eventually, however, Song fell to the Mongols.

During the Koryŏ Dynasty, Korea evolved more independently of China than it had previously, in part because it had to placate powerful non-Chinese neighbors. The commercial economy declined, and an increasing portion of the population was unfree, working as slaves for aristocrats or the government. Military strongmen dominated the government, but their armies were no match for the much larger empires to their north. The period of Mongol domination was particularly difficult.

In Heian Japan, a tiny aristocracy dominated government and society. A series of regents, most of them from the Fujiwara family and fathers-in-law of the emperors, controlled political life. The aristocratic court society put great emphasis on taste and refinement. Women were influential at the court and wrote much of the best literature of the period. The Heian aristocrats had little interest in life in the provinces, which gradually came under the control of military clans.

After a civil war between the two leading military clans, a military government, called the shogunate, was established. Two invasions by the Mongols caused major crises in military control. Although both times the invaders were repelled, defense costs were high. During this period culture was less centered on the capital, and Buddhism spread to ordinary people.

CONNECTIONS

East Asia faced many internal and external challenges between 800 and 1400, and the ways societies responded to them shaped their subsequent histories. In China the first four centuries of this period saw economic growth, urbanization, the spread of printing, and the expansion of the educated class. In Korea and Japan aristocratic dominance and military rule were more typical of the era. All three areas, but especially China and Korea, faced an unprecedented challenge from the Mongols, with Japan less vulnerable because it did not share a land border. The challenges of the period did not hinder creativity in the literary and visual arts; among the greatest achievements of this era are the women's writings of Heian Japan, such as *The Tale of Genji*, and landscape painting of both Song and Yuan China.

Europe during these six centuries, the subject of the next chapter, also faced invasions from outside; in its case, the pagan Vikings were especially dreaded. Europe had a social structure more like that of Korea and Japan than of China, with less centralization and a more dominant place in society for military men. The centralized church in Europe, however, was unlike anything known in East Asian history. These centuries in Europe saw a major expansion of Christendom, especially to Scandinavia and eastern Europe, through both conversion and migration. Although there were scares that the Mongols would penetrate deeper into Europe, the greatest challenge in Europe was the Black Death and the huge loss of life that it caused.

CHAPTER 13 Review and Explore

Identify Key Terms

Identify and explain the significance of each item below.

dynastic cycle (p. 350)
compass (p. 352)
scholar-official class (p. 353)
examination system (p. 353)
movable type (p. 354)
Neo-Confucianism (p. 356)
concubine (p. 358)
foot binding (p. 359)
cloistered government (p. 364)
The Tale of Genji (p. 365)
Esoteric Buddhism (p. 366)
shogun (p. 367)
Bushido (p. 368)
Zen (p. 369)

Review the Main Ideas

Answer the focus questions from each section of the chapter.

1. What made possible the expansion of the Chinese economy, and what were the outcomes of this economic growth? (p. 350)
2. How did the civil service examinations and the scholar-official class shape Chinese society and culture, and what impact did the Mongol conquest have on them? (p. 353)
3. How did Korean society and culture develop in an age when its northern neighbors were Khitans, Jurchens, and Mongols? (p. 362)
4. How did the Heian form of government contribute to the cultural flowering of Japan in this period? (p. 364)
5. What were the causes and consequences of military rule in Japan? (p. 366)

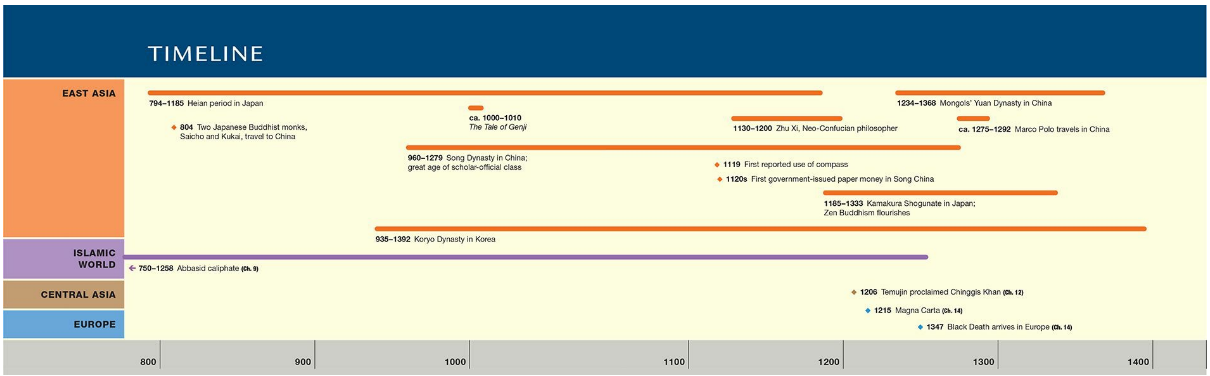
Make Comparisons and Connections

Analyze the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters.

1. What elements in women's lives in Song China were similar to those in other parts of the world? What elements were more distinctive?
2. How did the impact of Mongol rule on China compare to its impact on

Muslim lands (Chapter 9)?

3. How did being an island country affect Japan’s history? What other island countries make good comparisons?
4. Did the countries of East Asia have more in common at the end of the Mongol period than they did in the seventh or eighth century (Chapter 7)?



Suggested Resources

Books

Bowring, Richard. *The Religious Traditions of Japan, 500 – 1600*. 2005. A wide-ranging study that puts Buddhism in the context of local cults.

Chaffee, John W. *The Thorny Gates of Learning in Sung China: A Social History of Examinations*. 1985. Documents the extensive impact of the examination system and the ways men could improve their chances.

Ebrey, Patricia Buckley. *The Inner Quarters: Marriage and the Lives of Chinese Women in the Sung Period*. 1993. Overview of the many facets of women’s lives, from engagements to dowries, child rearing, and widowhood.

Egan, Ronald. *Word, Image, and Deed in the Life of Su Shi*. 1994. A sympathetic portrait of one of the most talented men of the age.

Farris, Wayne W. *Heavenly Warriors*. 1992. Argues against Western analogies in explaining the dominance of the samurai.

Friday, Karl F. *Hired Swords*. 1992. Treats the evolution of state military development in connection with the emergence of the samurai.

Hansen, Valerie. *Changing the Gods in Medieval China, 1127 – 1276*. 1990. A portrait of the religious beliefs and practices of ordinary people in Song times.

Hansen, Valerie. *The Silk Road: A New History*. 2012. Readers are given a tour of the Silk Road, city by city.

Ko, Dorothy, JaHyun Kim Haboush, and Joan R. Piggott, eds. *Women and Confucian Cultures in Premodern China, Korea, and Japan*. 2003. Addresses both the elements that the East Asian countries shared and the ways they diverged.

Kuhn, Dieter. *The Age of Confucian Rule: The Song Transformation of China*. 2009. An accessible overview that is especially strong on economic history and material culture.

Lorge, Peter. *War, Politics and Society in Early Modern China, 900 – 1795*. 2009. Examines dynasties as military powers.

Morris, Ivan. *The World of the Shining Prince: Court Life in Ancient Japan*. 1964. An engaging portrait of Heian culture based on both fiction and nonfiction sources.

Seth, Michael J. *A Concise History of Korea*. 2006. Readable and engaging overview of Korean history.

Souyri, Pierre François. *The World Turned Upside Down: Medieval Japanese Society*. 2001. A thought-provoking analysis of both the social system and the mentalities of Japan’s Middle Ages.

Documentaries

China’s Age of Invention (PBS, 2000). This *Nova* special draws attention to the many inventions during Song times, including printing and gunpowder.

Samurai Warrior (National Geographic, 2015). This documentary examines a mass grave, probably dating to 1333, whose discovery allowed archaeologists to study the ways samurai fought. It includes many dramatic reimaginations of battles.

Feature Films

The Men Who Tread on the Tiger’s Tail (Akira Kurosawa, 1945). An early film directed by the renowned director Akira Kurosawa, based on traditional stories of the struggle between the Taira and Minamoto clans and the falling-out of the Minamoto brothers.

Musa (*The Warrior*) (Sung-su Kim, 2001). In this historical drama set in 1375, Korean soldiers, escorting an envoy, end up fighting Mongol soldiers. A big production, successful at the box office.

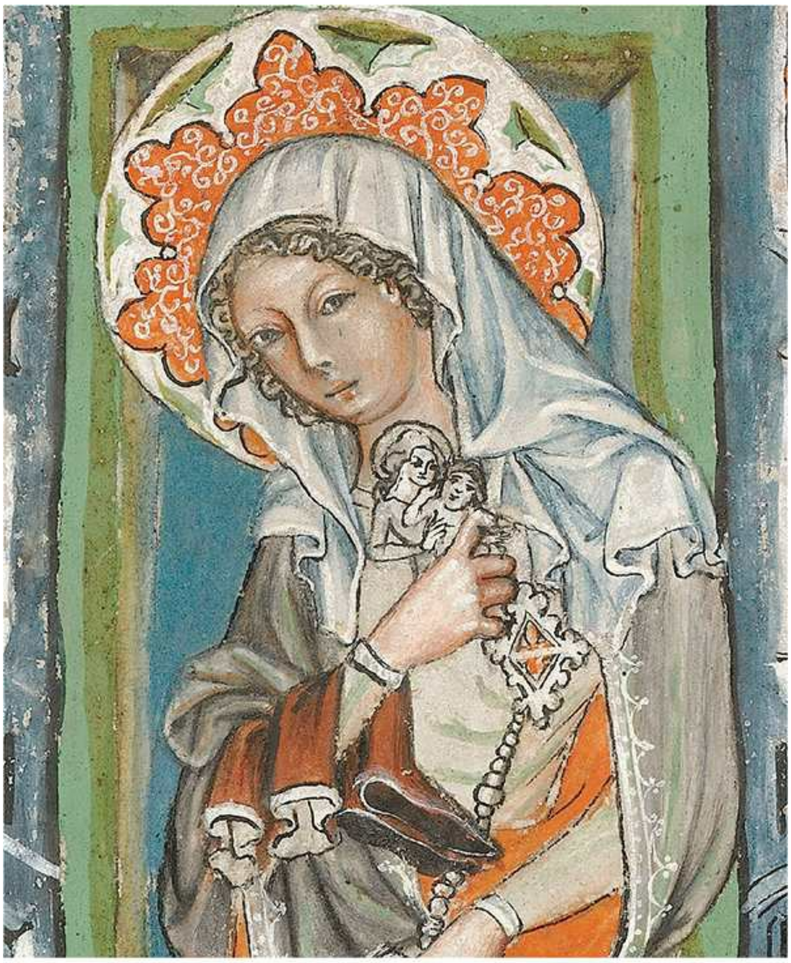
Websites

The Song Dynasty in China. This interactive site devoted to the Song Dynasty covers economic growth, trade, technology, cities, and other topics. **afe.easia.columbia.edu/song/index.html**

14

Europe and Western Asia in the Middle Ages

800–1450



Court workshop of Duke Ludwig I of Liegnitz and Brieg, 1364–1398. Tempera colors, colored washes and ink on parchment/Liszt Collection/Quint & Lox akg-images

Hedwig of Silesia

Noblewomen in medieval Europe played a wide variety of roles. Hedwig of Silesia (a territory now located mostly in Poland) conducted diplomatic

negotiations, ruled her husband's territory when he was away, founded monasteries, and worked to expand Christianity in eastern Europe.

By the fifteenth century scholars in the growing cities of northern Italy had begun to think that they were living in a new era, one in which the glories of ancient Greece and Rome were being reborn. What separated their time from classical antiquity, in their opinion, was a long period of darkness and barbarism, to which a seventeenth-century professor gave the name "Middle Ages." In this conceptualization, the history of Europe was divided into three periods — ancient, medieval, and modern — an organization that is still in use today. Later, the history of other parts of the world was sometimes fit into this three-period schema as well, with discussions of the "classical" period in Maya history, of "medieval" India and China, and of "modern" everywhere.

Today historians often question whether labels of past time periods for one culture work on a global scale, and some scholars are uncertain about whether "Middle Ages" is a just term even for European history. They assert that the Middle Ages was not simply a period of stagnation between two high points but rather a time of enormous intellectual energy and creative vitality. While agrarian life continued to dominate Europe, political structures that would influence later European history began to form, and Christianity continued to spread. People at the time did not know that they were living in an era that would later be labeled "middle" or sometimes even "dark," and we can wonder whether they would have shared this negative view of their own times.

CHAPTER PREVIEW

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS
How did medieval rulers restore order and centralize political power?

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH
How did the Christian Church enhance its power and create new institutions and religious practices?

THE CRUSADES
What were the causes, course, and consequences of the Crusades?

THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE
How did the lives of common people, nobles, and townspeople differ, and what new commercial developments increased wealth?

LEARNING AND CULTURE

What were the primary educational and cultural developments in medieval Europe?

CRISES OF THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

Why have the later Middle Ages been seen as a time of calamity and crisis?

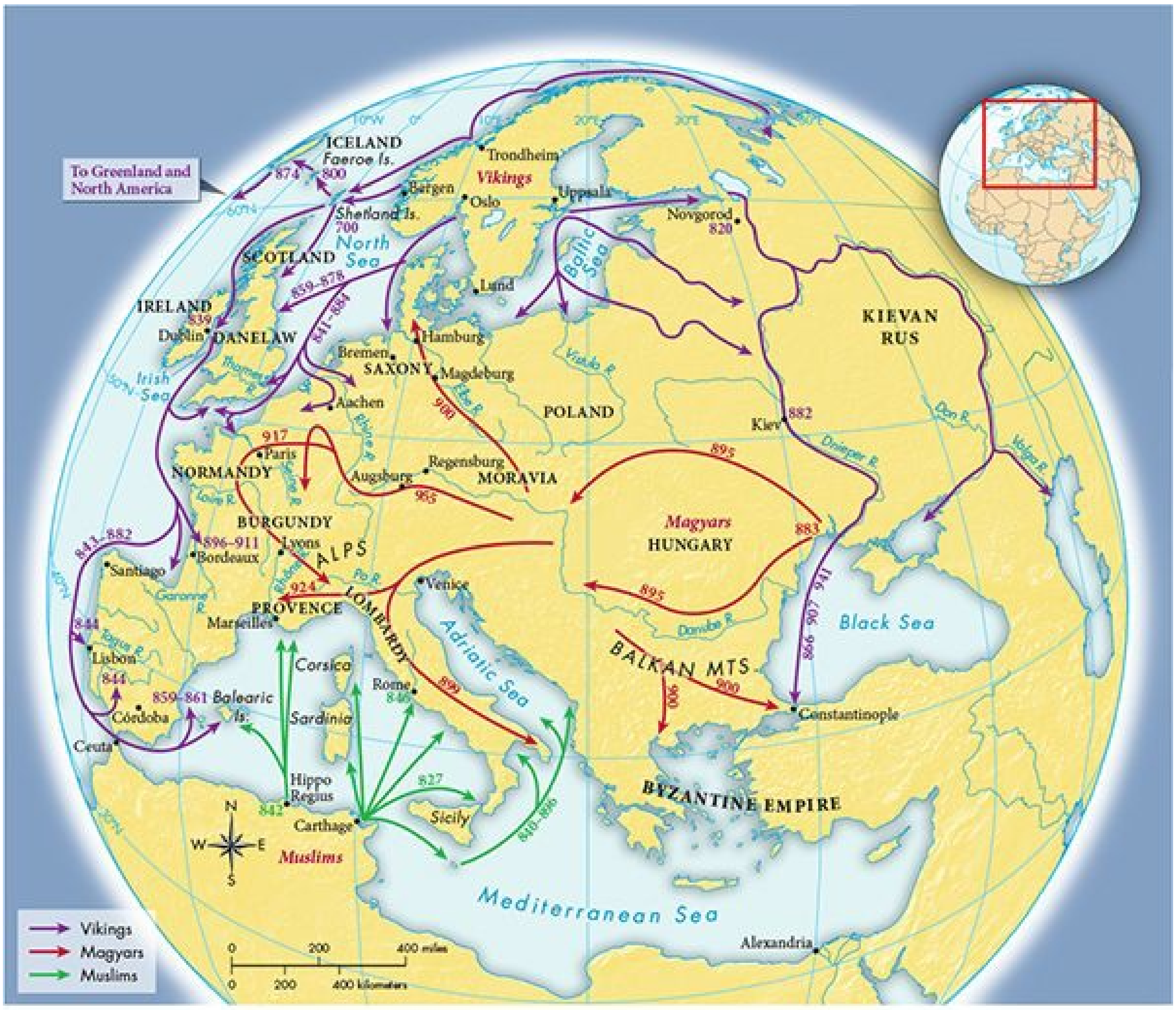
Political Developments

How did medieval rulers restore order and centralize political power?

In 800 Charlemagne, the most powerful of the Carolingians, was crowned Holy Roman emperor. After his death his empire was divided among his grandsons, and their kingdoms were weakened by nobles vying for power. In addition, beginning around 800 western Europe was invaded by several different groups. Local nobles were the strongest power, and common people turned to them for protection. By the eleventh century, however, rulers in some parts of Europe had reasserted authority and were slowly building centralized states.

Invasions and Migrations

The Vikings were pagan Germanic peoples from Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. They began to make overseas expeditions, which they themselves called *vikings*, and the word came to be used for people who went on such voyages as well. Viking voyages and attacks began around 800, and by the mid-tenth century the Vikings had brought large sections of continental Europe and Britain under their sway. In the east they sailed the rivers of Russia as far as the Black Sea. In the west they established permanent settlements in Iceland and short-lived ones in Greenland and Newfoundland in Canada (Map 14.1).


To Greenland and North America
ICELAND
Faeroe Is.
874
800
Trondheim
Vikings
Bergen
Oslo
Uppsala
Shetland Is.
700
North Sea
Novgorod
820
SCOTLAND
859–878
841–886
Baltic Sea
Lund
IRELAND
839
Dublin
DANELAW
Hamburg
Bremen
SAXONY
Magdeburg
Irish Sea
Thames R.
Aachen
Rhine R.
Elbe R.
Vistula R.
908
POLAND
KIEVAN RUS
Kiev
882
Don R.
Dnieper R.
Volga R.
917
Paris
Seine R.
NORMANDY
Loire R.
Augsburg
Regensburg
MORAVIA
955
895
BURGUNDY
Lyons
ALPS
Magyars
HUNGARY
883
841–882
896–911
Bordeaux
Santiago
Garonne R.
Rhone R.
Po R.
924
Venice
PROVENCE
Marseilles
LOMBARDY
895
Danube R.
Adriatic Sea
Black Sea
941
907
866
844
Tagus R.
Lisbon
844
859–861
Balearic Is.
Córdoba
Ceuta
Corsica
Sardinia
Rome
846
899
BALKAN MTS
900
900
Constantinople
Hippo Regius
842
Carthage
827
Sicily
840–896
Muslims
BYZANTINE EMPIRE
N
W
E
S
Mediterranean Sea
Alexandria
Vikings
Magyars
Muslims
0
200
400 miles
0
200
400 kilometers
10°W
0°
10°E
20°E
30°E
40°E
60°N
50°N
40°N
30°N

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Mapping the Past

MAP 14.1 Invasions and Migrations of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries This map shows the Viking, Magyar, and Muslim invasions and migrations in the ninth and tenth centuries. Compare it with Map 8.2 on the barbarian migrations of late antiquity to answer the following questions.

ANALYZING THE MAP What similarities do you see in the patterns of migration in these two periods? What significant differences?

CONNECTIONS How did the Vikings' expertise in shipbuilding and sailing make their migrations different from those of earlier Germanic tribes? How did this set them apart from the Magyar and Muslim invaders of the ninth century?

Against Viking ships navigated by experienced and fearless sailors, the Carolingian Empire, with no navy, was helpless. At first the Vikings attacked and sailed off laden with booty. Later, on returning, they settled down and colonized the areas they had conquered, often marrying local women and adopting the local languages and some of the customs.

Along with the Vikings, groups of central European steppe peoples known as Magyars (MAG-yahrz) also raided villages in the late ninth century. Moving westward, small bands of Magyars on horseback reached far into Europe. They subdued northern Italy, compelled Bavaria and Saxony to pay tribute, and penetrated into the Rhineland and Burgundy. Western Europeans thought of them as returning Huns, so the Magyars came to be known as Hungarians.

From North Africa, the Muslims also began new encroachments in the ninth century. They already ruled most of Spain and now conquered Sicily, driving northward into central Italy and the south coast of France.

From the perspective of those living in what had been Charlemagne's empire, Viking, Magyar, and Muslim attacks contributed to increasing disorder and violence. Italian, French, and English sources often describe this period as one of terror and chaos. People in other parts of Europe might have had a different opinion. In Muslim Spain and Sicily scholars worked in thriving cities, and new crops such as cotton and sugar enhanced ordinary people's lives. In eastern Europe the Magyars settled in an area that is now Hungary, becoming a strong kingdom. A Viking point of view might be the most positive, for by 1100 descendants of the Vikings not only ruled their homelands in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark but also ruled northern France (a province known as Normandy, or land of the Northmen), England, Sicily, Iceland, and Russia, with an outpost in Greenland and occasional voyages to North America.

"Feudalism" and Manorialism

The large-scale division of Charlemagne's empire into three parts in the ninth century led to a decentralization of power at the local level in western and central Europe. Civil wars weakened the power and prestige of kings, who could do little about regional violence. Likewise, the invasions of the ninth century, especially those of the Vikings, weakened royal authority. The Frankish kings were unable to halt the invaders, and the local aristocracy had to assume responsibility for defense. Thus, in the ninth and tenth centuries, aristocratic families increased their authority in their local territories, and distant and weak kings could not interfere. Common people turned for protection to the strongest power, the local nobles.

The most powerful nobles were those who gained warriors' allegiance, often symbolized in an oath-swearing ceremony of homage and fealty that grew out of earlier Germanic oaths of loyalty. In this ceremony a warrior (knight) swore his loyalty as a **vassal** to the more powerful individual, who became his lord. In return for the vassal's loyalty, aid, and military assistance, the lord promised him protection and material support. This support might be a place in the lord's household but was more likely land of the vassal's own, called a **fief** (*feudum* in Latin). The fief, which might contain forests, churches, and towns, technically still belonged to the lord, and the vassal had only the use of it. Earlier legal scholars and historians identified these personal ties of loyalty cemented by grants of land as a political and social system they termed **feudalism**. More recently, increasing numbers of medieval historians have found the idea of "feudalism" problematic, because the word was a later invention and the system was so varied and changed over time. They still point to the personal relationship between lords and vassals as the key way that political authority was organized and note that the church also received and granted land. In the Byzantine Empire as well, nobles, monasteries, and church officials held the most land.

vassal A knight who has sworn loyalty to a particular lord.

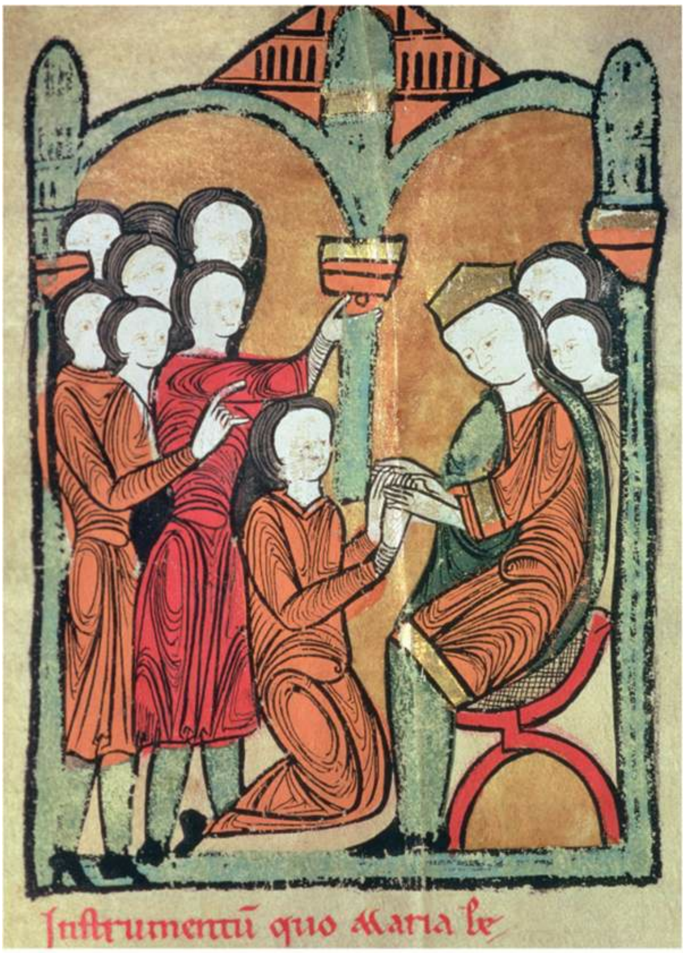
fief A portion of land, the use of which was given by a lord to a vassal in exchange for the latter's oath of loyalty.

feudalism A medieval European political system that defines the military obligations and relations between a lord and his vassals and involves the granting of fiefs.

Peasants living on a fief produced the food and other goods necessary to maintain the nobles and churchmen, under a system of **manorialism**, in which they exchanged their work for the lord's protection. They received land to farm, but were tied to the land by various payments and services. Most significantly, a peasant lost his or her freedom and became a **serf**, part of the lord's permanent labor force. Unlike slaves, serfs were personally free, but they were bound to the land and unable to leave it without the lord's permission.

manorialism The economic system that governed rural life in medieval Europe, in which the landed estates of a lord were worked by the peasants under the lord's jurisdiction in exchange for his protection.

serf A peasant who lost his or her freedom and became permanently bound to the landed estate of a lord.



Archivio de la Corona de Aragon, Barcelona, Spain/Mithra-Index/Bridgeman Images

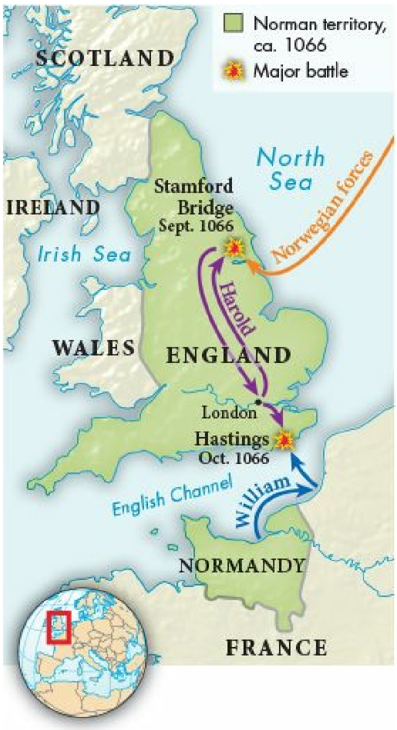
The Countess of Bearn Swears Homage to King Alfonso II of Aragon In this illustration from a late-twelfth-century manuscript, the Countess of Bearn, the ruler of a territory in the Pyrenees, swears homage to King Alfonso II of Aragon, the king of one of the Christian kingdoms in the Iberian Peninsula. Noblewomen sometimes inherited fiefs from their fathers if there were no sons, and were required to swear loyalty and provide troops.

By around 1000 the majority of western Europeans were serfs. In eastern Europe the transition was slower but longer lasting. Western European peasants began to escape from serfdom in the later Middle Ages, at the very point that serfs were more firmly tied to the land in eastern Europe, especially in eastern Germany, Poland, and Russia.

The Restoration of Order

The eleventh century witnessed the beginnings of political stability in much of Europe. Foreign invasions gradually declined, and in some parts of Europe lords in control of large territories built up their power even further, becoming kings over growing and slowly centralizing states. In a process similar to that occurring at the same time in the West African kingdom of Ghana (see “African Kingdoms and Empires” in Chapter 10), rulers expanded their territories and extended their authority by developing larger bureaucracies, armies, judicial systems, and other institutions to maintain control, as well as taxation systems to pay for them. These new institutions and practices laid the foundations for modern national states. Political developments in England, France, Germany, and Hungary provide good examples of the beginnings of the national state in the central Middle Ages.

The Viking Canute (kah-NOOT) (r. 1016–1035) made England the center of his empire, while promoting a policy of assimilation and reconciliation between Anglo-Saxons and Vikings. At the same time, England was divided into local shires, or counties, each under the jurisdiction of a sheriff appointed by the king. When Canute’s heir Edward died childless, there were three claimants to the throne. One of these, Duke William of Normandy, crossed the channel and won the English throne by defeating and killing his Anglo-Saxon rival, Harold II, at the Battle of Hastings in 1066. Later dubbed “the Conqueror,” William (r. 1066–1087) limited the power of the nobles and church officials and built a unified monarchy. He retained the Anglo-Saxon institution of sheriff, but named Normans to the posts.


🟩 Norman territory, ca. 1066
Major battle
SCOTLAND
North Sea
Norwegian forces
IRELAND
Stamford Bridge
Sept. 1066
Irish Sea
Harold
WALES
ENGLAND
London
Hastings
Oct. 1066
English Channel
William
NORMANDY
FRANCE

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin’s

The Norman Conquest, 1066

In 1128 William’s granddaughter Matilda married a powerful French noble, Geoffrey of Anjou. Their son, who became Henry II of England, inherited provinces in northwestern France from his father. When Henry married the great heiress Eleanor of Aquitaine in 1152, he claimed lordship over Aquitaine and other provinces in southwestern France as well. The histories of England and France were thus closely intertwined in the Middle Ages.

In the early twelfth century France consisted of a number of nearly independent provinces, each governed by its local ruler. The work of unifying and enlarging France began under Philip II (r. 1180–1223), also known as Philip Augustus. By the end of his reign Philip was effectively master of northern France, and by 1300 most of the provinces of modern France had been added to the royal domain.

In central Europe the German king Otto I (r. 936–973) defeated many other lords to build up his power, based on an alliance with and control of the church. Under Otto I and his successors, a loose confederation stretching from the North Sea to the Mediterranean developed. In this confederation, later called the Holy Roman Empire, the emperor shared power with princes, dukes, counts, city officials, archbishops, and bishops. Frederick Barbarossa (r. 1152–1190) of the house of Hohenstaufen (HOH-en-shtow-fen) tried valiantly to make the Holy Roman Empire a united state. When he tried to enforce his authority over the cities of northern Italy, however, they formed a league against him in alliance with the pope and defeated him. Germany did not become a unified state.

In eastern Europe, the Hungarians formed a tribal federation and then under Stephen I (r. 1000–1038) created a more centralized kingdom. Stephen became a devout Christian, defeated pagan rivals militarily, and received his crown from the pope as a symbol of their alliance. He further consolidated his power through war, diplomacy, and strategic marriages, and set up an administrative system based on counties. In the middle of the thirteenth century Hungary was invaded by the Mongols (see “Chinggis Khan and the Mongol Empire” in Chapter 12), which led the kings to construct stone castles to defend against further attacks and develop new military tactics.

Law and Justice

Throughout Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the law was a hodgepodge of customs, feudal rights, and provincial practices. Rulers wanted to blend these elements into a uniform system of rules acceptable and applicable to all their peoples, though their success in doing so varied.

The French king Louis IX (r. 1226–1270) was famous for his concern for justice. Each French province, even after being made part of the kingdom of France, retained its unique laws and procedures. But Louis IX created a royal judicial system, establishing the Parlement of Paris, a kind of supreme court that heard appeals from lower courts.

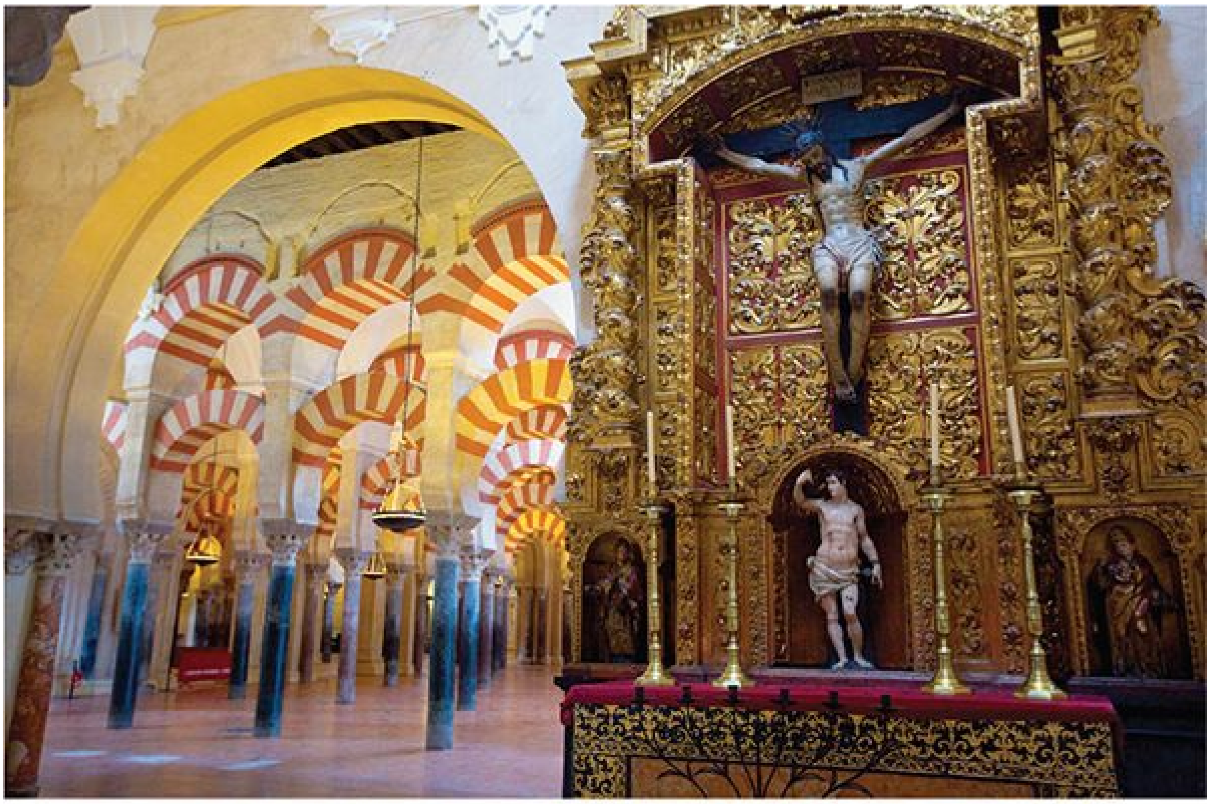
Under Henry II (r. 1154–1189), England developed and extended a common law — a law common to and accepted by the entire country — which was unique in medieval Europe. Henry's son John (r. 1199–1216), however, met with serious disappointment after taking the throne. A combination of royal debt, increased taxation, and military failures fed popular discontent. A rebellion begun by northern barons grew, and in 1215 the barons forced him to attach his seal to the Magna Carta — the "Great Charter," which became the cornerstone of English justice and law. The Magna Carta was simply meant to assert traditional rights enjoyed by nobles, but in time it came to signify the broader principle that everyone, including the king and the government, must obey the law. In 1222 King Andrew II of Hungary was similarly forced by his nobles to agree to the "Golden Bull," affirming their freedom from taxation and right to disobey him if they thought he was acting against the law.

Statements of legal principles such as the Magna Carta or the Golden Bull were not how most people experienced the law in medieval Europe. Instead they were involved in actual cases. Judges determined guilt or innocence in a number of ways. In some cases, they ordered a trial by ordeal, in which the accused might be tied hand and foot and dropped in a lake or river. People believed that water was a pure substance and would reject anything foul or unclean. Thus a person who sank was considered innocent, while a person who floated was found guilty. Trials by ordeal were relatively rare, and courts increasingly favored more rational procedures, in which judges heard testimony, sought witnesses, and read written evidence if it was available. Violent crimes were often punished by public execution. Executioners were feared figures, but they were also well-paid public officials and were a necessary part of the legal structure.

The Christian Church

How did the Christian Church enhance its power and create new institutions and religious practices?

Kings and emperors were not the only rulers consolidating their power in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; the papacy did as well, although the popes' efforts were sometimes challenged by medieval kings and emperors. Despite such challenges, monasteries continued to be important places for learning and devotion, and new religious orders were founded. Christianity expanded into Europe's northern and eastern regions, and Christian rulers expanded their holdings in Muslim Spain.



© dbimages/Alamy

Córdoba Mosque and Cathedral The huge arches of the Great Mosque at Córdoba dwarf the cathedral built in its center after the city was conquered by Christian armies in 1236. During the reconquista (see "The Expansion of Western and Eastern Christianity"), Christian kings often transformed mosques into churches, often by simply adding Christian elements such as crosses and altars to existing structures.

Papal Reforms

During the ninth and tenth centuries the Western Christian (Roman) Church came under the control of kings and feudal lords, who chose church officials in their territories, granting them fiefs that provided an income and expecting loyalty and service in return. Church offices were sometimes sold outright — a practice called *simony* (SIGH-moh-nee). Although the Western Church encouraged clerical celibacy, many priests were married or living with women. Wealthy families from the city of Rome often chose popes from among their members; thus popes paid more attention to their families' political fortunes or their own pleasures than to the church's institutional or spiritual health. Not surprisingly, clergy at all levels who had bought their positions or had been granted them for political reasons provided little spiritual guidance and were rarely models of high moral standards.

Beginning in the eleventh century a series of popes began to assert their power and also reformed the church. In 1054 the pope sent a delegation to the patriarch of Constantinople demanding that he recognize the pope as the head of the entire Christian Church. The patriarch refused, each side declared the other heretics, and the outcome was a schism between the Roman Catholic and the Orthodox Churches that deepened over the centuries and continues today.

Many popes believed that secular or lay control over the church was largely responsible for the lack of moral leadership, so they proclaimed the church independent from secular rulers. The Lateran Council of 1059 decreed that the authority and power to elect the pope rested solely in the college of cardinals, a special group of priests from the major churches in and around Rome.

Pope Gregory VII (pontificate 1073–1085) vigorously championed reform and the expansion of papal power. He ordered all priests to give up their wives and children or face dismissal, invalidated the ordination of church officials who had purchased their offices, and placed nuns under firmer control of male authorities. He believed that the pope was the vicar of God on earth and that papal orders were the orders of God. He emphasized the political authority of the papacy, ordering that any church official selected or appointed by a layperson should be deposed, and any layperson who appointed a church official should be excommunicated — cut off from the sacraments and the Christian community. European rulers protested this restriction of their power, and the strongest reaction came from Henry IV, the ruler of Germany who later became the Holy Roman emperor. The pope and the emperor used threats and diplomacy against each other, and neither was the clear victor.

Monastic Life

Although they were in theory cut off from the world (see "Christian

Monasticism" in Chapter 8), monasteries and convents were deeply affected by issues of money, rank, and power. During the ninth and tenth centuries many monasteries fell under the control and domination of local feudal lords. Powerful laymen appointed themselves or their relatives as abbots, took the lands and goods of monasteries, and spent monastic revenues.

Medieval monasteries also provided noble boys with education and opportunities for ecclesiastical careers. Although a few men who rose in the ranks of church officials were of humble origins, most were from high-status families. Social class also defined the kinds of religious life open to women. Kings and nobles usually established convents for their female relatives and other elite women, and the position of abbess, or head of a convent, became the most powerful position a woman could hold in medieval society. (See "Individuals in Society: Hildegard of Bingen," page 383.)

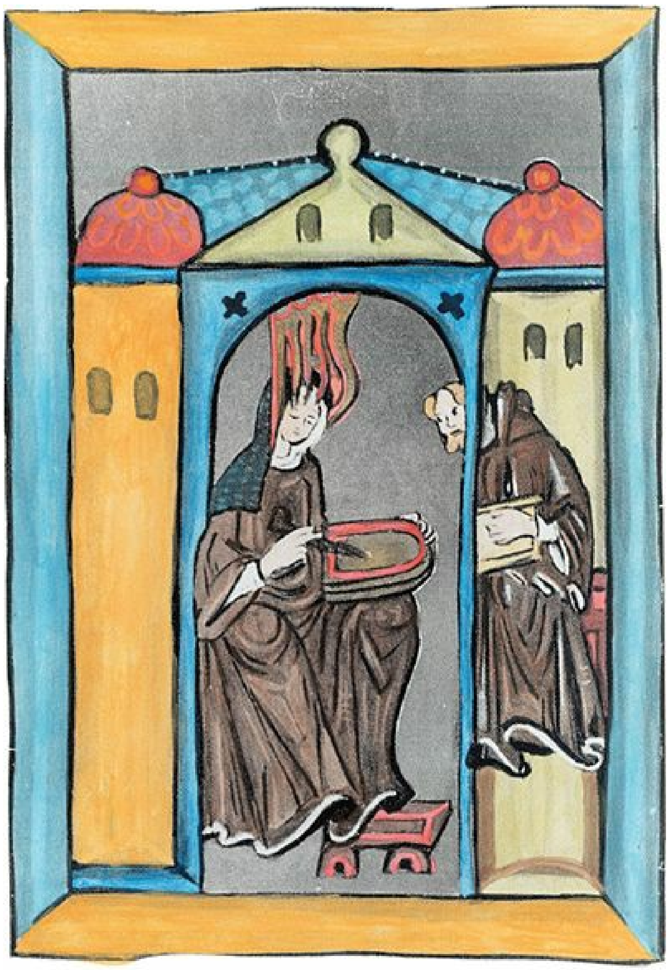
Routines within individual monasteries varied widely from house to house and from region to region. In every monastery, however, daily life centered on the liturgy or Divine Office, psalms, and other prayers, which monks and nuns said seven times a day and once during the night. Praying was looked on as a vital service. Prayers were said for peace, rain, good harvests, the civil authorities, the monks' and nuns' families, and their benefactors. Monastic patrons in turn lavished gifts on the monasteries, which often became very wealthy, controlling large tracts of land and the peasants who farmed them. The combination of lay control and wealth created problems for monasteries as monks and nuns concentrated on worldly issues and spiritual observance and intellectual activity declined.

In the thirteenth century the growth of cities provided a new challenge for the church. Many urban people thought that the church did not meet their spiritual needs. They turned instead to **heresy** — that is, to an idea, belief, or action that ran counter to doctrines that church leaders defined as correct. Various beliefs judged to be heresies had emerged in Christianity since its earliest centuries, and heretics were subject to punishment. In this period, heresies often called on the church to give up its wealth and power. Combating heresy became a principal task of new religious orders, most prominently the Dominicans and Franciscans, who preached and ministered to city dwellers; the Dominicans also staffed the papal Inquisition, a special court designed to root out heresy.

heresy An idea, belief, or action counter to doctrines that church leaders defined as correct; heretics could be punished by the church.

INDIVIDUALS IN SOCIETY

Hildegard of Bingen



Private Collection/Bridgeman Images

Inspired by heavenly fire, Hildegard begins to dictate her visions to her scribe. The original of this elaborately illustrated copy of *Scivias* disappeared from Hildegard's convent during World War II, but fortunately a facsimile had already been made.

THE TENTH CHILD OF A LESSER NOBLE FAMILY, HILDEGARD (1098–1179) was turned over to the care of an abbey in the Rhineland when she was eight years old. There she learned Latin and received a good education. She spent most of her life in various women's religious communities, two of which she founded herself. When she was a child, she began having mystical visions, often of light in the sky, but told few people about them. In middle age, however, her visions became more dramatic: "And it came to pass … when I was 42 years and 7 months old, that the heavens were opened and a blinding light of exceptional brilliance flowed through my entire brain. And so it kindled my whole heart and breast like a flame, not burning but warming … and suddenly I understood of the meaning of expositions of the books."* She wanted the church to approve of her visions and wrote first to Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, who answered her briefly and dismissively, and then to Pope Eugenius, who encouraged her to write them down. Her first work was *Scivias* (Know the Ways of the Lord), a record of her mystical visions that incorporates extensive theological learning.

Obviously possessed of leadership and administrative talents, Hildegard left her abbey in 1147 to found the convent of Rupertsberg near Bingen. There she produced *Physica* (On the Physical Elements) and *Causa et Curae* (Causes and Cures), scientific works on the curative properties of natural elements; poems; a religious play; and several more works of mysticism. She carried on a huge correspondence with scholars, prelates, and ordinary people. When she was over fifty, she left her community to preach to audiences of clergy and laity, and she was the only woman of her time whose opinions on religious matters were considered authoritative by the church.

Hildegard's visions have been explored by theologians and also by neurologists, who judge that they may have originated in migraine headaches, as she reports many of the same phenomena that migraine sufferers do: auras of light around objects, areas of blindness, feelings of intense doubt and intense euphoria. The interpretations that she develops come from her theological insight and learning, however, not from her illness. That same insight also emerges in her music, which is what she is best known for today. Eighty of her compositions survive — a huge number for a medieval composer — most of them written to be sung by the nuns in her convent, so they have strong lines for female voices. Many of her songs and chants have been recorded recently by various artists and are available on compact disk, as downloads, and on several websites.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Why do you think Hildegard might have kept her visions secret at first? Why do you think she eventually sought church approval for them?
2. In what ways were Hildegard's accomplishments extraordinary given women's general status in the Middle Ages?

---

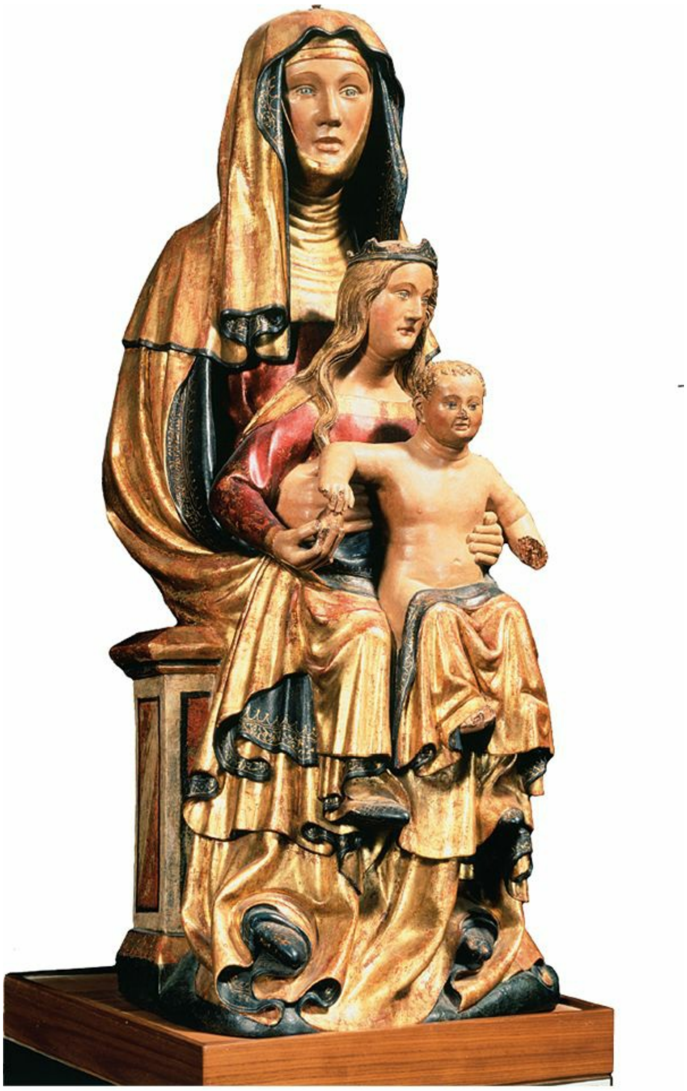
*From *Scivias*, trans. Mother Columba Hart and Jane Bishop, *The Classics of Western Spirituality* (New York/Mahwah: Paulist Press, 1990).

Popular Religion

Religious practices varied widely from country to country and even from province to province. But everywhere, religion permeated everyday life.

For Christians, the village church was the center of community life, with the parish priest in charge of a host of activities. People gathered at the church for services on Sundays and holy days, breaking the painful routine of work. The feasts that accompanied celebrations were commonly held in the churchyard. In everyday life people engaged in rituals and used language heavy with religious symbolism. Everyone participated in village processions to honor the saints and ask their protection. The entire calendar was designed with reference to Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, events in the life of Jesus and his disciples.

The Christian calendar was also filled with saints' days. Veneration of the saints had been an important tool of Christian conversion since late antiquity (see "Christian Missionaries and Conversion" in Chapter 8), and the cult of the saints was a central feature of popular culture in the Middle Ages. People believed that the saints possessed supernatural powers that enabled them to perform miracles, and each saint became the special property of the locality in which his or her relics — remains or possessions — rested. In return for the saint's healing powers and support, peasants would offer prayers, loyalty, and gifts. The Virgin Mary, Christ's mother, became the most important saint, with churches built and special hymns, prayers, and ceremonies created in her honor.



Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence, Italy/Scala/Art Resource, NY

Statue of Saint Anne, the Virgin Mary, and the Christ Child Nearly every church had at least one image of the Virgin Mary, the most important figure of Christian devotion in medieval Europe. In this thirteenth-century wooden sculpture, she is shown holding the infant Jesus and is herself sitting on the lap of her mother, Anne. Statues such as this reinforced people's sense that the heavenly family was much like theirs, with grandparents who sometimes played important roles.

Most people in medieval Europe were Christian, but there were small Jewish communities scattered through many parts of Europe, as well as Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula, Sicily, other Mediterranean islands, and southeastern Europe. Increasing suspicion and hostility marked relations among believers in different religions throughout the Middle Ages, but there were also important similarities in the ways that each group understood and experienced their faiths. In all three traditions, every major life transition was marked by a ceremony that involved religious officials or spiritual elements. In all three faiths, death was marked by religious rituals, and the living had obligations to the dead, including prayers and special mourning periods.

The Expansion of Western and Eastern Christianity

The eleventh and twelfth centuries saw an expansion of Christianity into Scandinavia, the Baltic lands, eastern Europe, and Spain through wars, the establishment of new bishoprics, and the migration of Christian colonists. More and more Europeans began to think of themselves as belonging to a realm of Christianity that was political as well as religious, a realm they called Christendom.

Christian influences entered Scandinavia and the Baltic lands primarily through the creation of dioceses (church districts headed by bishops). This took place in Denmark and Norway in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and then in Sweden and Finland. In all of these areas, Christian missionaries preached, baptized, and built churches. Royal power advanced institutional Christianity, and traditional Norse religions practiced by the Vikings were outlawed. In central and eastern Europe the German emperor Otto I (see “The Restoration of Order”) planted a string of dioceses along his northern and eastern frontiers, hoping to pacify the newly conquered Slavs. German nobles built castles, ruthlessly crushed revolts by Slavic peoples, and encouraged German-speaking settlers to move east.

The expansion of Christianity in much of eastern Europe was organized by the Eastern Orthodox Church. King Rastislav of Moravia (r. 846–870) — now part of the Czech Republic — first sent envoys to Rome, but when the pope refused to send missionaries, he turned to the Byzantine emperor Michael III (r. 842–867), who sent the brothers Cyril (826–869) and Methodius (815–885). They invented a Slavic alphabet using Greek characters, later called the Cyrillic alphabet, and translated the Bible into Old Church Slavonic, the first Slavic literary language. Slightly later the rulers of Bulgaria weighed the benefits of Roman and Eastern Christianity, and decided for Eastern Christianity when the Byzantine patriarch agreed the Bulgarian Church could be independent and use Bulgarian as its official language.

In the tenth century other missionaries spread Christianity, the Cyrillic alphabet, and Byzantine art and architecture to what is now Russia. Vladimir I (r. 980–1015), the ruler of the largest state in the area, Kievan Rus, converted to Orthodox Christianity, in part to marry the daughter of the Byzantine emperor. He ordered a mass baptism for the residents of

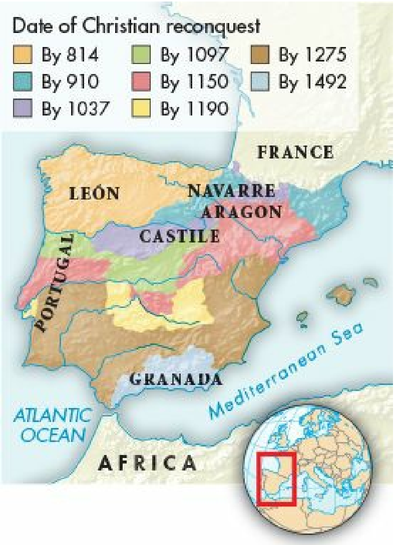
Kiev in a local river, just as western European kings had for their subjects several centuries earlier (see “Christian Missionaries and Conversion” in Chapter 8).

The Iberian Peninsula was another area of Christian expansion. In about 950 Caliph Abd al-Rahman III (912–961) of the Umayyad Dynasty of Córdoba ruled most of the peninsula. Christian Spain consisted of a number of small kingdoms. In the eleventh century divisions and civil wars in the caliphate of Córdoba allowed Christian armies to conquer an increasingly large part of the Iberian Peninsula. By 1248 Christians held all of the peninsula save for the small state of Granada in the south.

Fourteenth-century clerical writers would call the movement to expel the Muslims the **reconquista** (ray-kon-KEES-tah) (reconquest) — a sacred and patriotic crusade to wrest the country from “alien” Muslim hands. This religious idea became part of Spanish political culture and of the national psychology. Rulers of the Christian kingdoms of Spain increasingly passed legislation discriminating against Muslims and Jews living under Christian rule, and they attempted to exclude anyone from the nobility who could not prove “purity of blood” — that is, that they had no Muslim or Jewish ancestors.

reconquista A fourteenth-century term used to describe the long Christian crusade to wrest Spain back from the Muslims; clerics believed it was a sacred and patriotic mission.

Spain was not the only place in Europe where “blood” became a way of understanding differences among people and a basis for discriminatory laws. When Germans moved into eastern Europe and English forces took over much of Ireland, they increasingly barred local people from access to legal courts and denied them positions in monasteries or craft guilds. They banned intermarriage between ethnic groups in an attempt to maintain ethnic purity, even though everyone was Christian.


Date of Christian reconquest
By 814
By 1097
By 1275
By 910
By 1150
By 1492
By 1037
By 1190
FRANCE
LEÓN
NAVARRE
ARAGON
CASTILE
PORTUGAL
GRANADA
Mediterranean Sea
ATLANTIC OCEAN
AFRICA

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

The Reconquista, ca. 750–1492

The Crusades

What were the causes, course, and consequences of the Crusades?

The expansion of Christianity in the Middle Ages was not limited to Europe but extended to the eastern Mediterranean in what were later termed the **Crusades**. Occurring from the late eleventh to the late thirteenth century, the Crusades were wars sponsored by the papacy to recover the holy city of Jerusalem from the Muslims.

Crusades Holy wars sponsored by the papacy for the recovery of the holy city of Jerusalem from the Muslims.

Background and Motives

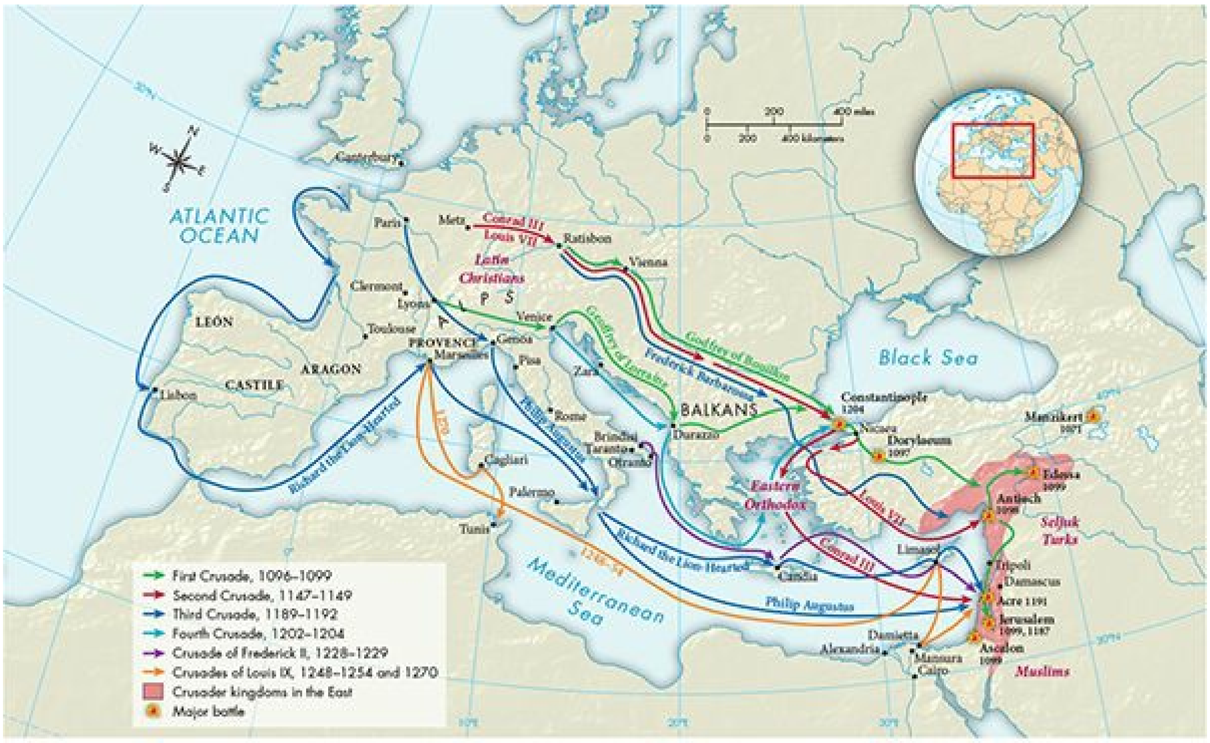
In the eleventh century the papacy had strong reasons for wanting to launch an expedition against Muslims in the East. Such an expedition would strengthen the pope's claim to be the leader of Christian society in the West and would bolster his claims to superiority over the patriarch of the Eastern Orthodox Church (see "The Western Church and the Eastern Church" in Chapter 8).

Popes and other church officials gained support for war in defense of Christianity by promising spiritual benefits to those who joined a campaign or died fighting. Preachers communicated these ideas widely and told stories about warrior-saints who slew hundreds of enemies.

Religious zeal led increasing numbers of people to go on pilgrimages to holy places, including Jerusalem. The Arab Muslims who had ruled Jerusalem and the surrounding territory for centuries generally allowed Christian pilgrims to travel freely, but in the late eleventh century the Seljuk Turks took over Palestine, defeating both Arabic and Byzantine armies and pillaging in Christian and Muslim parts of Asia Minor. They harassed pilgrims and looted churches, and the emperor at Constantinople appealed to the West for support. The emperor's appeal fit well with papal aims, and in 1095 Pope Urban II called for a great Christian holy war. Urban urged Christian knights who had been fighting one another to direct their energies against those he claimed were the true enemies of God, the Muslims.

The Course of the Crusades

Thousands of people of all classes responded to Urban's call, joining what became known as the First Crusade. The First Crusade was successful, mostly because of the dynamic enthusiasm of the participants, who had little more than religious zeal. They knew little of the geography or climate of the Middle East and could never agree on a leader. Adding to these disadvantages, supply lines were never set up, starvation and disease wracked the army, and the Turks slaughtered hundreds of noncombatants. Nevertheless, the army pressed on, besieging and taking several cities, including Antioch. After three years on the road, and a monthlong siege, the Crusaders took Jerusalem in July 1099 (Map 14.2). (See "Thinking Like a Historian: Christian and Muslim Views of the Crusades," page 386.)


ATLANTIC OCEAN
Black Sea
Mediterranean Sea
0 200 400 miles
0 200 400 kilometers
Canterbury
Paris
Metz
Conrad III
Louis VII
Ratisbon
Vienna
Latin Christians
Clermont
Lyons
LEÓN
Toulouse
PROVENCE
Marseilles
Genoa
Venice
Pisa
Zara
ARAGON
CASTILE
Lisbon
Godfrey of Bouillon
Godfrey of Lorraine
Frederick Barbarossa
BALKANS
Rome
Brindisi
Taranto
Otranto
Durazzo
Constantinople 1204
Nicaea
Dorylaeum 1097
Manzikert 1071
Edessa 1099
Antioch 1098
Seljuk Turks
Eastern Orthodox
Louis VII
Conrad III
Richard the Lion-Hearted
Philip Augustus
1270
1248–54
Cagliari
Palermo
Tunis
Candia
Limassol
Tripoli
Damascus
Acre 1191
Jerusalem 1099, 1187
Ascalon 1099
Damietta
Alexandria
Mansura
Cairo
Muslims
First Crusade, 1096–1099
Second Crusade, 1147–1149
Third Crusade, 1189–1192
Fourth Crusade, 1202–1204
Crusade of Frederick II, 1228–1229
Crusades of Louis IX, 1248–1254 and 1270
Crusader kingdoms in the East
Major battle

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 14.2 **The Crusades, 1096–1270** The Crusaders took many different sea and land routes on their way to Jerusalem, often crossing the lands of the Byzantine Empire, which led to conflict with Eastern Christians. The Crusader kingdoms in the East lasted only briefly.

With Jerusalem taken, some Crusaders regarded their mission as accomplished and set off for home. Others stayed, setting up institutions to rule local territories and the Muslim population. Four small "Crusader states" — Jerusalem, Edessa, Tripoli, and Antioch — were established, and castles and fortified towns were built in these states to defend against Muslim reconquest. Reinforcements arrived in the form of pilgrims and fighters from Europe, so that there was constant coming and going by land

and more often by sea after the Crusaders conquered port cities. Most Crusaders were men, but some women came along as well, assisting in the besieging of towns and castles by providing water to fighting men or foraging for food, working as washerwomen, and providing sexual services.

Between 1096 and 1270 the crusading ideal was expressed in eight papally approved expeditions, though none after the First Crusade accomplished very much. The Muslim states in the Middle East were politically fragmented when the Crusaders first came, and it took them about a century to reorganize. They did so dramatically under Saladin (Salah al-Din), who unified Egypt and Syria. In 1187 the Muslims retook Jerusalem, but the Christians held on to port towns, and Saladin allowed pilgrims safe passage to Jerusalem. From that point on, the Crusader states were more important economically than politically or religiously, giving Italian and French merchants direct access to Eastern products.

After the Muslims retook Jerusalem, the crusading movement faced other setbacks. During the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204), Crusaders stopped in Constantinople, and when they were not welcomed, they sacked the city. The Byzantine Empire splintered into three parts and soon consisted of little more than the city of Constantinople. Moreover, the assault of one Christian people on another made the split between the churches permanent and discredited the entire crusading movement in the eyes of many Christians.

In the late thirteenth century Turkish armies, after gradually conquering all other Muslim rulers, turned against the Crusader states. In 1291 the Christians’ last stronghold, the port of Acre, fell. Knights then needed a new battlefield for military actions, which some found in Spain, where the rulers of Aragon and Castile continued fighting Muslims until 1492.

THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN

Christian and Muslim Views of the Crusades

Both Christians and Muslims wrote accounts of the Crusades as they happened, which circulated among those who could read and served as the basis for later histories and visual depictions. How do Christian and Muslim views differ, and how are they similar?

1 **Peter Tudebode on the fall of Antioch, 1098.** Peter Tudebode was a French priest who accompanied the First Crusade and later wrote an account of it.

■ There was a Turkish emir [high-ranking army officer], Firuz, who became very friendly with Bohemond [a Norman noble, one of the leaders of the First Crusade]. Often through mutual messengers Bohemond suggested that Firuz admit him to Antioch; and, in turn, the Norman offered him the Christian religion along with great wealth from many possessions. Firuz, in accepting these provisions, replied: "I pledge freely the delivery of three towers of which I am a custodian."… The knights took to the plain and the footmen to the mountain, and all night they maneuvered and marched until almost daybreak, when they came to the towers which Firuz guarded. Bohemond immediately dismounted and addressed the group: "Go in dare-devil spirit and great *elan*, and mount the ladder into Antioch, which shall soon be in our hands if God so wills." They then went to a ladder, which was raised and lashed to the walls of the city, and almost sixty of our men scaled the ladder and divided their forces in the towers guarded by Firuz.… [W]e crashed down the gate, and poured into Antioch.… At sunup the crusaders who were outside Antioch in their tents, upon hearing piercing shrieks arising from the city, raced out and saw the banner of Bohemond flying high on the hill. Thereupon they rushed forth and each one speedily came to his assigned gate and entered Antioch, killing Turks and Saracens whom they found.… Yaghi Siyan, commander of Antioch, in great fear of the Franks, took to heel along with many of his retainers.… All of the streets of Antioch were choked with corpses so that the stench of rotting bodies was unendurable, and no one could walk the streets without tripping over a cadaver.

2 **Ibn al-Athir on the fall of Antioch, early thirteenth century.** Ali Ibn al-Athir (1160–1223), a Kurdish scholar and historian who lived in Mosul (today's Iraq), wrote a history of the First Crusade that relied on Arab sources.

■ Yaghi Siyan, the ruler of Antioch, showed unparalleled courage and wisdom, strength and judgment. If all the Franks who died had survived they would have overrun all the lands of Islam. He protected the families of the Christians in Antioch and would not allow a hair of their heads to be touched. After the siege had been going on for a long time the Franks made a deal with … an armor-maker called Ruzbih whom they bribed with a fortune in money and lands. He worked in the tower that stood over the riverbed, where the river flowed out of the city into the valley. The Franks sealed their pact with the armor-maker, God damn him! and made their way to the watergate. They opened it and entered the city. Another gang of them climbed the tower with their ropes. At dawn, when more than 500 of them were in the city and the defenders were worn out after the night watch, they sounded their trumpets…. Panic seized Yaghi Siyan and he opened the city gates and fled in terror, with an escort of thirty pages…. This was of great help to the Franks, [who] entered the city by the gates and sacked it, slaughtering all the Muslims they found there….

It was the discord between the Muslim princes … that enabled the Franks to overrun the country.

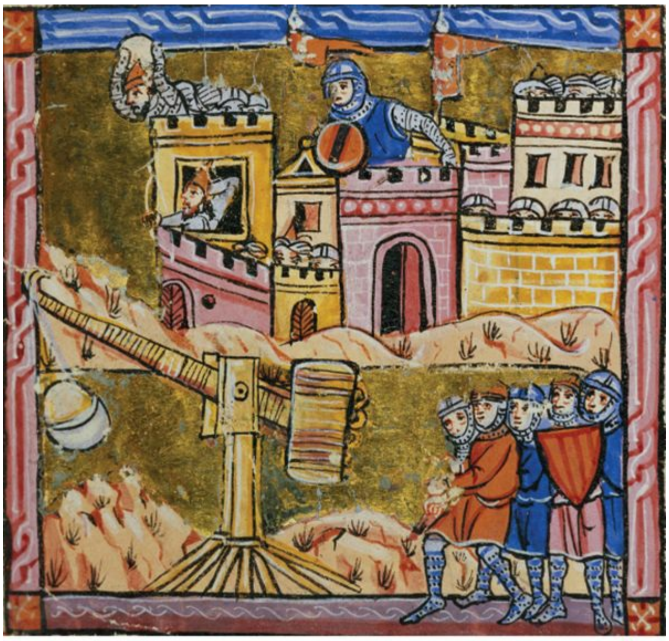
3 **Fulcher of Chartres on the fall of Jerusalem to the Crusaders, 1099.** Fulcher was a chaplain to military leaders on the First Crusade and over several decades wrote a long and influential chronicle.

■ Soon thereafter the Franks gloriously entered the city at noon on the day known as Dies Veneris, the day in which Christ redeemed the whole world on the Cross. [That is, a Friday.] Amid the sound of trumpets and with everything in an uproar they attacked boldly, shouting “God help us!” At once they raised a banner in the city on the top of the wall…. They ran with the greatest exultation as fast as they could into the city and joined their companions in pursuing and slaying their wicked enemies without cessation…. If you had been there your feet would have been stained to the ankles in the blood of the slain. What shall I say? None of them were left alive. Neither women nor children were spared. How astonishing it would have seemed to you to see our squires and footmen, after they discovered the trickery of the Saracens, split open the bellies of those they had just slain in order to extract from the intestines the bezants [gold coins minted in Byzantium] which the Saracens had gulped down their loathsome throats while still alive! … After this great slaughter they entered the houses of the citizens, seizing whatever they found in them. This was done in such a way that whoever first entered a house, whether he was rich or poor, was not challenged by any other Frank. In this way many poor people became wealthy.

4 **Al-Isfahani on Saladin’s retaking of Jerusalem, 1187.** Imad ad-Din al-Isfahani (1125–1187) was a Persian scholar who served as secretary to Saladin and accompanied him on many of his military campaigns.

■ Saladin marched forward to take the reins of Jerusalem…. [T]he Franks despaired of finding any relief from their situation and decided all to give their lives (in defense of Jerusalem)…. The Sultan mounted catapults, and by this means milked the udders of slaughter…. [I]n every heart on either side burned the fire of longing, faces were exposed to the blade’s kiss, hearts were tormented with longing for combat…. Every onslaught was energetic and achieved its object, the goal was reached, the enemy wounded…. The city became Muslim and the infidel belt around it was cut…. By striking coincidence the date of the conquest of Jerusalem was the anniversary of the Prophet's ascension to heaven. Great joy reigned for the brilliant victory won, and words of prayer and invocation to God were on every tongue…. Ibn Barzun [Balian of Ibelin, one of the Crusader leaders] came out to secure a treaty with the Sultan, and asked for an amnesty for his people…. [A]n amount was fixed for which they were to ransom themselves and their possessions … ten dinar for every man, five for a woman, and two for a boy or girl…. Every man who paid left his house in safety, and the rest were to be enslaved…. The Franks began selling their possessions and taking their precious things out of safe-keeping…. They scavenged in their own churches and stripped them of their ornaments of gold and silver…. Then I said to the Sultan, "These are things of great riches; do not allow these rascals to keep this in their grasp." But he replied, "If we interpret the treaty to their disadvantage they will accuse us of breaking faith." So they carried away the most precious and lightest [objects] and shook from their hands the dust of their heritage.

5 **Capture of Antioch.** This illustration comes from a 1280 version of William of Tyre's *A History of Deeds Beyond the Sea*, the most widely read account of the Crusades, which drew extensively on earlier histories.



From the *Estoire d'Outremer* (vellum) by William of Tyre [ca. 1130–1185]/ Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon, France/Bridgeman Images

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. How do Sources 1 and 2 differ in how they portray Yaghi Siyan and the man who opened the towers of Antioch to Christian forces? How do these and other differences influence the story?
2. In Sources 3 and 4, how is the course of the two battles for Jerusalem different? How is the aftermath different?
3. How does the artist who painted Source 5 convey his ideas about why the battle ended as it did?

4. How do these accounts balance the various aims — religious devotion, military glory, economic gain — of the two sides?

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

Using the sources above, along with what you have learned in class and in this chapter, write a short essay that analyzes Christian and Muslim views of the Crusades. How did they differ, and how were they similar? How did the Crusades help shape the understanding that Christians and Muslims had of each other?

Sources: (1) Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere,* trans. and ed. John H. Hill and Laurita L. Hill (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1974), pp. 56–57; (2) Francesco Gabrieli, trans. and ed., *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, pp. 3–5. Translation © 1969 by Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd. Published by the University of California Press. Used by permission of the University of California Press and by permission of Taylor & Francis Books UK; (3) Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095–1127,* trans. Frances Rita Ryan and ed. Harold S. Fink (Knoxville: University of Tennessee, 1969), pp. 121–122; (4) Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades,* pp. 147, 150, 154, 155, 156, 157–158, 162.

Consequences of the Crusades

The Crusades testified to the religious enthusiasm of the High Middle Ages and the influence of the papacy, gave kings and the pope opportunities to expand their bureaucracies, and provided an outlet for nobles’ dreams of glory. The Crusades also introduced some Europeans to Eastern luxury goods. They were also a boon to Italian merchants, who profited from outfitting military expeditions as well as from the opening of new trade routes and the establishment of trading communities in the Crusader states.

Despite these advantages, the Crusades had some seriously negative sociopolitical consequences. For one thing, they proved to be a disaster for Jewish-Christian relations. Inspired by the ideology of holy war, Christian armies on their way to Jerusalem on the First Crusade joined with local mobs to attack Jewish families and communities. Later Crusades brought similar violence, enhanced by accusations that Jews engaged in the ritual murder of Christians to use their blood in religious rites.

Legal restrictions on Jews gradually increased throughout Europe. Jews were forbidden to have Christian servants or employees, to hold public office, to appear in public on Christian holy days, or to enter Christian parts of town without a badge marking them as Jews. They were prohibited from engaging in any trade with Christians except money-lending and were banished from England and France.

The long-term cultural legacy of the Crusades may have been more powerful than their short-term impact. The ideal of a sacred mission to conquer or convert Muslim peoples entered some Europeans’ consciousness and was later used in other situations. When in 1492 Christopher Columbus sailed west, he used the language of the Crusades in his diaries, and he hoped to establish a Christian base in India from which a new crusade against Islam could be launched (see “Causes of European Expansion” in Chapter 16). Muslims later looked back on the Crusades as expansionist and imperialist, the beginning of a long trajectory of Western attempts to limit or destroy Islam.

The Life of the People

How did the lives of common people, nobles, and townspeople differ, and what new commercial developments increased wealth?

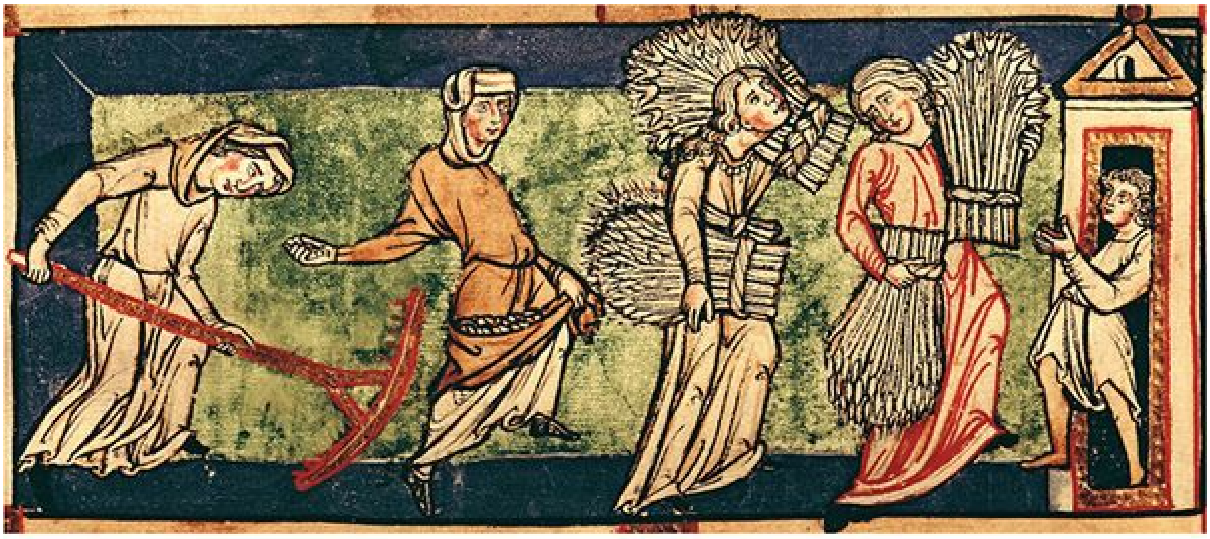
In the late ninth century medieval intellectuals described Christian society as composed of those who pray (the monks), those who fight (the nobles), and those who work (the peasants). This three-category model does not fully describe medieval society — there were degrees of wealth and status within each group. Also, the model does not take townspeople and the emerging commercial classes into consideration, and it completely excludes those who were not Christian, such as Jews, Muslims, and pagans. Furthermore, those who used the model, generally bishops and other church officials, ignored the fact that each of these groups was made up of both women and men. Despite — or perhaps because of — these limitations, the model of the three categories was a powerful mental construct. Therefore, we can use it to organize our investigation of life in the Middle Ages, broadening it to include groups and issues that medieval authors did not. (See “Christian Monasticism” in Chapter 8 for a discussion of the life of monks and nuns — “those who pray.”)

The Life and Work of Peasants

The men and women who worked the land in medieval Europe made up probably more than 90 percent of the population, as they did in China, India, and other parts of the world where agriculture predominated. The evolution of localized systems of authority into more centralized states had relatively little impact on the daily lives of these peasants except when it involved warfare.

Medieval theologians lumped everyone who worked the land into the category of “those who work,” but in fact there were many levels of peasants, ranging from slaves to free and sometimes very rich farmers. In western Europe most peasants were serfs, required to stay in the village and perform labor on the lord’s land. Serfs were also often obliged to pay fees on common occurrences, such as marriage or inheritance of property.

Serfdom was a hereditary condition. A person born a serf was likely to die a serf, though many serfs did secure their freedom, and the economic revival that began in the eleventh century (see “Towns, Cities, and the Growth of Commercial Interests”) allowed some to buy their freedom. Further opportunities for increased personal freedom came when lords organized groups of villagers to migrate to sparsely settled frontier areas or to cut down forests or fill in swamps so that there was more land available for farming. Those who took on this extra work often gained a reduction in traditional manorial obligations and an improvement of their social and legal conditions.

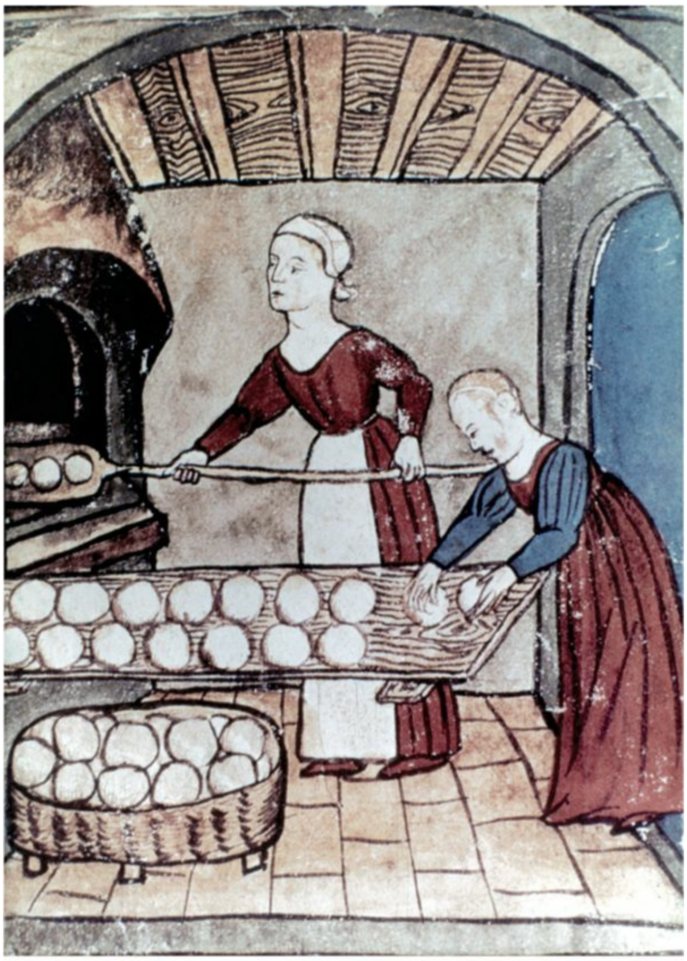


Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn, Germany/Bridgeman Images

Agricultural Work In this scene from a German manuscript written about 1190, men and women of different ages are sowing seeds and harvesting grain. All residents of a village, including children, engaged in agricultural tasks.

In the Middle Ages most European peasants, free and unfree, lived in family groups in small villages that were part of a manor, the estate of a lord (see “ ‘Feudalism’ and Manorialism”). The manor was the basic unit of medieval rural organization and the center of rural life. Within the manors of western and central Europe, villages were made up of small houses for individual families, a church, and perhaps the large house of the lord, surrounded by land farmed by the villagers. Peasant households consisted of one married couple, their children, and perhaps one or two other relatives, such as a grandparent or unmarried aunt. In southern and eastern Europe, extended families were more likely to live in the same household or very near one another. Between one-third and one-half of children died before age five, though many people lived into their sixties.

The peasants’ work was typically divided according to gender. Men and boys were responsible for clearing new land, plowing, and caring for large animals; women and girls were responsible for the care of small animals, spinning, and food preparation. Both sexes harvested and planted crops used for food, worked in the vineyards, and harvested and prepared crops needed by the textile industry — flax and plants used for dyeing cloth. Beginning in the eleventh century water mills and windmills aided in some tasks, especially grinding grain, and an increasing use of horses rather than oxen speeded up plowing.



The Granger Collection, New York — All rights reserved.

Baking Bread In this fourteenth-century French manuscript, women bake bread in a large oven, using a long wooden paddle to insert the loaves, just as modern pizza bakers do. Medieval families cooked in pots and on spits over fires in their own homes, but rarely had ovens because of the danger of fire. Instead they bought their bread, just as they did beer or ale, another staple of the medieval diet.

The mainstay of the diet for peasants everywhere — and for all other classes — was bread. Peasants also ate vegetables; animals were too valuable to be used for food on a regular basis, but weaker animals were often slaughtered in the fall, and their meat was preserved with salt and eaten on great feast days such as Christmas and Easter. Ale was the universal drink of common people, and it provided needed calories and some relief from the difficult and monotonous labor that filled people’s lives.

The Life and Work of Nobles

The nobility, though a small fraction of the total population, influenced all aspects of medieval culture. Nobles generally paid few taxes, and they had power over the people living on their lands. They maintained order, resolved disputes, and protected their dependents from attacks. They appointed officials who oversaw agricultural production. The liberty and privileges of the noble were inheritable, perpetuated by blood and not by wealth alone.

The nobles' primary obligation was warfare, just as it was for nobles among the Mexica (see "The Aztec Empire" in Chapter 11) and samurai in Japan (see "The Samurai and the Kamakura Shogunate" in Chapter 13). Nobles were also obliged to attend the lord's court on important occasions.

Originally, most knights focused solely on military skills, but around 1200 a different ideal of knighthood emerged, usually termed **chivalry**. Chivalry was a code of conduct in which fighting to defend the Christian faith and protecting one's countrymen was declared to have a sacred purpose. Other qualities gradually became part of chivalry: bravery, generosity, honor, graciousness, mercy, and eventually gallantry toward women, which came to be called "courtly love." (See "Analyzing the Evidence: Courtly Love Poetry," above.) The chivalric ideal — and it was an ideal, not a standard pattern of behavior — created a new standard of masculinity for nobles, in which loyalty and honor remained the most important qualities, but graceful dancing and intelligent conversation were not considered unmanly.

chivalry A code of conduct that was supposed to govern the behavior of a knight.

Noblewomen played a large and important role in the functioning of the estate. They were responsible for managing the household's "inner economy" — cooking, brewing, spinning, weaving, and caring for yard animals. When the lord was away for long periods, his wife became the sole manager of the family properties. Often the responsibilities of the estate fell permanently to her if she became a widow.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

Courtly Love Poetry

Whether female or male, troubadour poets celebrated *fin'amor*, a Provençal word for the pure or perfect love a knight was supposed to feel for his lady, which has in English come to be called "courtly love." In courtly love poetry, the writer praises his or her love object, idealizing the beloved and promising loyalty and great deeds. Most of these songs are written by, or from the perspective of, a male lover who is socially beneath his female beloved; her higher status makes her unattainable, so the lover's devotion can remain chaste and pure, rewarded by her handkerchief, or perhaps a kiss, but nothing more.

Scholars generally agree that poetry praising pure and perfect love originated in the Muslim culture of the Iberian Peninsula, where heterosexual romantic love had long been the subject of poems and songs. Spanish Muslim poets sang at the courts of Christian nobles, and Provençal poets picked up their romantic themes. Other aspects of courtly love are hotly debated. Was it simply a literary convention, or did it shape actual behavior? Did it celebrate adultery, or was true courtly love pure (and unrequited)? How should we interpret medieval physicians' reports of people (mostly young men) becoming gravely ill from "lovesickness"? Were there actually "courts of love" in which women judged lovers based on a system of rules? Did courtly love lead to greater respect for women or toward greater misogyny, as desire for a beloved so often ended in frustration?

It is very difficult to know whether courtly love literature influenced the treatment of real women to any great extent, but it did introduce a new ideal of heterosexual romance into Western literature. Courtly love ideals still shape romantic conventions, and often appear in movies, songs, and novels that explore love between people of different social groups.

The following poem was written by Arnaut Daniel, a thirteenth-century troubadour praised by poets from Dante in the thirteenth century to Ezra Pound in the twentieth. Not much is known about him, but his surviving songs capture courtly love conventions perfectly.

I only know the grief that comes to me,
to my love-ridden heart, out of over-loving,
since my will is so firm and whole
that it never parted or grew distant from her
whom I craved at first sight, and afterwards:
and now, in her absence, I tell her burning words;
then, when I see her, I don't know, so much I have to, what to say.

To the sight of other women I am blind, deaf to hearing them
since her only I see, and hear and heed,
and in that I am surely not a false slanderer,
since heart desires her more than mouth may say;
wherever I may roam through fields and valleys, plains and mountains
I shan't find in a single person all those qualities

which God wanted to select and place in her.

I have been in many a good court,
but here by her I find much more to praise:
measure and wit and other good virtues,
beauty and youth, worthy deeds and fair disport;
so well kindness taught and instructed her
that it has rooted every ill manner out of her:
I don’t think she lacks anything good.

No joy would be brief or short
coming from her whom I endear to guess [my intentions],
otherwise she won’t know them from me,
if my heart cannot reveal itself without words,
since even the Rhone [River], when rain swells it,
has no such rush that my heart doesn’t stir
a stronger one, weary of love, when I behold her.

Joy and merriment from another woman seems false and ill to me,
since no worthy one can compare with her,
and her company is above the others’.
Ah me, if I don’t have her, alas, so badly she has taken me!
But this grief is amusement, laughter and joy,
since in thinking of her, of her am I gluttonous and greedy:
ah me, God, could I ever enjoy her otherwise!

And never, I swear, I have liked game or ball so much,
or anything has given my heart so much joy
as did the one thing that no false slanderer
made public, which is a treasure for me only.
Do I tell too much? Not I, unless she is displeased:
beautiful one, by God, speech and voice
I’d lose ere I say something to annoy you.

And I pray my song does not displease you
since, if you like the music and lyrics,
little cares Arnaut whether the unpleasant ones like them as well.

[Far fewer poems by female trobairitz have survived than by male troubadours, but those that have survived express strong physical and emotional feelings. The following song was written in the twelfth century by the Countess of Dia. She was purportedly the wife of a Provençal nobleman, though biographies of both troubadours and trobairitz were often made up to fit the conventions of courtly love, so we don't know for sure. The words to at least four of her songs have survived, one of them with the melody, which is very rare.]

I've suffered great distress
From a knight whom I once owned.
Now, for all time, be it known:
I loved him — yes, to excess. His jilting I've regretted,
Yet his love I never really returned. Now for my sin I can only burn:
Dressed, or in my bed.

O if I had that knight to caress
Naked all night in my arms,
He'd be ravished by the charm
Of using, for cushion, my breast. His love I more deeply prize
Than Floris did Blancheor's
Take that love, my core, My sense, my life, my eyes!

Lovely lover, gracious, kind,
When will I overcome your fight?
O if I could lie with you one night!
Feel those loving lips on mine! Listen, one thing sets me afire:
Here in my husband's place I want you,
If you'll just keep your promise true: Give me everything I desire.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Both of these songs focus on a beloved who does not return the lover's affection. What similarities and differences do you see in them?
2. How does courtly love reinforce other aspects of medieval society? What aspects of medieval society does it contradict?
3. Can you find examples from current popular music that parallel the sentiments expressed in these two songs?

Sources: First poem used by permission of Leonardo Malcovati, editor and translator of *Prosody in England and Elsewhere: A Comparative Approach* (London: Gival Press, 2006) and online at http://www.trobar.org/troubadours/arnaut_daniel/arnaut_daniel_17.php; three verses from lyrics by the Countess of Dia, often called Beatritz, the Sappho of the Rhone, in *Lyrics of the Middle Ages: An Anthology*, edited and translated by James J. Wilhelm. Reproduced with permission of GARLAND PUBLISHING, INCORPORATED, in the format Republish in a book via Copyright Clearance Center.

Towns, Cities, and the Growth of Commercial Interests

Most people continued to live in villages in the Middle Ages, but the rise of towns and the growth of a new business and commercial class were central to Europe’s recovery after the disorders of the tenth century. Several factors contributed to this growth: a rise in population; increased agricultural output, which provided an adequate food supply for new town dwellers; and enough peace and political stability to allow merchants to transport and sell goods. In 1100 the largest cities in Europe were most likely Constantinople and Córdoba, each with several hundred thousand residents; only Kaifeng in China was larger. London and Paris were much smaller: Paris had perhaps 50,000 residents and London 20,000.

Towns in western and eastern Europe were generally enclosed by walls, as were towns in China and India. Most towns were first established as trading centers, with a marketplace in the middle, and they were likely to have a mint for coining money and a court for settling disputes. Residents bargained with lords to make the town politically independent, which gave them the right to hold legal courts, select leaders, and set taxes.

Townspeople also tried to acquire liberties, above all personal freedom, for themselves. It gradually developed that an individual who lived in a town for a year and a day, and was accepted by the townspeople, was free of servile obligations and status. Thus serfs who fled their manors for towns and were able to find work and avoid recapture became free of personal labor obligations. In this way the growth of towns contributed to a slow decline of serfdom in western Europe.

Merchants constituted the most powerful group in most towns, and they were often organized into merchant guilds, which prohibited nonmembers from trading, pooled members’ risks, monopolized city offices, and controlled the economy of the town. Towns became centers of production as well, and artisans in particular trades formed their own **craft guilds**. Members of the craft guilds determined the quality, quantity, and price of the goods produced and the number of apprentices and journeymen affiliated with the guild. Formal membership in guilds was generally limited to men, but women often worked in guild shops without official membership.

craft guilds Associations of artisans organized to regulate the quality, quantity, and price of the goods produced as well as the number of affiliated apprentices and journeymen.

Artisans generally made and sold products in their own homes, with production taking place on the ground floor. The family lived above the business on the second or third floor. As the business and the family expanded, additional stories were added.

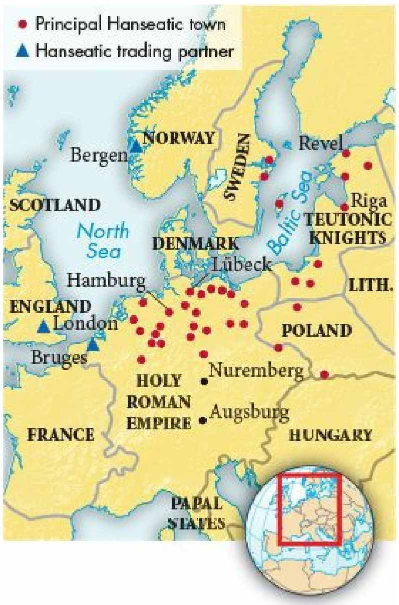
Most medieval towns and cities developed with little planning or attention to sanitation. Horses and oxen, the chief means of transportation and power, dropped tons of dung on the streets every year. It was universal practice in the early towns to dump household waste, both animal and human, into the road in front of one's house. Despite such unpleasant aspects of urban life, people wanted to get into medieval towns because they represented opportunities for economic advancement, social mobility, and improvement in legal status.

The Expansion of Trade and the Commercial Revolution

The growth of towns went hand in hand with a revival of trade as artisans and craftsmen manufactured goods for local and foreign consumption. As in the city-states of East Africa (see "The East African City-States" in Chapter 10), most trade centered in towns and was controlled by merchants. They began to pool their money to finance trading expeditions, sharing the profits and also sharing the risks.

Italian cities, especially Venice, led the West in trade in general and completely dominated trade with Asia and North Africa, becoming much larger urban communities in the process. Merchants from Florence and Milan were also important traders, and they developed new methods of accounting and record keeping that facilitated the movement of goods and money. The towns of Bruges, Ghent, and Ypres in Flanders were leaders in long-distance trade and built up a vast industry in the manufacture of cloth, aided by ready access to wool from England. The availability of raw wool also encouraged the development of cloth manufacture within England itself.

In much of northern Europe, the Hanseatic League (known as the Hansa for short), a mercantile association of towns formed to achieve mutual security and exclusive trading rights, controlled trade. During the thirteenth century perhaps two hundred cities from Holland to Poland joined the league. In cities such as Bruges and London, Hanseatic merchants secured special concessions exempting them from all tolls and allowing them to trade at local fairs. Hanseatic merchants also established foreign trading centers.


● Principal Hanseatic town
▲ Hanseatic trading partner
NORWAY
Bergen
SWEDEN
Revel
Riga
Baltic Sea
TEUTONIC KNIGHTS
SCOTLAND
North Sea
DENMARK
Lübeck
Hamburg
LITH.
ENGLAND
London
POLAND
Bruges
Nuremberg
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
Augsburg
FRANCE
HUNGARY
PAPAL STATES

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

The Hanseatic League, 1300–1400

These developments, which began in the eleventh century, added up to what historians of Europe have called the **commercial revolution**, a direct parallel to the economic revolution going on in Song Dynasty China at the same time (see "The Medieval Chinese Economic Revolution" in Chapter 13). In giving the transformation this name, historians point not only to an increase in the sheer volume of trade and in the complexity and sophistication of business procedures but also to the new attitude toward business and making money. Some even detect a "capitalist spirit" in which making a profit was regarded as a good thing in itself.

commercial revolution The transformation of the economic structure of Europe, beginning in the eleventh century, from a rural, manorial society to a more complex mercantile society.

The commercial revolution created a great deal of new wealth, which did not escape the attention of kings and other rulers. Wealth could be taxed, and through taxation kings could create strong and centralized states. Through the activities of merchants, Europeans again saw products from Africa and Asia in city marketplaces, as they had in Roman times. The commercial revolution also provided the opportunity for thousands of serfs in western Europe to improve their social position.

Learning and Culture

What were the primary educational and cultural developments in medieval Europe?

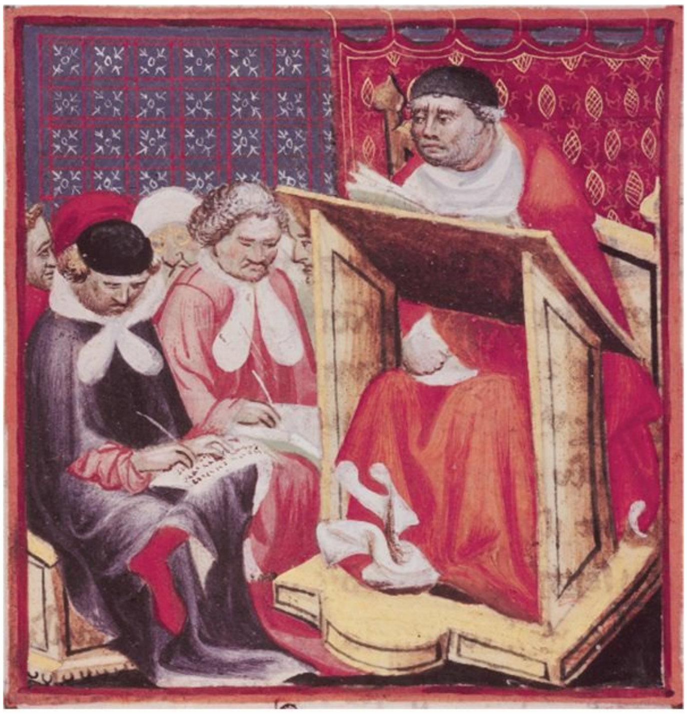
The towns that became centers of trade and production in the High Middle Ages also developed into cultural and intellectual centers. Trade brought in new ideas as well as merchandise, and in many cities a new type of educational institution — the university — emerged. As universities appeared, so did other cultural advancements, such as new forms of architecture and literature.

Universities and Scholasticism

Since the time of the Carolingian Empire, monasteries and cathedral schools had offered the only formal instruction available. In the eleventh century in Bologna and other Italian cities, wealthy businessmen established municipal schools; in the twelfth century municipal schools in Italy and cathedral schools in France and Spain developed into much larger universities, a transformation parallel to the opening of madrasas in Muslim cities (see “Education and Intellectual Life” in Chapter 9).

The growth of the University of Bologna coincided with a revival of interest in Roman law. The study of Roman law as embodied in Justinian’s Code (see “Justinian’s Code of Law” in Chapter 8) had never completely died out in the West, but in the eleventh century the discovery of a complete manuscript of the code in a library in northern Italy led scholars to study and teach Roman law intently.

At the Italian city of Salerno, interest in medicine had persisted for centuries. Greek and Muslim physicians there had studied the use of herbs as cures and had experimented with surgery. The twelfth century ushered in a new interest in Greek medical texts and in the work of Arab and Greek doctors. Ideas from this medical literature spread throughout Europe from Salerno and became the basis of training for physicians at other medieval universities. University training gave physicians high social status and allowed them to charge high fees, although their diagnoses and treatments were based on classical theories, not on interactions with patients.



Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, France/Bridgeman Images

Lecture at the University of Paris Students with somewhat dour expressions take notes while the professor lectures from a book, in this illustration from a history of France made about 1400.

Although medicine and law were important academic disciplines in the Middle Ages, theology was "the queen of sciences." Paris became the place to study theology, and in the first decades of the twelfth century students from all over Europe crowded into the cathedral school of Notre Dame in that city.

University professors were known as "schoolmen" or **Scholastics**. They developed a method of thinking, reasoning, and writing in which questions were raised and authorities cited on both sides of a question. The goal of the Scholastic method was to arrive at definitive answers and to provide a rational explanation for what was believed on faith.

Scholastics Medieval professors who developed a method of thinking, reasoning, and writing in which questions were raised and authorities cited on both sides of a question.

One of the most famous Scholastics was Peter Abelard (1079–1142). Fascinated by logic, Abelard used a method of systematic doubting in his writing and teaching. Abelard was censured by a church council, but he was highly popular with students.

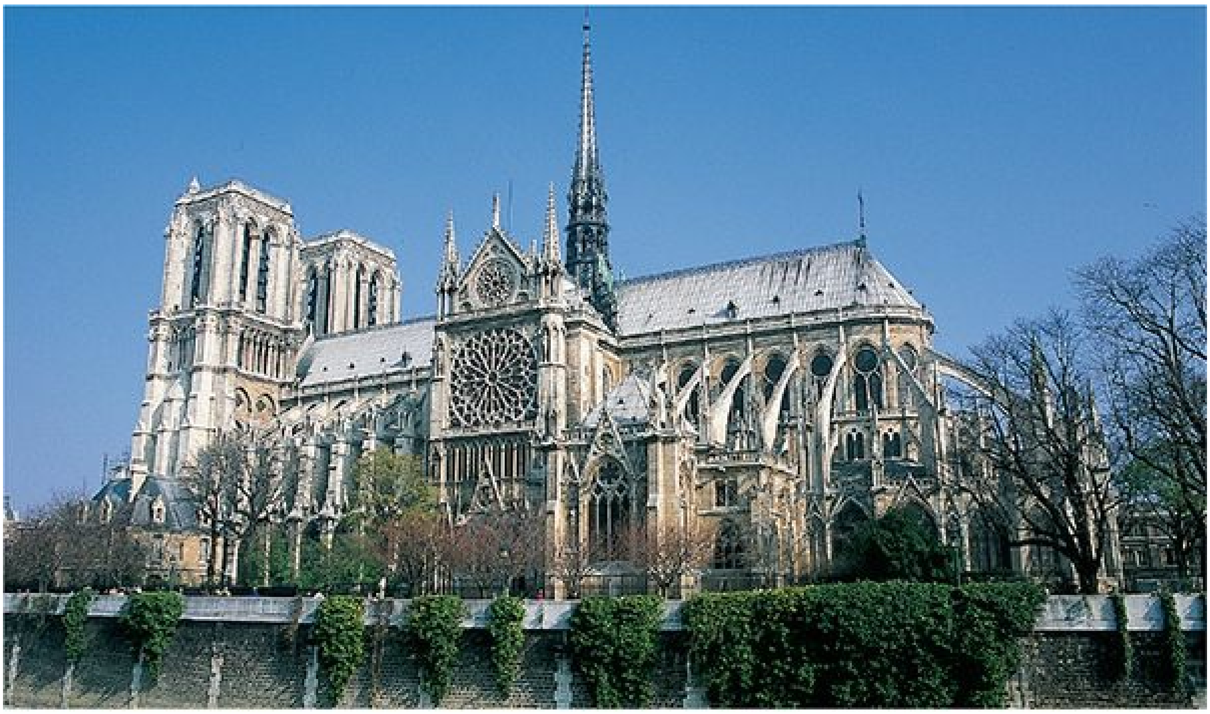
Thirteenth-century Scholastics devoted an enormous amount of time to collecting and organizing knowledge on all topics. These collections were published as summae (SOO-may), or reference books. Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), a professor at the University of Paris, produced the most famous collection, the *Summa Theologica*, which deals with a vast number of theological questions.

Students lived in privately endowed residential colleges and were considered to be lower-level members of the clergy, so that any student accused of a crime was tried in church, rather than in city, courts. This clerical status, along with widely held ideas about women’s lesser intellectual capabilities, meant that university education was restricted to men.

At all universities the standard method of teaching was the lecture. With this method the professor read a passage from the Bible, Justinian’s Code, or one of Aristotle’s treatises. He then explained and interpreted the passage. Examinations were given after three, four, or five years of study, when the student applied for a degree. If the candidate passed, he was awarded the first, or bachelor’s, degree. Further study enabled the graduate to try for the master’s and doctor’s degrees. Degrees were technically licenses to teach. Most students, however, did not become teachers. They staffed the expanding royal and papal administrations.

Cathedrals and a New Architectural Style

Religious devotion was expressed through rituals and institutions, but people also wanted permanent visible representations of their piety, and both church and city leaders wanted physical symbols of their wealth and power. These aims found their outlet in the building of tens of thousands of churches, chapels, abbeys, and, most spectacularly, cathedrals.



David R. Frazier/Science Source

Notre Dame Cathedral, Paris, Begun 1163 This view offers a fine example of the twin towers (left), the spire, the great rose window over the south portal (center), and the flying buttresses that support the walls and the vaults. Like hundreds of other churches in medieval Europe, it was dedicated to the Virgin Mary. With a spire rising more than 300 feet, Notre Dame was the tallest building in Europe at the time of its construction.

In the tenth and eleventh centuries cathedrals were built in a style that resembled ancient Roman architecture, with massive walls, rounded stone arches, and small windows — features later labeled Romanesque. In the twelfth century a new artistic and architectural style spread out from central France. It was dubbed **Gothic** by later Renaissance architects. The basic features of Gothic architecture — pointed arches, high ceilings, and exterior supports called flying buttresses that carried much of the weight of the roof — allowed unprecedented interior light. Stained-glass windows were cut into the stone. Between 1180 and 1270 in France alone, eighty cathedrals, about five hundred abbey churches, and tens of thousands of parish churches were constructed in this new style. They are testimony to the deep religious faith and piety of medieval people and also to the civic pride of urban residents, for towns competed with one another to build the largest and most splendid cathedral. Through its statuary, paintings, and stained-glass windows, the cathedral was designed to teach the people the doctrines of Christian faith through visual images, though these also often showed scenes from the lives of the artisans and merchants who paid for them.

Gothic The term for the architectural and artistic style that began in Europe in the twelfth century and featured pointed arches, high ceilings, and flying buttresses.

Vernacular Literature and Drama

Latin was the language used in university education, scholarly writing, and works of literature. By the High Middle Ages, however, no one spoke Latin as his or her first language. The barbarian invasions, the mixture of peoples, and the usual changes in language that occurred over time resulted in a variety of local dialects that blended words and linguistic forms in various ways.

In the High Middle Ages, some authors departed from tradition and began to write in their local dialect, that is, in the everyday language of their region, which linguistic historians call the vernacular. This new **vernacular literature** gradually transformed some local dialects into literary languages, such as French, German, Italian, and English, while other local dialects, such as Breton and Bavarian, remained means of oral communication.

vernacular literature Literature written in the everyday language of a region rather than Latin; this included French, German, Italian, and English.

Stories and songs in the vernacular were composed and performed at the courts of nobles and rulers. In southern Europe, especially in Provence in southern France, poets who called themselves troubadours wrote and sang lyric verses celebrating love, desire, beauty, and gallantry. Troubadours included a few women, with their poetry often chiding knights who did not live up to the ideal. (See “Analyzing the Evidence: Courtly Love Poetry,” page 390.) The songs of the troubadours were widely imitated in Italy, England, and Germany, so they spurred the development of vernacular literature there as well. Drama, derived from the church’s liturgy, also emerged as a distinct art form. Actors performed plays based on biblical themes and on the lives of the saints; these dramas were presented in the towns, first in churches and then at the marketplace. By combining comical farce based on ordinary life with serious religious scenes, plays gave ordinary people an opportunity to identify with religious figures and think about their faith.

Beginning in the fourteenth century a variety of evidence attests to the increasing literacy of laypeople. Wills and inventories reveal that many people, not just nobles, possessed books — mainly devotional texts, but also romances, manuals on manners and etiquette, histories, and sometimes legal and philosophical texts. The spread of literacy represents a response to the needs of an increasingly complex society.

Crises of the Later Middle Ages

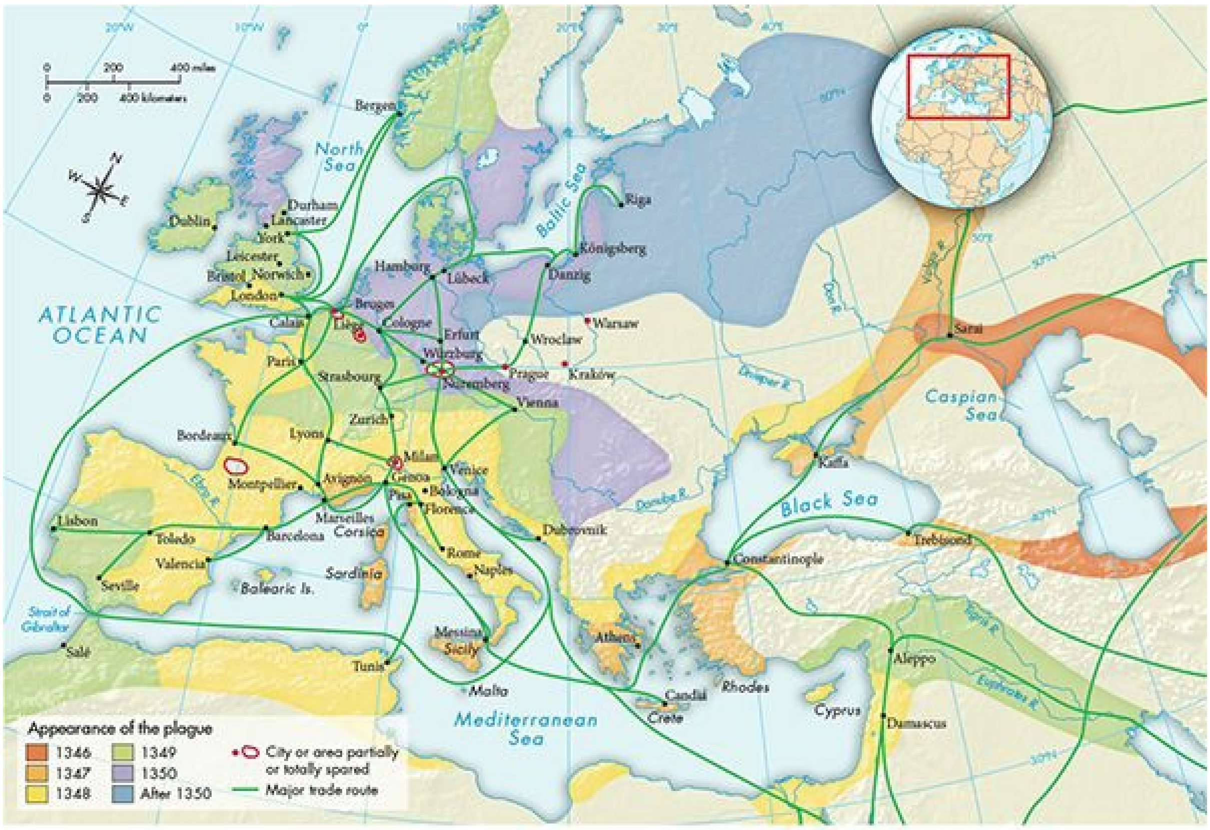
Why have the later Middle Ages been seen as a time of calamity and crisis?

Between 1300 and 1450 Europeans experienced a series of shocks: climate change, economic decline, plague, war, social upheaval, and increased crime and violence. Death and preoccupation with death made the fourteenth century one of the most wrenching periods of history in Europe and western Asia.

The Great Famine and the Black Death

In the first half of the fourteenth century the Northern Hemisphere experienced a series of climate changes, especially the beginning of a period of colder and wetter weather that historical geographers label the "little ice age." Its effects were dramatic and disastrous. Population had steadily increased in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but with colder weather, poor harvests led to scarcity and starvation. The costs of grain, livestock, and dairy products rose sharply. Almost all of northern Europe suffered a terrible famine between 1315 and 1322, with dire social consequences: peasants were forced to sell or mortgage their lands for money to buy food, and the number of homeless people greatly increased, as did petty crime. An undernourished population was dealt a further blow in 1347 in the form of a virulent new disease, later called the **Black Death** (Map 14.3). The symptoms of this disease were first described in 1331 in southwestern China, then part of the Mongol Empire (see "The Spread of Disease, Goods, and Ideas" in Chapter 12). From there it spread across Central Asia by way of Mongol armies and merchant caravans, arriving in the ports of the Black Sea by the 1340s. It then spread to Constantinople and Alexandria, and within a year it was in Mecca, Damascus, Tunis, Genoa, and Venice. From Italy it traveled farther in all directions, in several waves.

Black Death The plague that first struck Europe in 1347, killing perhaps one-third of the population.

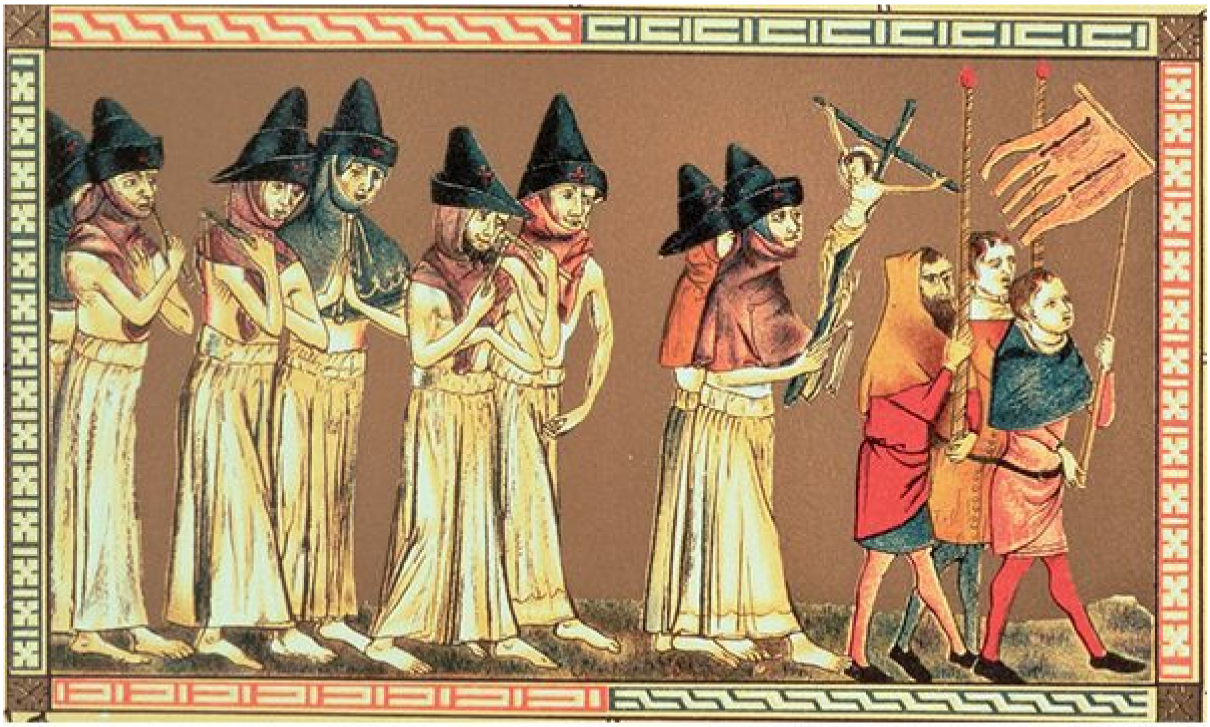

20°W
10°W
0°
10°E
20°E
30°E
40°E
50°N
40°N
30°N
0
200
400 miles
0
200
400 kilometers
N
W
E
S
ATLANTIC OCEAN
North Sea
Baltic Sea
Bergen
Durham
Lancaster
Dublin
York
Leicester
Bristol
Norwich
London
Calais
Bruges
Liège
Cologne
Hamburg
Lübeck
Riga
Königsberg
Danzig
Warsaw
Wroclaw
Erfurt
Würzburg
Prague
Kraków
Nuremberg
Paris
Strasbourg
Vienna
Zurich
Bordeaux
Lyons
Milan
Venice
Genoa
Montpellier
Avignon
Pisa
Bologna
Florence
Marseilles
Corsica
Lisbon
Toledo
Barcelona
Dubrovnik
Valencia
Rome
Naples
Sardinia
Seville
Balearic Is.
Strait of Gibraltar
Salé
Tunis
Messina
Sicily
Malta
Athens
Mediterranean Sea
Candia
Crete
Rhodes
Cyprus
Aleppo
Damascus
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Constantinople
Trebizond
Black Sea
Danube R.
Dnieper R.
Don R.
Volga R.
Kaffa
Sarai
Caspian Sea
Appearance of the plague
🟥 1346
🟧 1347
🟨 1348
🟩 1349
🟪 1350
🟦 After 1350
City or area partially or totally spared
Major trade route

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 14.3 The Course of the Black Death in Fourteenth-Century Europe The plague followed trade routes as it spread into and across Europe. A few cities that took strict quarantine measures were spared.

DNA evidence taken from the tooth sockets of skeletons in mass graves in England, France, and the Netherlands indicates that the disease that spread in the fourteenth century was the bubonic plague, caused by a variant of the bacillus *Yersinia pestis*, the same bacillus that had caused the Justinian Plague in the sixth century (see “The Byzantine Empire” in Chapter 8). The disease normally afflicts rats. Fleas living on the infected rats drink their blood and pass the bacteria that cause the plague on to the next rat they bite. Usually the disease is limited to rats and other rodents, but at certain points in history the fleas have jumped from their rodent hosts to humans and other animals. The disease had dreadful effects on the body, including growths in the armpit, groin, or neck; black spots or blotches caused by bleeding under the skin; and violent coughing and spitting blood, which were followed by death in two or three days.

At the time, most people believed that the Black Death was caused by poisons or by “corrupted air” that carried the disease from place to place. They sought to keep poisons from entering the body by smelling or ingesting strong-smelling herbs, and they tried to remove the poisons through bloodletting. They also prayed and did penance. Anxiety and fears about the plague caused people to look for scapegoats, and they found them in the Jews, who they believed had poisoned the wells of Christian communities and thereby infected the drinking water. This charge led to the murder of thousands of Jews across Europe.



Private Collection/The Bridgeman Art Library

Procession of Flagellants In this manuscript illumination from 1349, shirtless flagellants, men and women who whipped and scourged themselves as penance for their and society's sins, walk through the Flemish city of Tournai, which had just been struck by the plague. Many people believed that the Black Death was God's punishment for humanity's wickedness.

Historians estimate that across Europe the plague killed about one-third of the population, with some places suffering even higher losses. Of a total English population of perhaps 4.2 million, probably 1.4 million died of the Black Death in its several visits. In Italy densely populated cities endured incredible losses. Florence lost between one-half and two-thirds of its population when the plague visited in 1348. The disease recurred intermittently in the 1360s and 1370s and reappeared many times, as late as the early 1700s in Europe.

In the short term the economic effects of the plague were severe because the death of many peasants disrupted food production. But in the long term the dramatic decline in population eased pressure on the land, and wages and per capita wealth rose for those who survived. The psychological consequences of the plague were profound. (See "Global

Viewpoints: Italian and English Views of the Plague,” page 398.) Some people sought release in wild living, while others turned to the severest forms of asceticism and frenzied religious fervor.

GLOBAL VIEWPOINTS

Italian and English Views of the Plague

Eyewitness commentators on the plague include the Italian writer Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–1375), who portrayed the course of the disease in Florence in the preface to his book of tales, *The Decameron*, and the English monastic chronicler Henry Knighton (d. 1396), who described the effects of the plague on English towns and villages in his four-volume chronicle of English history.

Giovanni Boccaccio

■ Against this pestilence no human wisdom or foresight was of any avail…. Men and women in great numbers abandoned their city, their houses, their farms, their relatives, and their possessions and sought other places, going at least as far away as the Florentine countryside — as if the wrath of God could not pursue them with this pestilence wherever they went but would only strike those it found within the walls of the city! … Almost no one cared for his neighbor, and relatives hardly ever visited one another — they stayed far apart. This disaster had struck such fear into the hearts of men and women that brother abandoned brother, uncle abandoned nephew, sister left brother, and very often wife abandoned husband, and — even worse, almost unbelievable — fathers and mothers neglected to tend and care for their children as if they were not their own…. So many corpses would arrive in front of a church every day and at every hour that the amount of holy ground for burials was certainly insufficient for the ancient custom of giving each body its individual place; when all the graves were full, huge trenches were dug in all the cemeteries of the churches and into them the new arrivals were dumped by the hundreds…. Oh how many great palaces, beautiful homes and noble dwellings, once filled with families, gentlemen, and ladies, were now emptied, down to the last servant!

Henry Knighton

■ Then that most grievous pestilence penetrated the coastal regions [of England] by way of Southampton, and came to Bristol, and people died as if the whole strength of the city were seized by sudden death. For there were few who lay in their beds more than three days or two and half days; then that savage death snatched them about the second day. In Leicester, in the little parish of St. Leonard, more than three hundred and eighty died; in the parish of Holy Cross, more than four hundred…. And so in each parish, they died in great numbers…. At the same time, there was so great a lack of priests everywhere that many churches had no divine services…. One could hardly hire a chaplain to minister to the church for less than ten marks…. Meanwhile, the king ordered that in every county of the kingdom, reapers and other labourers should not receive more than they were accustomed to receive, under the penalty provided in the statute, and he renewed the statute at this time. The labourers, however, were so arrogant and hostile that they did not heed the king’s command, but if anyone wished to hire them, he had to pay them what they wanted, and either lose his fruits and crops or satisfy the arrogant and greedy desire of the labourers as they wished…. Similarly, those who received day-work from their tenants throughout the year, as is usual from serfs, had to release them and to remit such service. They either had to excuse them entirely or had to fix them in a laxer manner at a small rent, lest very great and irreparable damage be done to the buildings and the land everywhere remain uncultivated.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. How did the residents of Florence respond to the plague, as described by Boccaccio?
2. What were some of the effects of the plague in England, as described by Knighton?
3. How might the fact that Boccaccio was writing in an urban setting and Knighton was writing from a rural monastery that owned a large amount of land have shaped their perspectives?

Sources: Giovanni Boccaccio, *The Decameron*, trans. Mark Musa and Peter Bondanella (New York: W. W. Norton, 1982), pp. 7, 9, 12. Copyright © 1982 by Mark Musa and Peter Bondanella. Used by permission of W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.; Henry Knighton, *Chronicon Henrici Knighton*, in *The Portable Medieval Reader*, ed. James Bruce Ross and Mary Martin McLaughlin (New York: Viking, 1949), pp. 218, 220, 222.

The Hundred Years’ War

While the plague ravaged populations in Asia, North Africa, and Europe, a long international war in western Europe added further death and destruction. England and France had engaged in sporadic military hostilities from the time of the Norman Conquest in 1066 (see “The Restoration of Order”), and in the middle of the fourteenth century these became more intense. From 1337 to 1453 the two countries intermittently fought one another in what was the longest war in European history, ultimately dubbed the Hundred Years’ War, though it actually lasted 116 years.

The Hundred Years’ War had a number of causes. Both England and France claimed the duchy of Aquitaine in southwestern France, and the English king Edward III argued that, as the grandson of an earlier French king, he should have rightfully inherited the French throne. Nobles in provinces on the borders of France who were worried about the growing power of the French king supported Edward, as did wealthy wool merchants and clothmakers in Flanders who depended on English wool. The governments of both England and France promised wealth and glory to those who fought, and each country portrayed the other as evil.

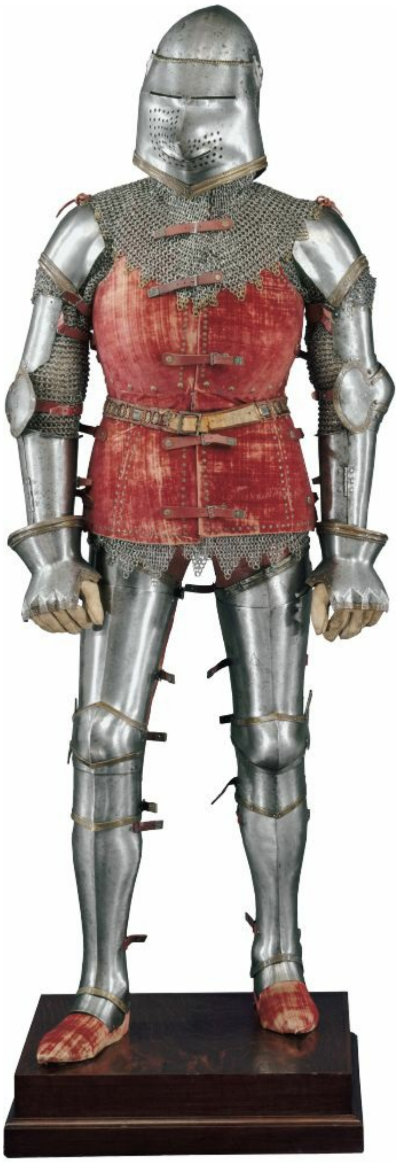
The war, fought almost entirely in France, consisted mainly of a series of random sieges and raids. During the war’s early stages, England was successful, primarily through the use of longbows fired by well-trained foot soldiers against mounted knights and, after 1375, by early cannon. By 1419 the English had advanced to the walls of Paris. But the French cause was not lost. Though England scored the initial victories, France won the war.

The ultimate French success rests heavily on the actions of Joan, an obscure French peasant girl whose vision and military leadership revived French fortunes and led to victory. Born in 1412 to well-to-do peasants, Joan grew up in a pious household. During adolescence she began to hear voices, which she later said belonged to Saint Michael, Saint Catherine, and Saint Margaret. In 1428 these voices told her that the dauphin of France — Charles VII, who was uncrowned as king because of the English occupation — had to be crowned and the English expelled from France. Joan went to the French court and secured the support of the dauphin to travel, dressed as a knight, with the French army to the besieged city of Orléans.

At Orléans, Joan inspired and led French attacks, and the English retreated. As a result of her successes, Charles made Joan co-commander of the entire army, and she led it to a string of military victories in the summer of 1429. Two months after the victory at Orléans, Charles VII was crowned king at Reims.

Joan and the French army continued their fight against the English. In 1430 England’s allies, the Burgundians, captured Joan and sold her to the English, and the French did not intervene. The English wanted Joan eliminated for obvious political reasons, but the primary charge against her was heresy, and the trial was conducted by church authorities. She was interrogated about the angelic voices and about why she wore men’s clothing. She apparently answered skillfully, but in 1431 she was condemned as a heretic and burned at the stake in the marketplace at Rouen. The French army continued its victories without her, and demands for an end to the war increased among the English, who were growing tired of the mounting loss of life and the flow of money into a seemingly bottomless pit. Slowly the French reconquered Normandy and finally ejected the English from Aquitaine. At the war’s end in 1453, only the town of Calais remained in English hands.

The long war had a profound impact on the two countries. In England and France the war promoted nationalism. It led to technological experimentation, especially with gunpowder weaponry, whose firepower made the protective walls of stone castles obsolete. The war also stimulated the development of the English Parliament. Edward III’s constant need for money to pay for the war compelled him to summon it many times, and its representatives slowly built up their powers.



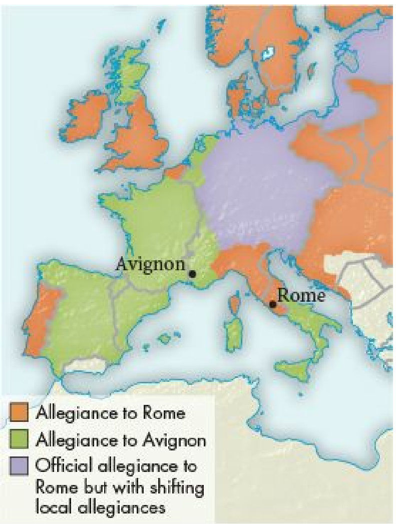
Armor, Italy, ca. 1400 and later. Steel, brass, textile. Bashford Dean Memorial Collection. Gift of Helen Fahnestock, in memory of her father, Harris C. Fahnestock, 1929 [29.154.3]/The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York/Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Image source: Art Resource, NY

Suit of Armor This fifteenth-century suit of Italian armor protected its wearer, but its weight made movement difficult. Both English and French mounted knights wore full armor at the beginning of the Hundred Years' War, but by the end they wore only breastplates and helmets, which protected their vital organs but allowed greater mobility. This suit has been so well preserved that it was most likely never used in battle; it may have been made for ceremonial purposes.

Challenges to the Christian Church

In times of crisis or disaster people of all faiths have sought the consolation of religion, but in the fourteenth century the official Western Christian Church offered little solace. While local clergy eased the suffering of many, a dispute over who was the legitimate pope weakened the church as an institution. In 1309 pressure by the French monarchy led the pope to move his permanent residence to Avignon in southern France. This marked the start of seven successive papacies in Avignon. Not surprising, all these popes were French — a matter of controversy among church followers outside France. Also, the popes largely concentrated on bureaucratic and financial matters to the exclusion of spiritual objectives.

In 1376 one of the French popes returned to Rome, and when he died there several years later Roman citizens demanded an Italian pope who would remain in Rome. The cardinals elected Urban VI, but soon regretted their decision. The cardinals slipped away from Rome and declared Urban's election invalid because it had come about under threats from the Roman mob. They elected a French cardinal who took the name Clement VII (pontificate 1378–1394) and set himself up at Avignon in opposition to Urban. There were thus two popes, a situation that was later termed the Great Schism.


Avignon
Rome
🟧 Allegiance to Rome
🟩 Allegiance to Avignon
🟪 Official allegiance to Rome but with shifting local allegiances

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

The Great Schism, 1378–1417

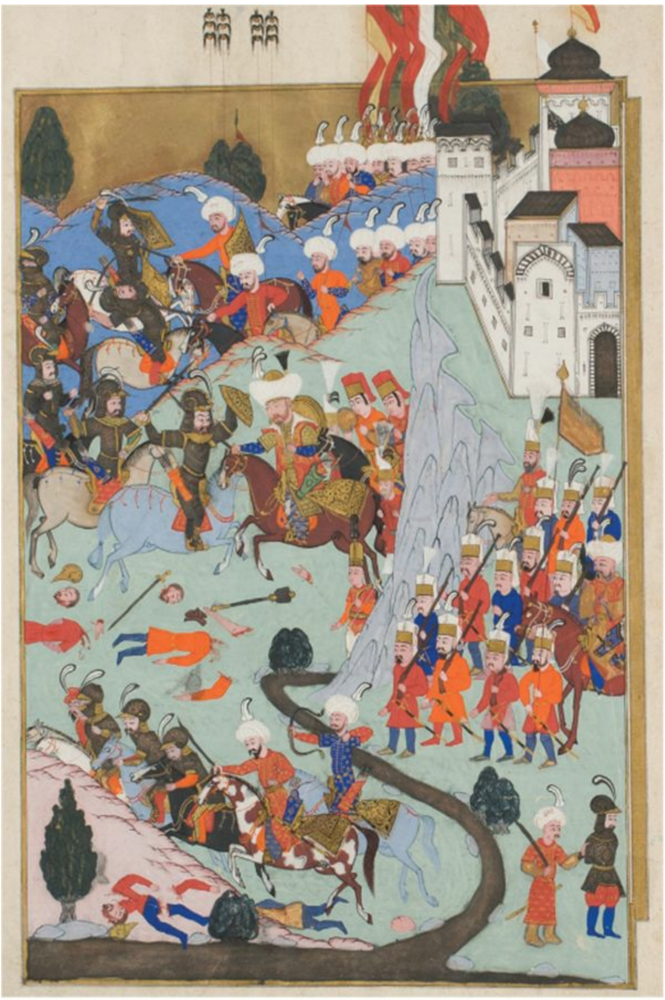
The powers of Europe aligned themselves with Urban or Clement along strictly political lines. France recognized the Frenchman, Clement; England recognized Urban. The rest of Europe lined up behind one or the other. In all European countries the common people were thoroughly confused about which pope was legitimate. In the end the schism weakened the religious faith of many Christians and brought church leadership into serious disrepute.

A first attempt to heal the schism led to the installation of a third pope and a threefold split, but finally a church council meeting at Constance (1414–1418) successfully deposed the three schismatic popes and elected a new leader, who took the name Martin V (pontificate 1417–1431). In the later fifteenth century the papacy concentrated on building up its wealth and political power in Italy rather than on the concerns of the whole church. As a result, many people decided that they would need to rely on their own prayers and pious actions rather than on the institutional church for their salvation.

The primary challenge facing the Orthodox Church was the expansion of the Turks. In the fourteenth century the Ottoman Turks, who were Sunni Muslim, expanded their rule beyond Anatolia to conquer most of the Balkans, defeating Christian armies. (See Map 9.2 and “Analyzing the Evidence: The Battle of Nicopolis” at right.) They besieged Constantinople many times, and in 1453 were successful, ending the Byzantine Empire. Christianity was no longer the state religion, but the patriarchate of Constantinople actually became more powerful, as the patriarchs were given civil and religious authority over all Christians in the expanding Ottoman Empire. The official religion was Islam, but Christians and Jews were largely free to practice their own religion; they paid higher taxes, however, so there were advantages to converting. The Ottoman Empire was mixed in terms of religion, language, and ethnicity and became a haven for Muslims and Jews fleeing discrimination that resulted from the reconquista in the Iberian Peninsula (see “The Expansion of Western and Eastern Christianity”).

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

The Battle of Nicopolis



Worcester Art Museum/Bridgeman Images

By the early 1390s the Ottomans had conquered most of the Balkans except for the area right around Constantinople and were moving toward Hungary. King Sigismund of Hungary sent a delegation to the king of France asking for help in “protecting Christianity,” and the pope proclaimed a crusade against the Ottomans. France and England had just made one of the periodic truces during the Hundred Years’ War, so French nobles responded enthusiastically to this opportunity to show off their prowess. Several thousand knights, foot soldiers, and archers — mostly Frenchmen but also some Germans, Poles, Spaniards, and others — traveled over land through the Holy Roman Empire, met up with Sigismund and his troops in Buda, and then marched down the Danube River into Turkish-held territory, pillaging and plundering as they went. The Venetians sent a naval fleet in support. The army besieged the fortress of Nicopolis, a key stronghold high on cliffs above the Danube, while the Turkish commander waited for Sultan Bayezid I and his forces to come to his aid. They did, and the Ottomans attacked the French/Hungarian army on September 25, 1396. The desire for glory, jealousies among the leaders, and a lack of planning among the French/Hungarian forces led to a complete rout, and thousands of troops were killed or captured by the Ottomans, though King Sigismund escaped. Some of the captives were executed, in retaliation for an earlier French execution of Turkish prisoners, but the nobles among them were held for ransom, and a few made it back to France several years later. Because the battle was so significant, it became the stuff of legend on both sides, with wildly inflated numbers of troops reported in chronicles, and Sultan Bayezid later dubbed "the Thunderbolt."

Both European and Turkish artists also depicted the battle in woodcuts, prints, and manuscript illustrations. The watercolor shown here, by the Ottoman court painter Nakkas Osman, comes from the *Hunernama*, an illustrated history written by the court historian Seyyid Lokman in 1588. Although it was produced nearly two hundred years after the battle, this painting is regarded as more accurate than many others, which include gunpowder weaponry that would not have been available at the time and large siege machines that the French/Hungarian army never used. The painting depicts the fortress of Nicopolis on the high cliffs at the upper right, armored French cavalry and foot soldiers at the left, and Ottoman cavalry and footsoldiers in turbans and high hats in the middle, led by Sultan Bayezid, who is right in the center. At the lower right, an Ottoman soldier leads a French captive away.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. How does the artist show that this was a total defeat?
2. How does the artist contrast the discipline of the Ottoman troops with the disorder of the French/Hungarian army?
3. This painting appeared in an official court history for a later Ottoman sultan. How might the position of Bayezid in the painting have appealed to later rulers? Can you think of other examples of paintings of battles that also show leaders in a prominent position?

Peasant and Urban Revolts

The difficult conditions of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries spurred a wave of peasant and urban revolts across Europe. In 1358, when French taxation for the Hundred Years' War fell heavily on the poor, the frustrations of the French peasantry exploded in a massive uprising called the Jacquerie (zhah-kuh-REE). Adding to the anger over taxes was the toll taken by the plague and by the famine that had struck some areas. Artisans, small merchants, and parish priests joined the peasants, and residents of both urban and rural areas committed terrible destruction. For several weeks the nobles were on the defensive, until the upper class united to repress the revolt with merciless ferocity.

Taxes and other grievances also led to the 1381 English Peasants' Revolt, involving tens of thousands of people. The Black Death had dramatically reduced the supply of labor, and peasants had demanded higher wages and fewer manorial obligations. Parliament countered with a law freezing wages and binding workers to their manors. The atmosphere of discontent was further enhanced by popular preachers who proclaimed that great disparities between rich and poor went against Christ's teachings. Moreover, decades of aristocratic violence, much of it perpetrated against the weak peasantry, had bred hostility and bitterness.

In 1380 Parliament imposed a poll tax on all citizens to fund the Hundred Years' War. This tax imposed a greater burden on the poor than on wealthier citizens, and it sparked revolt. The boy-king Richard II (r. 1377–1399) met the leaders of the revolt, agreed to charters ensuring the peasants' freedom, tricked them with false promises, and then proceeded to crush the uprising with terrible ferocity. The nobility tried to use this defeat to restore the labor obligations of serfdom, but they were not successful, and the conversion to money rents continued. In Flanders, France, and England peasant revolts often blended with conflicts involving workers in cities. Unrest also occurred in Italian, Spanish, and German cities. In Florence in 1378 the *ciompi*, or poor propertyless wool workers, revolted and briefly shared government of the city with wealthier artisans and merchants. Rebellions and uprisings everywhere revealed deep peasant and worker frustration with the socioeconomic conditions of the time.

Chapter Summary

Invasions by Vikings, Magyars, and Muslims, along with civil wars, created instability in the ninth and tenth centuries. Local nobles became the strongest powers against external threats, establishing a form of decentralized government later known as feudalism. By the twelfth century rulers in some parts of Europe had reasserted authority and were beginning to develop new institutions of government and legal codes that enabled them to assert power over lesser lords and the general population. The papacy also consolidated its power, though these moves were sometimes challenged by kings and emperors. Monasteries continued to be important places for learning and devotion, and new religious orders were founded. A papal call to retake the holy city of Jerusalem led to the Crusades.

The vast majority of medieval Europeans were peasants who lived in small villages and worked their own and their lord’s land. Nobles were a tiny fraction of the total population, but they exerted great power over all aspects of life. Medieval towns and cities grew initially as trading centers and then became centers of production.

Towns also developed into cultural and intellectual centers, as trade brought in new ideas as well as merchandise. Universities offered courses of study based on classical models, and townspeople built churches and cathedrals as symbols of their Christian faith and their civic pride. New types of vernacular literature arose in which poems, songs, and stories were written down in local dialects.

In the fourteenth century a worsening climate brought poor harvests, which contributed to an international economic depression and fostered disease. The Black Death caused enormous population losses and social, psychological, and economic consequences. Additional difficulties included the Hundred Years’ War, a schism among rival popes that weakened the Western Christian Church, and peasant and worker frustrations that exploded into uprisings.

CONNECTIONS

The Middle Ages continues to fascinate us today. We go to medieval fairs; visit castle-themed hotels; watch movies about knights and their conquests; play video games in which we become warriors, trolls, or sorcerers; and read stories with themes of great quests set in the Middle Ages. Characters from other parts of the world often heighten the exoticism: a Muslim soldier joins the fight against a common enemy, a Persian princess rescues the hero and his sidekick, a Buddhist monk teaches martial arts techniques. These characters from outside Europe are fictional, but they also represent aspects of reality because medieval Europe was not isolated, and political and social structures similar to those in western and eastern Europe developed elsewhere.

In reality few of us would probably want to live in the real Middle Ages, when most people worked in the fields all day and even wealthy lords lived in damp and drafty castles. We do not really want to return to a time when one-third to one-half of all children died before age five and alcohol was the only real pain reliever. But the contemporary appeal of the Middle Ages is an interesting phenomenon, particularly because it stands in such sharp contrast to the attitude of educated Europeans who lived in the centuries immediately afterward. They were the ones who dubbed the period “middle.” They saw their own era as the one to be celebrated, and the Middle Ages as best forgotten.

CHAPTER 14 Review and Explore

Identify Key Terms

Identify and explain the significance of each item below.

vassal (p. 376)
fief (p. 376)
feudalism (p. 376)
manorialism (p. 377)
serf (p. 378)
heresy (p. 381)
reconquista (p. 384)
Crusades (p. 384)
chivalry (p. 390)
craft guilds (p. 392)
commercial revolution (p. 392)
Scholastics (p. 393)
Gothic (p. 395)
vernacular literature (p. 395)
Black Death (p. 396)

Review the Main Ideas

Answer the focus questions from each section of the chapter.

1. How did medieval rulers restore order and centralize political power? (p. 376)
2. How did the Christian Church enhance its power and create new institutions and religious practices? (p. 379)
3. What were the causes, course, and consequences of the Crusades? (p. 384)
4. How did the lives of common people, nobles, and townspeople differ, and what new commercial developments increased wealth? (p. 388)
5. What were the primary educational and cultural developments in medieval Europe? (p. 393)
6. Why have the later Middle Ages been seen as a time of calamity and crisis? (p. 395)

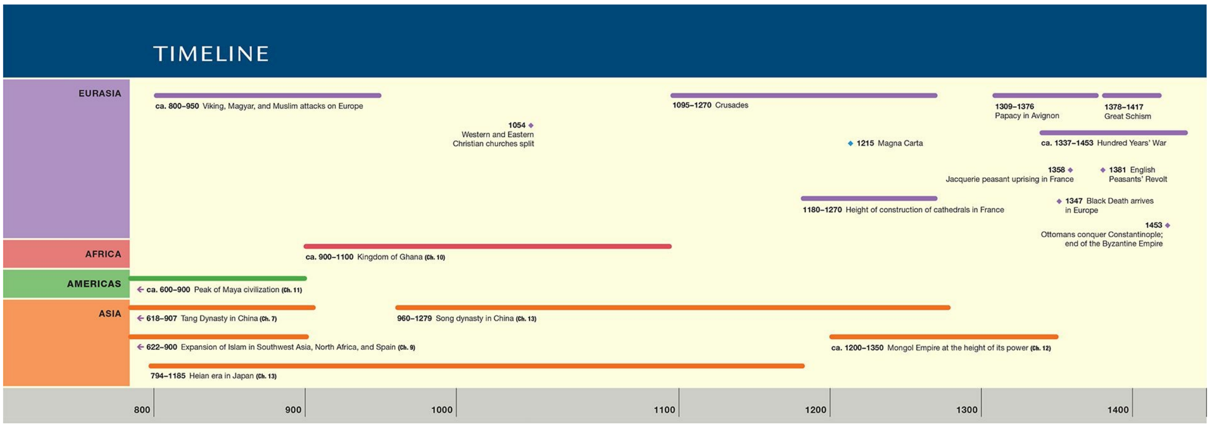
Make Comparisons and Connections

Analyze the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters.

1. What similarities and differences do you see between the institutions and

laws established by medieval European rulers discussed in this chapter and those of the Roman (Chapter 6), Byzantine (Chapter 8), and Chinese (Chapter 13) emperors?

2. What factors over the centuries enabled the Christian Church (Chapters 6, 8, 14) to become the most powerful and wealthy institution in Europe, and what problems did this create?
3. How would you compare the role of trade in economic development in the Islamic world (Chapter 9), Africa (Chapter 10), Southeast Asia (Chapter 12), China (Chapter 13), and Europe in the period from 800 to 1400?



Suggested Resources

Books

Allmand, Christopher. *The Hundred Years War: England and France at War, ca. 1300 – 1450*, rev. ed. 2005. Designed for students; examines the war from political, military, social, and economic perspectives and compares the way England and France reacted to the conflict.

Bartlett, Robert. *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950 – 1350*. 1993. A broad survey of many of the developments traced in this chapter.

Bennett, Judith M. *A Medieval Life: Cecelia Penifader of Brigstock, c. 1297 – 1344*. 1998. An excellent brief introduction to all aspects of medieval village life from the perspective of one woman; designed for students.

Epstein, Steven A. *An Economic and Social History of Later Medieval Europe, 1000 – 1500*. 2009. Examines the most important themes in European social and economic history, with a wide geographic sweep.

Glick, Leonard B. *Abraham's Heirs: Jews and Christians in Medieval Europe*. 1999. Provides information on many aspects of Jewish life and Jewish-Christian relations.

Herlihy, David. *The Black Death and the Transformation of the West*, 2d ed. 1997. A fine treatment of the causes and cultural consequences of the disease that remains the best starting point for study of the great epidemic.

Herrin, Judith. *Byzantium: The Surprising Life of a Medieval Empire*. 2008.

Portrays the Byzantine Empire as tradition based yet dynamic and discusses its significance for today; written for a general audience.

Janin, Hunt. *The University in Medieval Life, 1179 – 1499*. 2008. An overview of medieval universities designed for general readers.

Kaeuper, Richard W. *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe*. 2006. Examines the role chivalry played in promoting violent disorder.

Madden, Thomas. *The New Concise History of the Crusades*. 2005. A highly readable brief survey by the pre-eminent American scholar of the Crusades.

Shahar, Shulamit. *The Fourth Estate: A History of Women in the Middle Ages,* 2d ed. 2003. Analyzes attitudes toward women and provides information on the lives of a variety of women, including nuns, peasants, noblewomen, and townswomen.

Shinners, John. *Medieval Popular Religion, 1000 – 1500*, 2d ed. 2006. An excellent collection of a wide variety of sources that provide evidence about the beliefs and practices of ordinary Christians.

Spufford, Peter. *Power and Profit: The Merchant in Medieval Europe*. 2003. A comprehensive history of medieval commerce, designed for general readers; includes many illustrations.

Winroth, Anders. *The Age of the Vikings*. 2014. An insightful look at all aspects of Viking society: raiding, trade, religion, art, poetry, and life at home in early medieval Scandinavia.

Documentaries

Battle Castle (Parallax, 2012). A six-part interactive documentary, first shown on Canadian television, that examines sieges and battles involving six formidable castles in Syria, France, Spain, Wales, Poland, and England. Reflects high production values and excellent scholarship, and is accompanied by a website and a computer game.

Terry Jones' Medieval Lives (BBC, 2004). An award-winning eight-part documentary series that focuses on the real experiences of certain kinds of medieval people often portrayed stereotypically, including the peasant, the damsel, the minstrel, the knight, and the outlaw.

Feature Films

Braveheart (Mel Gibson, 1995). Loosely based on the story of the thirteenth-century Scottish nobleman William Wallace, this historical epic regularly shows up on lists of best medieval films (for its battle scenes) and worst medieval films (for its historical inaccuracy).

The Lion in Winter (Anthony Harvey, 1968) (Andrey Konchalovskiy, 2003). Two award-winning film versions of the same play, centering on the intense and hostile relationships among Henry II, his wife Eleanor of Aquitaine, and their sons. The 1968 version stars Katharine Hepburn and Peter O'Toole, and the 2003 version stars Glenn Close and Patrick Stewart.

Monty Python and the Holy Grail (Terry Gilliam and Terry Jones, 1975). A spoof of the King Arthur legend and a send-up of popular views of the Middle Ages. The basis for Eric Idle's 2005 Tony Award–winning musical *Spamalot*.

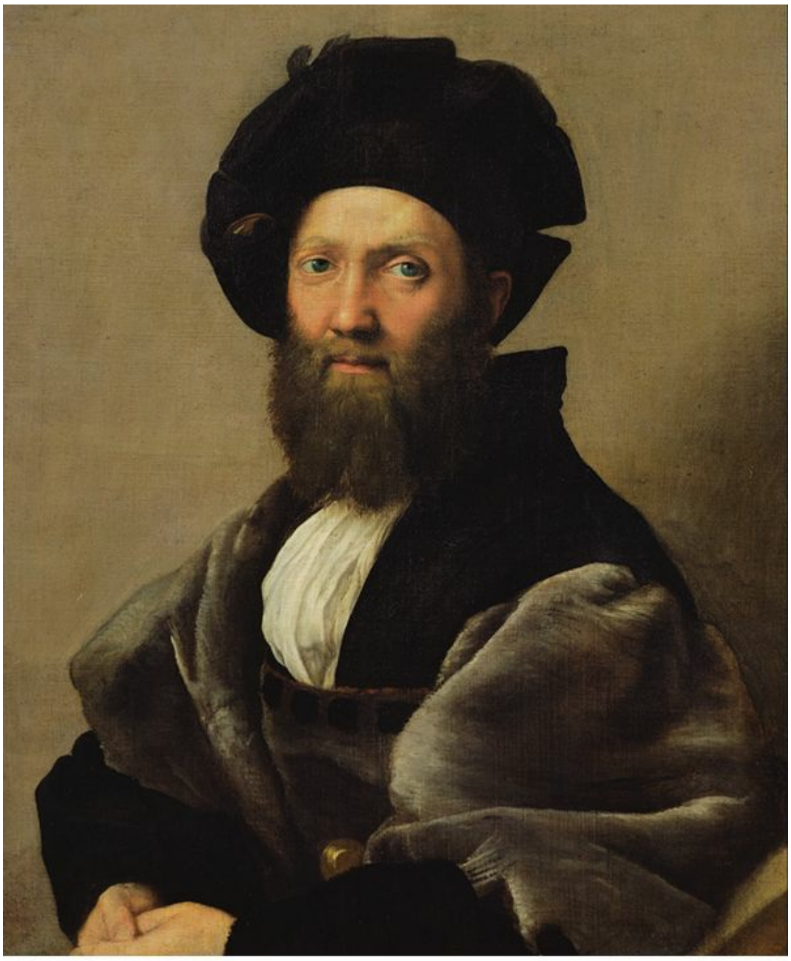
Websites

Medievalists.net. This medieval-oriented blog provides news, articles, videos, reviews, and general information about the Middle Ages and medieval society. **www.medievalists.net**

15

Europe in the Renaissance and Reformation

1350–1600



Louvre, Paris, France/Bridgeman Images

Portrait of Baldassare Castiglione

The author and courtier Baldassare Castiglione

directs his calm gaze toward the viewer in this portrait by the renowned Italian Renaissance artist Raphael. Individual portraits like this one expressed the ideals of the Renaissance: elegance, balance, proportion, and self-awareness.

While disease, famine, and war marked the fourteenth century in much of Europe, the era also witnessed the beginnings of remarkable changes in many aspects of intellectual and cultural life. First in Italy and then elsewhere, artists and writers thought that they were living in a new golden age, later termed the Renaissance, French for “rebirth.” The word *Renaissance* was used initially to describe art that seemed to recapture, or perhaps even surpass, the glories of the classical past and then came to be used for many aspects of life of the period. The new attitude diffused slowly out of Italy, with the result that the Renaissance “happened” at different times in different parts of Europe. It shaped the lives of Europe’s educated elites, although families, kin networks, religious beliefs, and the rhythms of the agricultural year still remained important.

Religious reformers carried out even more dramatic changes. Calls for reform of the Christian Church began very early in its history and continued throughout the Middle Ages. In the sixteenth century these calls gained wide acceptance, due not only to religious issues and problems within the church but also to political and social factors. In a movement termed the Protestant Reformation, Western Christianity broke into many divisions, a situation that continues today. The Renaissance and the Reformation were very different types of movements, but both looked back to a time people regarded as purer and better than their own, and both offered opportunities for strong individuals to shape their world in unexpected ways. Both have also been seen as key elements in the creation of the “modern” world.

CHAPTER PREVIEW

RENAISSANCE CULTURE
What were the major cultural developments of the Renaissance?

SOCIAL HIERARCHIES
What were the key social hierarchies in Renaissance Europe, and how did these hierarchies shape people’s lives?

POLITICS AND THE STATE IN THE RENAISSANCE
How did the nation-states of western Europe evolve in this period?

THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION
What were the central ideas of Protestant reformers, and why were they appealing to various groups across Europe?

THE CATHOLIC REFORMATION
How did the Catholic Church respond to the new religious situation?

RELIGIOUS VIOLENCE
What were the causes and consequences of religious violence, including riots, wars, and witch-hunts?

Renaissance Culture

What were the major cultural developments of the Renaissance?

The **Renaissance** (ca. 1350–1520) was characterized by self-conscious awareness among fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Italians, particularly scholars and writers known as humanists, that they were living in a new era. Their ideas influenced education and were spread through the new technology of the printing press. Interest in the classical past and in the individual also shaped Renaissance art in terms of style and subject matter.

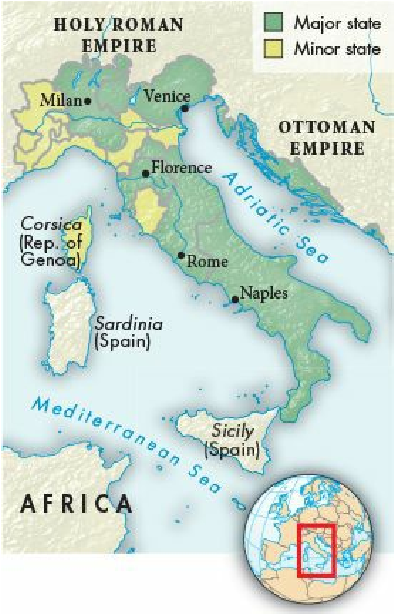
Renaissance A French word meaning "rebirth," used to describe a cultural movement that began in fourteenth-century Italy and looked back to the classical past.

Wealth and Power in Renaissance Italy

Economic growth laid the material basis for the Italian Renaissance and its cultural achievements. Ambitious merchants gained political power to match their economic power and then used their money to buy luxuries and hire talent in a **patronage** system. Through this system, cities, groups, and individuals commissioned writers and artists to produce specific works or works in specific styles. Thus economics, politics, and culture were interconnected.

patronage Financial support of writers and artists by cities, groups, and individuals, often to produce specific works or works in specific styles.

The Renaissance began in the northern Italian city of Florence, which possessed enormous wealth as a consequence of its domination of European banking. Banking profits allowed elite families to control the city's politics and culture. Although Florence was officially a republic, starting in 1434 the great Medici (MEH-duh-chee) banking family held power almost continually until 1737. They supported an academy for scholars and a host of painters, sculptors, poets, and architects. (See "Individuals in Society: Cosimo and Lorenzo de' Medici," at right.)


HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
🟩 Major state
🟨 Minor state
Milan
Venice
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Florence
Adriatic Sea
Corsica (Rep. of Genoa)
Rome
Naples
Sardinia (Spain)
Mediterranean Sea
Sicily (Spain)
AFRICA

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Italian States, 1494

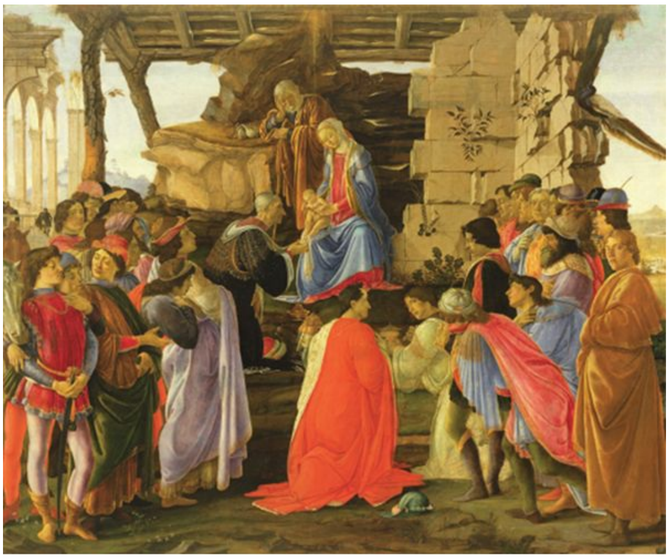
In other Italian cities as well, wealthy merchants and bankers built magnificent palaces and became patrons of the arts, hiring not only architects to design and build these palaces but also artists to fill them with paintings and sculptures, and musicians and composers to fill them with music. Attractions like these appealed to the rich, social-climbing residents of Venice, Florence, Genoa, and Rome, who came to see life more as an opportunity for enjoyment than as a painful pilgrimage to Heaven.

This cultural flowering took place amid political turmoil. In the fifteenth century five powers dominated the Italian peninsula: Venice, Milan, Florence, the Papal States, and the kingdom of Naples. These powers competed furiously for territory and tried to extend their authority over smaller city-states. Whenever one Italian state appeared to gain a predominant position within the peninsula, other states combined to establish a balance of power against the threat, thereby preventing long-term political consolidation.

This division facilitated outside invasions of Italy. These began in 1494 as Italy became the focus of international ambitions and the battleground of foreign armies, and Italian cities suffered severely from continual warfare for decades. Thus the failure of the city-states to form some type of federal system — or at least to establish a common foreign policy — led to centuries of subjugation by outside invaders. Italy was not to achieve unification until 1870.

INDIVIDUALS IN SOCIETY

Cosimo and Lorenzo de' Medici



Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, Italy/Bridgeman Images

Botticelli's *Adoration of the Magi* shows many members of the Medici family and their circle, including the artist himself at the far right.

THE RENAISSANCE IS OFTEN DESCRIBED AS A TIME OF growing individualism, a development evidenced in the era's many personal portraits and individual biographies. But a person's family also remained important, even for those at the very top of society. The Medici of Florence were one of Europe's wealthiest families and used their money to influence politics and culture. The Medici got their start in banking in the late fourteenth century, with smart bets on what would happen politically in turbulent Italy and the adoption of the best new business practices. By the early fifteenth century the Medici bank had branches in Rome, Pisa, London, and other important European cities, and it served as the pope's primary banker.

Cosimo (1389–1464) and his grandson Lorenzo (1449–1492) were the most influential Medici. Not content simply with great wealth, Cosimo operated behind the scenes to gain control of the Florentine political system, although officially the city remained a republic. Worries about his growing power led the dominant faction of the Florentine city council to exile him, but he took his money and his business with him and was soon asked to return. Cosimo supported artists and thinkers, sponsoring what became known as the Platonic Academy, an informal group of Florence's cultural elite named in honor of

Plato's famous academy in ancient Athens. Here Marsilio Ficino and other humanists translated Plato's works into Latin, making Greek learning available to a much wider European audience. Cosimo collected books and manuscripts from all over Europe, assembling an impressive library within the equally impressive Medici palace that he built in the heart of Florence.

Like his grandfather, Lorenzo was the head of the Medici bank and the de facto ruler of Florence. He, too, survived an attempt to oust and even murder him, and the constitution of Florence was modified to favor the Medici. Lorenzo came to be known during his lifetime — with no irony — as "Lorenzo the Magnificent," primarily for his support for learning and the arts. As they had in Cosimo's day, a group of poets, philosophers, and artists spent much of their time at the Medici palace, where Lorenzo patronized writing in Italian as well as humanist scholarship, and himself wrote love lyrics, sonnets, odes, and carnival songs. The group included the humanists Ficino and Giovanni Pico della Mirandola and the artists Michelangelo, Leonardo da Vinci, and Sandro Botticelli, all of them influenced by Platonic concepts of beauty and love. Botticelli's *Adoration of the Magi* shows Cosimo (who was dead by the time the picture was painted) kneeling in front of the Virgin Mary as one of the three kings giving gifts to the infant Jesus, while a black-haired Lorenzo stands with other important Florentines on the right.

In the 1490s many of the Medici bank branches collapsed because of bad loans, and Lorenzo's diplomacy was not successful in maintaining a peaceful balance of power. Like many others in Florence, Lorenzo came under the spell of the charismatic preacher Savonarola, but he died before Savonarola's prediction that God would punish Italy for its vices appeared to come true when the French invaded. The Medici were again ousted, but just as before, they returned, and later became the official and hereditary rulers of Florence and its environs as the Grand Dukes of Tuscany.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Renaissance people were fascinated by the quality of virtù, the ability to shape the world around one according to one's will. How did Cosimo and Lorenzo exhibit virtù?
2. The Medici created a model for very wealthy people of how to obtain political and cultural influence. Can you think of more recent examples, including contemporary ones, of those who followed this model?

The Rise of Humanism

The Renaissance was a self-conscious intellectual movement. The realization that something new and unique was happening first came to writers in the fourteenth century, especially to the Italian poet and humanist Francesco Petrarch (frahn-CHEH-skoh PEH-trahrk) (1304–1374). Along with many of his contemporaries, Petrarch sought to reconnect with the classical past, and he believed that such efforts were bringing on a new golden age of intellectual achievement.

Petrarch and other poets, writers, and artists showed a deep interest both in the physical remains of the Roman Empire and in classical Latin texts. The study of Latin classics became known as the *studia humanitates*, usually translated as "liberal studies" or the "liberal arts." People who advocated it were known as *humanists,* and their program as **humanism**. Like all programs of study, humanism contained an implicit philosophy: that human nature and achievements were worthy of contemplation. Humanists did not reject religion; instead they sought to synthesize Christian and classical teachings, pointing out the harmony between them.

humanism A program of study designed by Italians that emphasized the critical study of Latin and Greek literature with the goal of understanding human nature.

Humanists and other Renaissance thinkers emphasized individual achievement. They were especially interested in individuals who had risen above their background to become brilliant, powerful, or unique. Such individuals had the admirable quality of *virtù* (vir-TOO), which is not virtue in the sense of moral goodness, but the ability to shape the world around them according to their will. Humanists thought that their recommended course of study in the classics would provide essential skills for all those who would take on this challenge. Just as Confucian officials did in Song China, they also taught that taking an active role in the world and working for the common good should be the aim of all educated individuals.

Humanists put their educational ideas into practice. They opened schools and academies in which pupils began with Latin grammar and rhetoric, went on to study Roman history and political philosophy, and then learned Greek in order to study Greek literature and philosophy. These classics, humanists taught, would provide models of how to write clearly, argue effectively, and speak persuasively. Gradually humanist education became the basis for intermediate and advanced education for well-to-do urban boys and men. (See “Thinking Like a Historian: Humanist Learning,” page 412.)

Humanists disagreed about education for women. Many saw the value of exposing women to classical models of moral behavior and reasoning, but they also wondered whether a program of study that emphasized eloquence and action was proper for women, whose sphere was generally understood to be private and domestic. Through tutors or programs of self-study a few women did become educated in the classics.

Humanists looked to the classical past for political as well as literary models. The best-known political theorist of this era was Niccolò Machiavelli (nih-KOH-loh mah-kee-ah-VEH-lee) (1469–1527), who worked as an official for the city of Florence until he was ousted in a power struggle. He spent the rest of his life writing, and his most famous work is the political treatise *The Prince* (1513). Using the examples of classical and contemporary rulers, *The Prince* argues that the function of a ruler (or a government) is to preserve order and security. To preserve the state, a ruler should use whatever means necessary — brutality, lying, manipulation — but he should not do anything that would make the populace turn against him. *The Prince* is often seen as the first modern guide to politics in the West, though Machiavelli was denounced for writing it, and people later came to use the word *Machiavellian* to mean cunning and ruthless. Machiavelli put a new spin on the Renaissance search for perfection, arguing that ideals needed to be measured in the cold light of the real world.

THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN

Humanist Learning

Renaissance humanists wrote often and forcefully about education, and learning was also a subject of artistic works shaped by humanist ideas. What did humanists see as the best course of study and the purpose of education, and how were these different for men and women?

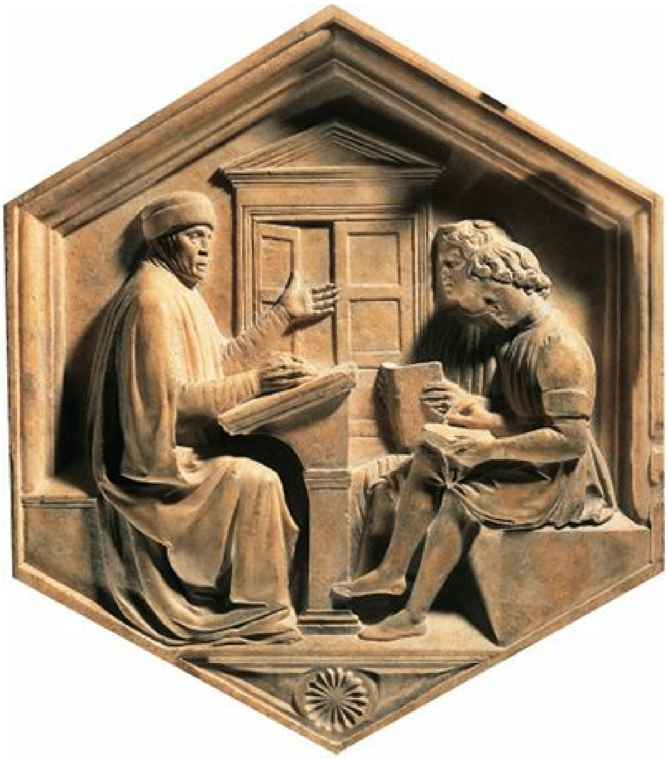
1 **Peter Paul Vergerius, letter to Ubertinus of Padua, 1392.** The Venetian scholar and church official Vergerius (1370–1445) advises the son of the ruler of Padua about the proper education for men.

■ We call those studies liberal which are worthy of a free man; those studies by which we attain and practise virtue and wisdom; that education which calls forth, trains and develops those highest gifts of body and of mind which ennoble men, and which are rightly judged to rank next in dignity to virtue only.… Amongst these I accord the first place to History, on grounds both of its attractiveness and of its utility, qualities which appeal equally to the scholar and to the statesman. Next in importance ranks Moral Philosophy, which indeed is, in a peculiar sense, a “Liberal Art,” in that its purpose is to teach men the secret of true freedom. History, then, gives us the concrete examples of the precepts inculcated by philosophy. The one shews what men should do, the other what men have said and done in the past, and what practical lessons we may draw therefrom for the present day. I would indicate as the third main branch of study, Eloquence, which indeed holds a place of distinction amongst the refined Arts. By philosophy we learn the essential truth of things, which by eloquence we so exhibit in orderly adornment as to bring conviction to differing minds. And history provides the light of experience — a cumulative wisdom fit to supplement the force of reason and the persuasion of eloquence. For we allow that soundness of judgment, wisdom of speech, integrity of conduct are the marks of a truly liberal temper.

2 **Leonardo Bruni, letter to Lady Baptista Malatesta, ca. 1405.** The Florentine humanist and city official Leonardo Bruni advises the daughter of the duke of Urbino about the proper education for women.

■ There are certain subjects in which, whilst a modest proficiency is on all accounts to be desired, a minute knowledge and excessive devotion seem to be a vain display. For instance, subtleties of Arithmetic and Geometry are not worthy to absorb a cultivated mind, and the same must be said of Astrology. You will be surprised to find me suggesting (though with much more hesitation) that the great and complex art of Rhetoric should be placed in the same category. My chief reason is the obvious one, that I have in view the cultivation most fitting to a woman. To her neither the intricacies of debate nor the oratorical artifices of action and delivery are of the least practical use, if indeed they are not positively unbecoming. Rhetoric in all its forms — public discussion, forensic argument, logical fence, and the like — lies absolutely outside the province of woman. What Disciplines then are properly open to her? In the first place she has before her, as a subject peculiarly her own, the whole field of religion and morals. The literature of the Church will thus claim her earnest study…. Moreover, the cultivated Christian lady has no need in the study of this weighty subject to confine herself to ecclesiastical writers. Morals, indeed, have been treated of by the noblest intellects of Greece and Rome. [Then] I place History: a subject which must not on any account be neglected by one who aspires to true cultivation. For it is our duty to understand the origins of our own history and its development; and the achievements of Peoples and of Kings.

3 **Luca della Robbia, *Grammar*, 1437–1439.** In this hexagonal panel made for the bell tower of the cathedral of Florence, Luca della Robbia conveys ideas about the course and goals of learning with the open classical door in the background.



Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore Museum, Florence, Italy/Alfredo Dagli Orti/De Agostini Picture Library/ Getty Images

4 **Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, "Oration on the Dignity of Man," 1486.** Pico, the brilliant son of an Italian count and protégé of Lorenzo de' Medici, wrote an impassioned summary of human capacities for learning that ends with this.

■ O sublime generosity of God the Father! O highest and most wonderful felicity of man! To him it was granted to have what he chooses, to be what he wills. At the moment when they are born, beasts bring with them from their mother's womb, as Lucilius [the classical Roman author] says, whatever they shall possess. From the beginning or soon afterwards, the highest spiritual beings have been what they are to be for all eternity. When man came into life, the Father endowed him with all kinds of seeds and the germs of every way of life. Whatever seeds each man cultivates will grow and bear fruit in him. If these seeds are vegetative, he will be like a plant; if they are sensitive, he will become like the beasts; if they are rational, he will become like a heavenly creature; if intellectual, he will be an angel and a son of God. And if, content with the lot of no created being, he withdraws into the centre of his own oneness, his spirit, made one with God in the solitary darkness of the Father, which is above all things, will surpass all things. Who then will not wonder at this chameleon of ours, or who could wonder more greatly at anything else?

5 **Cassandra Fedele, "Oration on Learning," 1487.** The Venetian Cassandra Fedele (1465–1558), the best-known female scholar of her time, gave an oration in Latin at the University of Padua in honor of her (male) cousin's graduation.

■ I shall speak very briefly on the study of the liberal arts, which for humans is useful and honorable, pleasurable and enlightening since everyone, not only philosophers but also the most ignorant man, knows and admits that it is by reason that man is separated from beasts. For what is it that so greatly helps both the learned and the ignorant? What so enlarges and enlightens men's minds the way that an education in and knowledge of literature and the liberal arts do? … But erudite men who are filled with the knowledge of divine and human things turn all their thoughts and considerations toward reason as though toward a target, and free their minds from all pain, though plagued by many anxieties. These men are scarcely subjected to fortune's innumerable arrows and they prepare themselves to live well and in happiness. They follow reason as their leader in all things; nor do they consider themselves only, but they are also accustomed to assisting others with their energy and advice in matters public and private.… The study of literature refines men's minds, forms and makes bright the power of reason, and washes away all stains from the mind, or at any rate, greatly cleanses it.… States, however, and their princes who foster and cultivate these studies become more humane, more gracious, and more noble.… But enough on the utility of literature since it produces not only an outcome that is rich, precious, and sublime, but also provides one with advantages that are extremely pleasurable, fruitful, and lasting — benefits that I myself have enjoyed. And when I meditate on the idea of marching forth in life with the lowly and execrable weapons of the little woman — the needle and the distaff [the rod onto which yarn is wound after spinning] — even if the study of literature offers women no rewards or honors, I believe women must nonetheless pursue and embrace such studies alone for the pleasure and enjoyment they contain.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. According to these sources, what should people learn? Why should they learn?

2. Renaissance humanism has sometimes been viewed as opposed to religion, especially to the teachings of the Catholic Church at the time. Do these sources support this idea?
3. How are the programs of study recommended for men and women similar? How and why are they different?
4. How does the gender of the author shape his or her ideas about the human capacity for reason and learning?

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

Using the sources above, along with what you have learned in class and in this chapter, write a short essay that analyzes humanist learning. What were the goals and purposes of humanist education, and how were these different for men and women? How did these differences reflect Renaissance society more generally?

Sources: (1, 2) W. H. Woodward, ed. and trans., *Vittorino da Feltre and Other Humanist Educators* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1897), pp. 102, 106–107, 126–127; (4) Translated by Mary Martin McLaughlin, in *The Portable Renaissance Reader*, edited by James Bruce Ross and Mary Martin McLaughlin, copyright 1953, 1968, renewed © 1981 by Penguin Random House LLC. Used by permission of Viking Books, an imprint of Penguin Publishing Group, a division of Penguin Random House LLC; (5) Cassandra Fedele, *Letters and Orations*, ed. and trans. Diana Robin. Copyright © 2000 by The University of Chicago Press. Reproduced with permission of UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS in the format Republish in a book via Copyright Clearance Center.

Christian Humanism

In the last quarter of the fifteenth century students from the Low Countries, France, Germany, and England flocked to Italy, absorbed the “new learning” of humanism, and carried it back to their own countries. Northern humanists shared the Italians’ ideas about the wisdom of ancient texts and felt even more strongly that the best elements of classical and Christian cultures should be combined. These **Christian humanists**, as they were later called, saw humanist learning as a way to bring about reform of the church and to deepen people’s spiritual lives.

Christian humanists Humanists from northern Europe who thought that the best elements of classical and Christian cultures should be combined and saw humanist learning as a way to bring about reform of the church and deepen people’s spiritual lives.

The Englishman Thomas More (1478–1535) began life as a lawyer, studied the classics, and entered government service. He became best known for his controversial dialogue *Utopia* (1516). *Utopia* describes a community on an island somewhere beyond Europe where all children receive a good humanist education and adults divide their days between manual labor or business pursuits and intellectual activities. The problems that plagued More’s fellow citizens, such as poverty and hunger, are solved by a beneficent government. Inequality and greed are prevented because profits from business and property are held in common, not privately. Furthermore, there is religious tolerance, and order and reason prevail.

Better known by contemporaries than Thomas More was the Dutch humanist Desiderius Erasmus (deh-she-DEHR-ee-uhs eh-RAHS-muhs) (1466?–1536) of Rotterdam. His fame rested largely on his exceptional knowledge of Greek and the Bible, as well as his many publications. For Erasmus, education was the key to moral and intellectual improvement, and true Christianity was an inner attitude of the spirit, not a set of outward actions.

Printing and Its Social Impact

The impact of new ideas during this period was magnified by the invention of the printing press with movable metal type. While printing with movable type was invented in China (see “The Scholar-Officials and Neo-

Confucianism" in Chapter 13), movable *metal* type was actually developed in the thirteenth century in Korea, though it was tightly controlled by the monarchy and did not have the broad impact there that printing did in Europe. Printing with movable metal type developed in Germany around 1450. Several metal-smiths, most prominently Johann Gutenberg (ca. 1400–1468), transformed the metal stamps used to mark signs on jewelry into type that could be covered with ink and used to mark symbols onto a page. This type could be rearranged for every page and thus could be used over and over. The printing revolution was also enabled by the ready availability of paper, which was made using techniques that had originated in China and spread from Muslim Spain to the rest of Europe.

The effects of the invention of movable-type printing were not felt overnight. Nevertheless, within a half century of the publication of Gutenberg's Bible of 1456, movable type had brought about radical changes. Historians estimate that somewhere between 8 million and 20 million books were printed in Europe between 1456 and 1500, many more than the total number of books that had been produced in the West during the many millennia between the invention of writing and 1456.

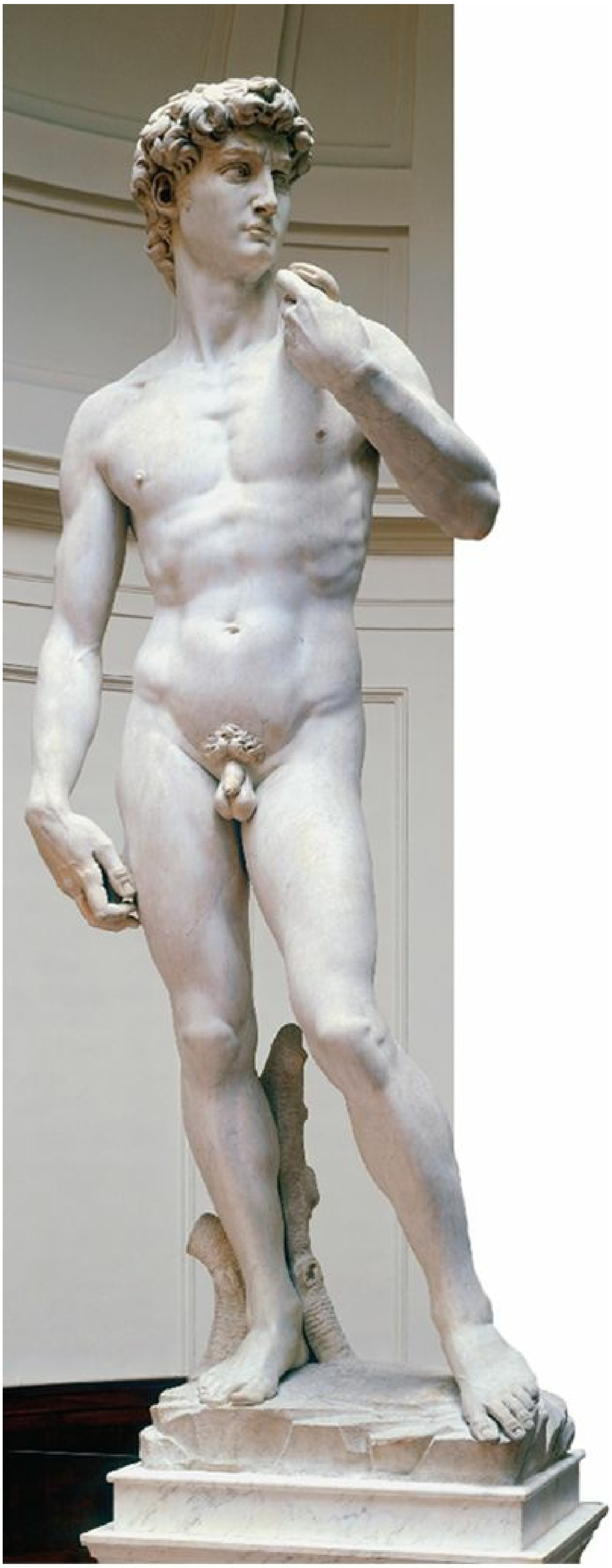
Printing transformed both the private and the public lives of Europeans. In the public realm, government and church leaders both used and worried about printing. They printed laws, declarations of war, battle accounts, and propaganda, but they also attempted to censor or ban books and authors whose ideas they thought were wrong. These efforts were rarely effective.

In the private realm, printing enabled people to read identical books so that they could more easily discuss the ideas that the books contained. Although most of the earliest books and pamphlets dealt with religious subjects, printers produced anything that would sell. Illustrations increased a book's sales, so printers published books full of woodcuts and engravings. Additionally, single-page broadsides and fly sheets allowed public events and "wonders" such as comets and two-headed calves to be experienced vicariously. Since books and other printed materials were read aloud to illiterate listeners, print bridged the gap between the written and oral cultures.

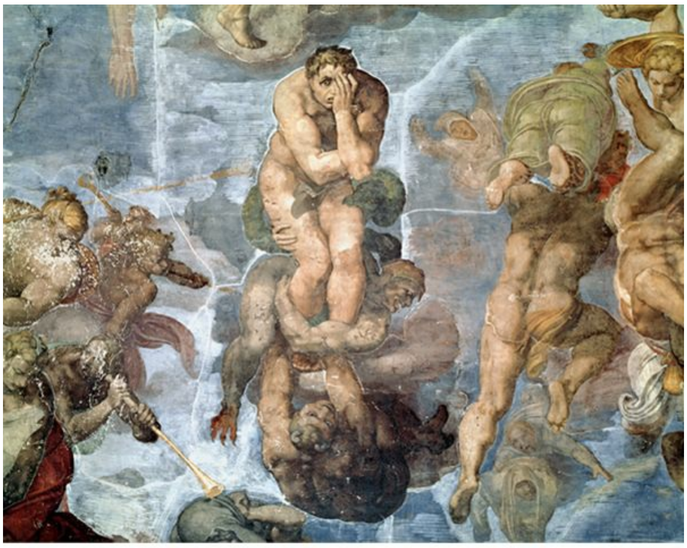
Because many laypeople could not read Latin, printers put out works in vernacular languages, fostering standardization in these languages. Works in these languages were also performed on stage. Traveling companies of actors performed before royal courts and in town squares, and in larger cities public theaters offered bawdy comedies and bloody tragedies. In London the works of William Shakespeare (1564–1616) were especially popular.

Art and the Artist

No feature of the Renaissance evokes greater admiration than its artistic masterpieces. In Renaissance Italy wealthy merchants, bankers, popes, and princes spent vast sums to commission art as a means of glorifying themselves and their families. Patrons varied in their level of involvement as a work progressed; some simply ordered a specific subject or scene, while others oversaw the work of the artist or architect very closely.



Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence, Italy/Scala/Ministero per i Beni e la Attività Culturali/Art Resource, NY

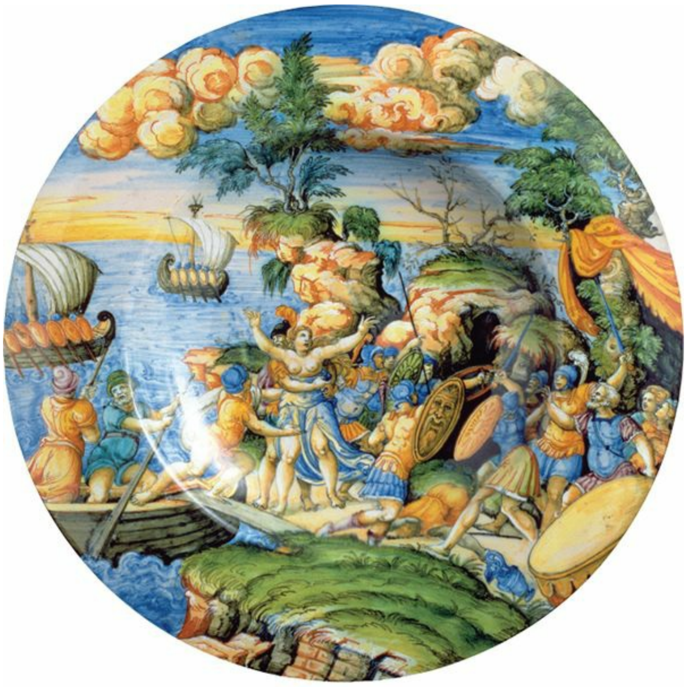


Vatican Museum and Galleries, Vatican City/Alinari/Bridgeman Images

Michelangelo's *David* (1501–1504) and the *Last Judgment* (detail, 1537–1541) Like all Renaissance artists, Michelangelo worked largely on commissions from patrons. Officials of the city of Florence contracted the young sculptor to produce a statue of the Old Testament hero David to be displayed in the city's main square. Michelangelo portrayed David anticipating his fight against the giant Goliath, and the statue came to symbolize the republic of Florence standing up to its larger and more powerful enemies. More than thirty years later, Michelangelo was commissioned by the pope to paint a scene of the Last Judgment on the altar wall of the Sistine Chapel, where he had earlier spent four years covering the ceiling with magnificent frescoes. The massive work shows a powerful Christ standing in judgment, with souls ascending into Heaven while others are dragged by demons into Hell (above). The *David* captures ideals of human perfection and has come to be an iconic symbol of Renaissance artistic brilliance, while the dramatic and violent *Last Judgment* conveys both terror and divine power.

As a result of patronage, certain artists gained great public acclaim and adulation, leading many historians to view the Renaissance as the beginning of the concept of the artist as genius. In the Middle Ages, people believed that only God created, albeit through individuals, and artistic originality was not particularly valued. By contrast, Renaissance artists and humanists came to think that a work of art was the deliberate creation of a unique personality, of an individual who transcended traditions, rules, and theories.

In terms of artistic themes, religious topics remained popular among both patrons and artists, but frequently the patron had himself and his family portrayed in the scene. As the fifteenth century advanced and humanist ideas spread more widely, classical themes and motifs figured increasingly in painting and sculpture. Classical styles also influenced architecture, as architects designed buildings that featured arches and domes modeled on the structures of ancient Rome.

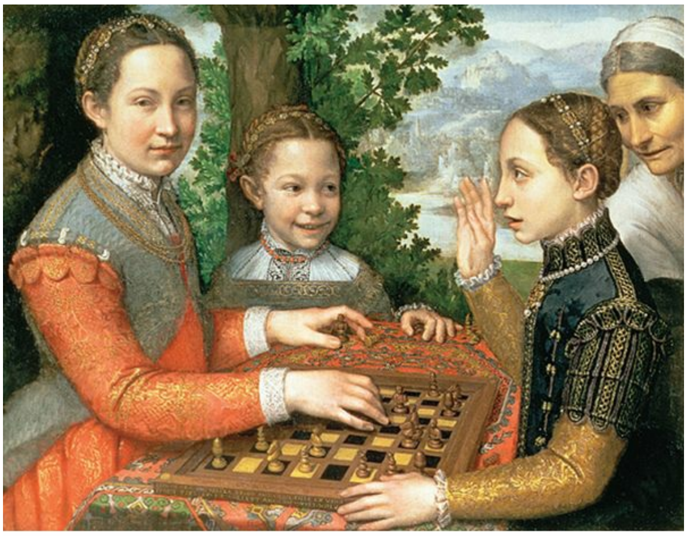


Nazionale del Bargello, Florence, Italy/Bridgeman Images

Plate Showing the Abduction of Helen of Troy
Filled with well-muscled men, curvaceous women, and exotic landscapes, this colorful plate depicts a well-known scene from Greek mythology, the abduction of Helen, which sparked the Trojan War. Such tin-glazed pottery, known as maiolica and made in many places in Italy beginning in the late fifteenth century, was sold throughout Europe to wealthy consumers, who favored designs with family crests or legendary or historical scenes, known as *istoriato* ("painted with stories").

The individual portrait emerged as a distinct genre in Renaissance art. Rather than reflecting a spiritual ideal, as medieval painting and sculpture tended to do, Renaissance portraits showed human ideals, often portrayed in a more realistic style. The Florentine sculptor Donatello (doh-nah-TELL-oh) (1386–1466) revived the classical figure. Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519) was particularly adept at portraying female grace and beauty. Another Florentine artist, Raphael Sanzio (RAH-feh-ell SAN-zee-oh) (1483–1520), painted hundreds of portraits, becoming the most sought-after artist in Europe (see the portrait at the beginning of this chapter).

In the late fifteenth century the center of Renaissance art shifted from Florence to Rome, where wealthy cardinals and popes became active patrons of the arts. To meet this demand, Michelangelo Buonarroti (mee-kell-AN-geh-loh bwa-nah-RAH-tee) (1475–1564) went to Rome from Florence in about 1500 and began the series of statues, paintings, and architectural projects from which he gained an international reputation. Most famously, between 1508 and 1512 he painted religiously themed frescoes on the ceiling and altar wall of the Sistine Chapel.



Museum Narodowe, Poznan, Poland/Bridgeman Images

***The Chess Game*, 1555** In this oil painting, the Italian artist Sofonisba Anguissola (1532–1625) shows her three younger sisters playing chess, a game that was growing in popularity in the sixteenth century. Each sister looks at the one immediately older than herself, with the girl on the left looking out at her sister, the artist. Anguissola's father, a minor nobleman, recognized his daughter's talent and arranged for her to study with several painters. She became a court painter at the Spanish royal court, where she painted many portraits. Returning to Italy, she continued to be active, painting her last portrait when she was over eighty.

In both Italy and northern Europe most aspiring artists were educated in the workshops of older artists. By the later sixteenth century formal academies were also established to train artists. Like universities, artistic workshops and academies were male-only settings. Several women did become well known as painters during the Renaissance, but they were trained by their artist fathers and often quit painting when they married.

Women were not alone in being excluded from the institutions of Renaissance culture. Though a few talented artists such as Leonardo and

Michelangelo emerged from artisanal backgrounds, most scholars and artists came from families with at least some money. The audience for artists’ work was also exclusive, limited mostly to educated and prosperous citizens. Although common people in large cities might have occasionally seen plays such as those of Shakespeare, most people lived in villages with no access to formal schooling or to the work of prominent artists. In general a small, highly educated minority of literary humanists and artists created the culture of and for a social elite. In this way the Renaissance maintained, and even enhanced, a gulf between the learned minority and the uneducated multitude.

Social Hierarchies

What were the key social hierarchies in Renaissance Europe, and how did these hierarchies shape people's lives?

The division between the educated and uneducated was one of many social hierarchies evident in the Renaissance. Other hierarchies built on those of the Middle Ages, but also developed new features that contributed to modern social hierarchies, such as those of race, class, and gender.

Race and Slavery

Renaissance people did not use the word *race* the way we do, but often used *race*, *people*, and *nation* interchangeably for ethnic, national, and religious groups. They did make distinctions based on skin color that were in keeping with later conceptualizations of race, but these distinctions were interwoven with other characteristics when people thought about human differences.

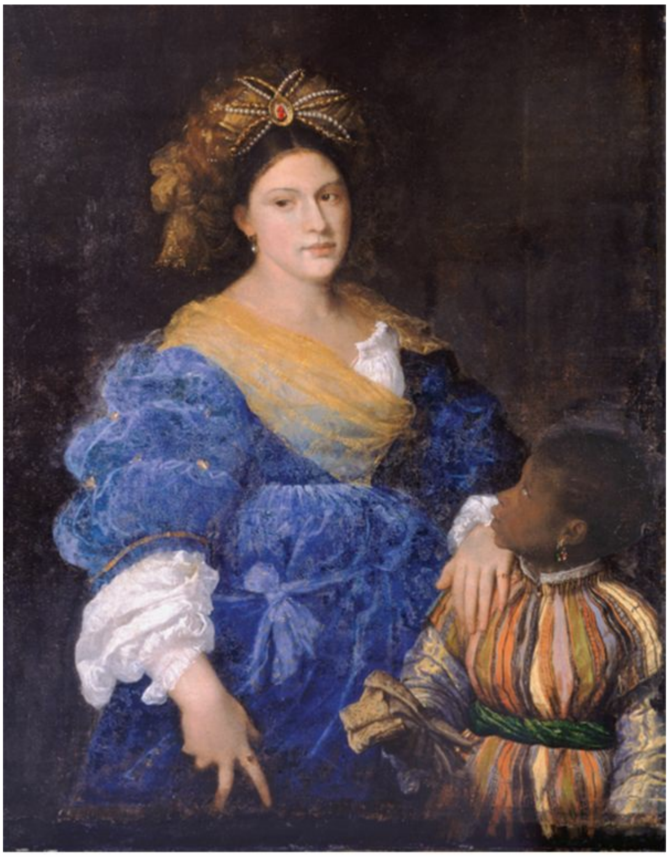
Ever since the time of the Roman Republic, a few black Africans had lived in western Europe. They had come, along with white slaves, as the spoils of war. After the collapse of the Roman Empire and throughout the Middle Ages, Muslim and Christian merchants continued to import black slaves. The black population was especially concentrated in the cities of the Iberian Peninsula. By the mid-sixteenth century blacks, slave and free, constituted roughly 3 percent of the Portuguese population. Slaves and a few free black people could be found in courts and cities in other parts of Europe as well, especially in Italy. (See "Analyzing the Evidence: Titian, *Laura de Dianti*," above.)

In Renaissance Portugal, Spain, and Italy, African slaves supplemented the labor force in virtually all occupations. Slaves also formed the primary workforce on the sugar plantations set up by Europeans on the Atlantic islands in the late fifteenth century (see "Sugar and Early Transatlantic Slavery" in Chapter 16).

Until their voyages down the African coast in the late fifteenth century, Europeans had little concrete knowledge of Africans and their cultures. They perceived Africa as a remote place, the home of strange people isolated by heresy and Islam from superior European civilization. Africans' contact, even as slaves, with Christian Europeans would only "improve" the blacks, they believed. The expanding slave trade reinforced negative preconceptions about the inferiority of black Africans.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

Titian, *Laura de Dianti*



Photograph © Human Bios GmbH, Switzerland/Provenance: Private Collection

The Venetian artist Titian (1488?–1576) was a master of many types of paintings during his long life, including giant frescoes and oil paintings of religious and historical subjects, classical scenes set in verdant landscapes, and portraits of prominent and wealthy individuals. In the 1520s he was hired by Alfonso d'Este, the duke of Ferrara, to paint large mythological scenes for his private study in the ducal palace, and in 1523 he also painted this portrait of Este's lover, Laura de Dianti, who may have also been Este's third wife. Titian shows her in a gorgeous blue dress and an elaborate pearl and feather headdress, accompanied by a young black page with a gold earring. Wealthy Europeans sometimes had themselves painted with their black servants to indicate their wealth. The boy was most likely a slave, though sometimes free black families lived at courts, in order to produce the young black children who were highly prized as servants. Slaves from Africa and the Ottoman Empire were common in wealthy Italian urban households. Venice served as a major slave-trading hub, with Venetian merchants selling Slavic and Baltic slaves to be transported to Muslim areas, and African and Turkish slaves to be transported to Christian areas. Household slaves in Italian cities, most of whom were girls and women, worked at various tasks, but they were also symbols of the exotic, just as they were at court.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. How does Titian convey the message that this woman is wealthy and connected to Venice’s overseas trade?
2. How does Titian use the boy’s skin color to highlight the woman’s fair skin, which was one of the Renaissance ideals of female beauty?
3. What does this painting suggest about Renaissance European attitudes about gender, race, and class?

Wealth and the Nobility

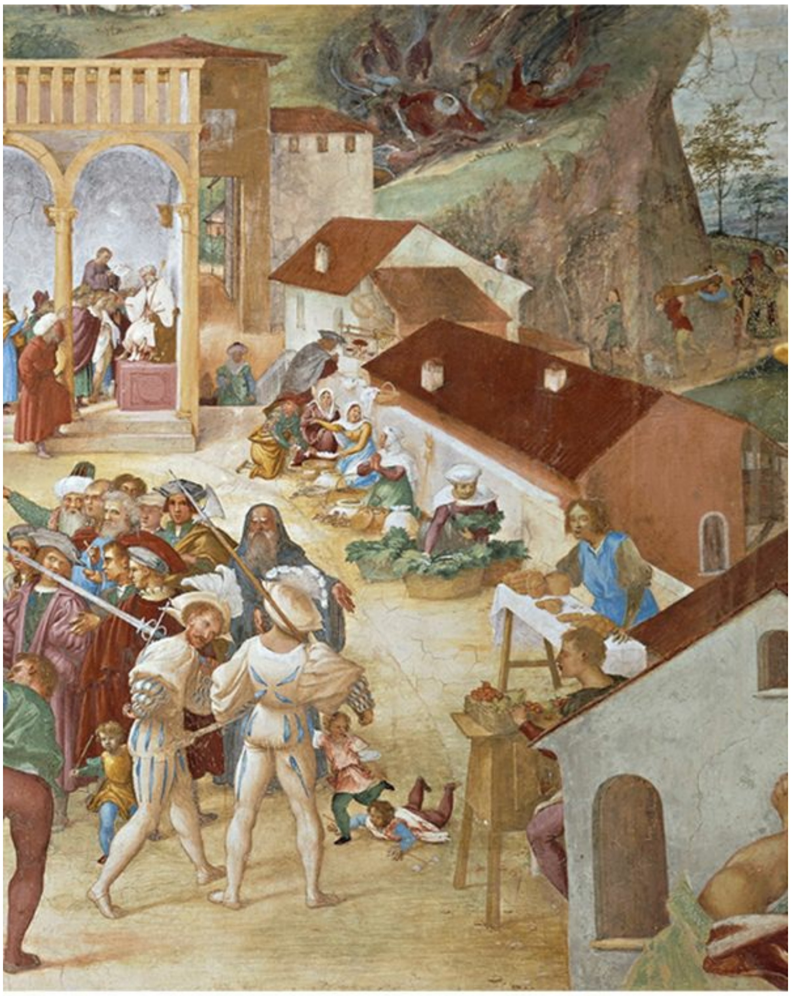
By the thirteenth century, and even more so by the fifteenth, the idea of a hierarchy based on wealth was emerging. This was particularly true in cities, where wealthy merchants oversaw vast trading empires, held positions of political power, and lived in splendor rivaling that enjoyed by the richest nobles. (See “Individuals in Society: Cosimo and Lorenzo de’ Medici,” page 409.)

The development of a hierarchy of wealth did not mean an end to the prominence of nobles, however, and even poorer nobles still had higher status than wealthy commoners did. Thus wealthy Italian merchants enthusiastically bought noble titles in the fifteenth century, and wealthy English and Spanish merchants married their daughters and sons into often-impoverished noble families. The nobility maintained its status in most parts of Europe not by maintaining rigid boundaries, but by taking in and integrating the new social elite created by the hierarchy of wealth.

Gender Roles

Renaissance people would not have understood the word *gender* to refer to categories of people, but they would have easily grasped the concept. Toward the end of the fourteenth century learned men (and a few women) began what was termed the **debate about women**, an argument about women’s character, nature, and proper role in society that would last for centuries. Misogynist critiques of women from both clerical and secular authors denounced females as devious, domineering, and demanding. In response, several authors compiled long lists of famous and praiseworthy women. Some writers, including a few women who had gained a humanist education, were interested not only in defending women but also in exploring the reasons behind women’s secondary status.

debate about women An argument about women’s character, nature, and proper role in society that began in the later years of the fourteenth century and lasted for centuries.



Cappella Suardi, Trescore Balneario, Italy/Scala/Art Resource, NY

Italian City Scene In this detail from a fresco, the Italian painter Lorenzo Lotto captures the mixing of social groups in a Renaissance Italian city. The crowd of men in the left foreground includes wealthy merchants in elaborate hats and colorful coats. Two mercenary soldiers (carrying a sword and a pike) wear short doublets and tight hose stylishly slit to reveal colored undergarments, while boys play with toy weapons at their feet. Clothing like that of the soldiers, which emphasized the masculine form, was frequently criticized for its expense and its "indecency." At the right, women sell vegetables and bread, which would have been a common sight at any city marketplace.

Beginning in the sixteenth century the debate about women also became a debate about female rulers, because in Spain, England, France, and Scotland women served as advisers to child-kings or ruled in their own right. There were no successful rebellions against female rulers simply because they were women; in part this was because female rulers, especially Queen Elizabeth I of England, emphasized qualities regarded as masculine — physical bravery, stamina, wisdom, duty — whenever they appeared in public.

The dominant notion of the “true” man was that of the married head of household, so men whose class and age would have normally conferred political power but who remained unmarried were sometimes excluded from ruling positions. Actual marriage patterns in Europe left many women unmarried until late in life, but this did not lead to greater equality. Women who worked for wages, as was typical, earned about half to two-thirds of what men did even for the same work. Of all the ways in which Renaissance society was hierarchically arranged — by class, age, level of education, rank, race, occupation — gender was regarded as the most “natural” distinction and therefore the most important one to defend.

Politics and the State in the Renaissance

How did the nation-states of western Europe evolve in this period?

Beginning in the fifteenth century monarchs used aggressive methods to build up their governments. As they built and maintained power, they emphasized royal majesty and royal sovereignty and insisted on the respect and loyalty of all subjects.

France

The Black Death and the Hundred Years' War left France drastically depopulated, commercially ruined, and agriculturally weak (see "The Hundred Years' War" in Chapter 14). Nonetheless, Charles VII (r. 1422–1461) revived the monarchy and France. He reorganized the royal council, giving increased influence to middle-class men, and strengthened royal finances through taxes on certain products and on land. Moreover, Charles created the first permanent royal army anywhere in Europe.

Two further developments strengthened the French monarchy. The marriage of Louis XII (r. 1498–1515) and Anne of Brittany added Brittany to the state. Louis XII's successor, Francis I (r. 1515–1547), and Pope Leo X reached a mutually satisfactory agreement about church and state powers in 1516 that gave French kings the power to control the appointment and thus the policies of church officials in the kingdom.

England

English society suffered severely in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Between 1455 and 1471 adherents of the ducal houses of York and Lancaster waged civil wars over control of the English throne, commonly called the Wars of the Roses. The chronic disorder hurt trade, agriculture, and domestic industry, and the authority of the monarchy sank lower than it had been in centuries.

The Yorkist Edward IV (r. 1461–1483) succeeded in defeating the Lancastrian forces and after 1471 began to reconstruct the monarchy and consolidate royal power. Henry VII (r. 1485–1509) of the Welsh house of Tudor worked to restore royal prestige, to crush the power of the nobility, and to establish order and law at the local level. Because the government halted the long period of anarchy, it won the key support of the merchant and agricultural upper middle class. Under Henry VII the center of royal authority was the royal council. There Henry VII revealed his distrust of the nobility: very few great lords were among the king's closest advisers, who instead were lesser landowners and lawyers. The royal council handled any business the king put before it — executive, legislative, and judicial.

Secretive, cautious, and thrifty, Henry VII rebuilt the monarchy. He encouraged the cloth industry and built up the English merchant marine. He crushed an invasion from Ireland, secured peace with Scotland, and enhanced English prestige through the marriage of his eldest son, Arthur, to Catherine of Aragon, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. (Several years after Arthur's death, Catherine would become the wife of his younger brother and the next king of England, Henry VIII; see "England's Shift Toward Protestantism.") When Henry VII died in 1509, he left a country at peace both domestically and internationally, a substantially augmented treasury, and the dignity and role of the Crown much enhanced.

Spain

While England and France laid the foundations of unified nation-states during the Renaissance, Spain remained a conglomerate of independent kingdoms. Even the wedding in 1469 of Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon did not bring about administrative unity. Isabella and Ferdinand were, however, able to exert their authority in ways similar to those of the rulers of France and England. They curbed aristocratic power by excluding aristocrats and great territorial magnates from the royal council. They also secured from the Spanish pope Alexander VI the right to appoint bishops in Spain and in the Hispanic territories in America, enabling them to establish the equivalent of a national church. In 1492 their armies conquered Granada, the last territory held by Arabs in southern Spain.

Ferdinand and Isabella's rule also marked the start of greater persecution of the Jews. In the Middle Ages, the kings of France and England had expelled the Jews from their kingdoms, and many had sought refuge in Spain. During the long centuries of the reconquista (see "The Expansion of Western and Eastern Christianity" in Chapter 14), Christian kings in Spain had renewed Jewish rights and privileges; in fact, Jewish industry, intelligence, and money had supported royal power.

In the fourteenth century anti-Semitism in Spain was aggravated by fiery anti-Jewish preaching, by economic dislocation, and by the search for a scapegoat during the Black Death. Anti-Semitic pogroms (violent massacres and riots directed against Jews) swept the towns of Spain, and perhaps 40 percent of the Jewish population was killed or forced to convert. Those who converted were called *conversos* (kuhn-VEHR-sohz) or New Christians. Conversos were often well educated and held prominent positions in government and business.

Such successes bred resentment. Aristocrats resented their financial dependence on conversos, the poor hated the converso tax collectors, and churchmen doubted the sincerity of their conversions. Queen Isabella shared these suspicions, and she and Ferdinand received permission from Pope Sixtus IV to establish an Inquisition to look for conversos who showed any sign of incomplete conversion.

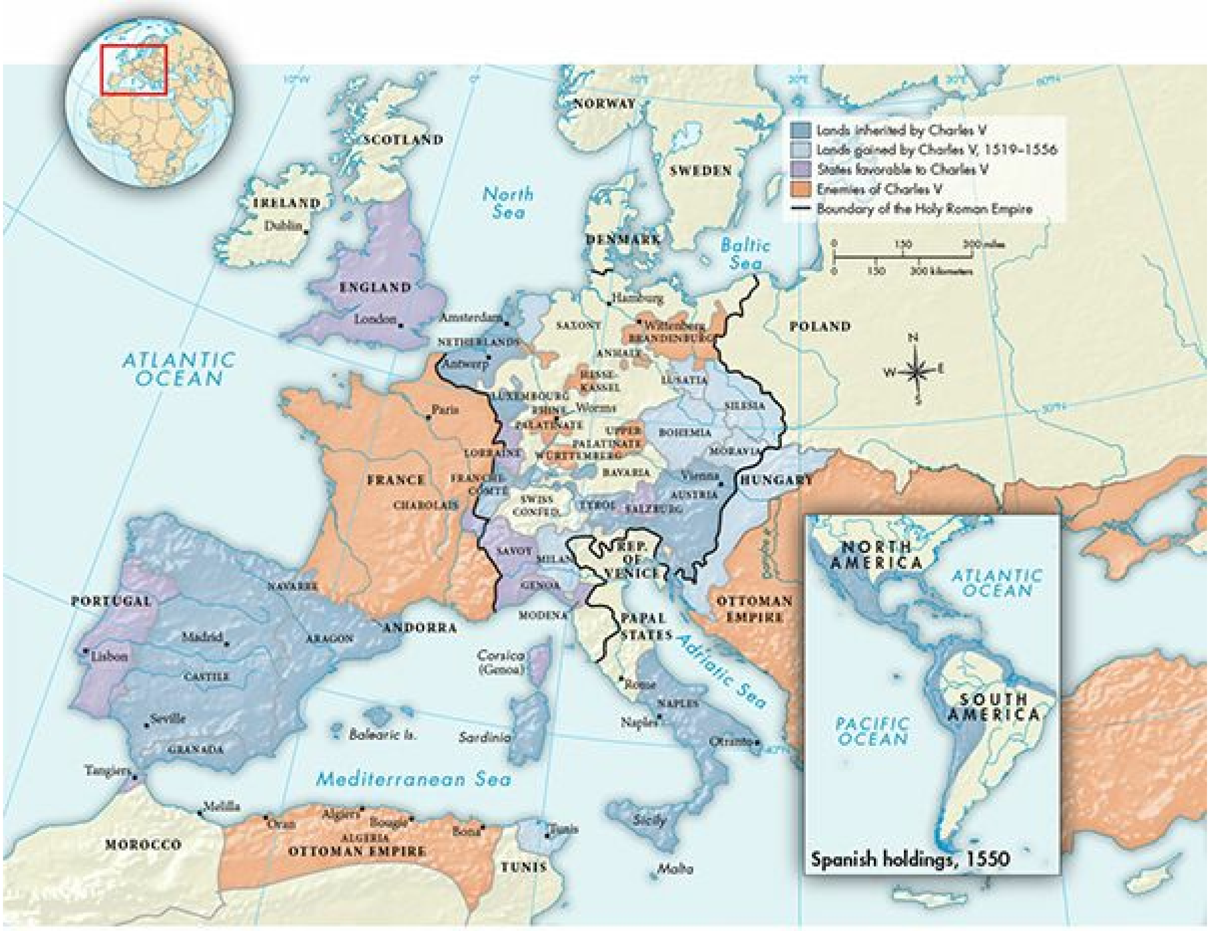
Most conversos identified themselves as sincere Christians; many came from families that had received baptism generations before. In response, officials of the Inquisition developed a new type of anti-Semitism. A person's status as a Jew, they argued, could not be changed by religious conversion, but was in the person's blood and was heritable, so Jews could never be true Christians. Under what were known as "purity of blood" laws, having "pure Christian blood" became a requirement for noble status. Ideas about Jews developed in Spain became important components in European concepts of race, and discussions of "Jewish blood" later expanded into discriminatory definitions of the "Jewish race."

In 1492, shortly after the conquest of Granada, Isabella and Ferdinand issued an edict expelling all practicing Jews from Spain. Of the community of perhaps 200,000 Jews, 150,000 fled. Absolute religious orthodoxy and "purity of blood" served as the theoretical foundation of the Spanish national state.

The Habsburgs

War and diplomacy were important ways that states increased their power in sixteenth-century Europe, but so was marriage. Because almost all of Europe was ruled by hereditary dynasties, claiming and holding resources involved shrewd marital strategies, for it was far cheaper to gain land by inheritance than by war. The benefits of an advantageous marriage stretched across generations, as can be seen most dramatically with the Habsburgs. The Holy Roman emperor Frederick III, a Habsburg who was the ruler of most of Austria, acquired only a small amount of territory — but a great deal of money — with his marriage to Princess Eleanore of Portugal in 1452. He arranged for his son Maximilian to marry Europe's most prominent heiress, Mary of Burgundy. Through this union with the rich and powerful duchy of Burgundy, the Austrian house of Habsburg, already the strongest ruling family in the empire, became an international power. The marriage of Maximilian and Mary angered the French, and it inaugurated centuries of conflict between the Habsburgs and the kings of France. Within the empire, German principalities that resented Austria's pre-eminence began to see that they shared interests with France.

Maximilian learned the lesson of marital politics well, marrying his son and daughter to the children of Ferdinand and Isabella, the rulers of Spain, much of southern Italy, and eventually the Spanish New World empire. His grandson Charles V (1500–1558) fell heir to a vast and incredibly diverse collection of states and peoples (Map 15.1). Charles was convinced that it was his duty to maintain the political and religious unity of Western Christendom. This conviction would be challenged far more than Charles ever anticipated.


Lands inherited by Charles V
Lands gained by Charles V, 1519–1556
States favorable to Charles V
Enemies of Charles V
Boundary of the Holy Roman Empire
0 150 300 miles
0 150 300 kilometers
N
W
E
S
NORWAY
SCOTLAND
SWEDEN
IRELAND
Dublin
North Sea
DENMARK
Baltic Sea
ENGLAND
London
Amsterdam
Hamburg
SAXONY
Wittenberg
BRANDENBURG
POLAND
NETHERLANDS
ANHALT
Antwerp
HESSE-KASSEL
LUSATIA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
LUXEMBOURG
RHINE PALATINATE
Worms
SILESIA
Paris
UPPER PALATINATE
BOHEMIA
LORRAINE
WÜRTTEMBERG
MORAVIA
BAVARIA
Vienna
HUNGARY
FRANCE
FRANCHE-COMTÉ
AUSTRIA
CHAROLAIS
SWISS CONFED.
TYROL
SALZBURG
SAVOY
MILAN
REP. OF VENICE
GENOA
NAVARRE
PORTUGAL
ANDORRA
MODENA
PAPAL STATES
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Madrid
ARAGON
Lisbon
CASTILE
Corsica (Genoa)
Adriatic Sea
Rome
NAPLES
Seville
Balearic Is.
Sardinia
Naples
Otranto
GRANADA
Tangiers
Mediterranean Sea
Melilla
Oran
Algiers
Bougie
Bona
Tunis
ALGERIA
Sicily
MOROCCO
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
TUNIS
Malta
NORTH AMERICA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
SOUTH AMERICA
Spanish holdings, 1550

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 15.1 The Global Empire of Charles V, ca. 1556 Charles V exercised theoretical jurisdiction over more European territory than anyone since Charlemagne. He also claimed authority over large parts of North and South America, although actual Spanish control was weak in much of this area.

The Protestant Reformation

What were the central ideas of Protestant reformers, and why were they appealing to various groups across Europe?

Calls for reform in the church came from many quarters in early-sixteenth-century Europe — from educated laypeople and urban residents, from villagers and artisans, and from church officials themselves. This dissatisfaction helps explain why the ideas of Martin Luther, an obscure professor from a new and not very prestigious German university, found a ready audience. Within a decade of his first publishing his ideas (using the new technology of the printing press), much of central Europe and Scandinavia had broken with the Catholic Church in a movement that came to be known as the **Protestant Reformation**. In addition, even more radical concepts of the Christian message were being developed and linked to calls for social change.

Protestant Reformation A religious reform movement that began in the early sixteenth century and split the Western Christian Church.

Criticism of the Church

Sixteenth-century Europeans were deeply pious, but many people were also highly critical of the Roman Catholic Church and its clergy. Papal conflicts with rulers and the Great Schism (see “Challenges to the Christian Church” in Chapter 14) badly damaged the prestige of church leaders. Papal tax collection methods were also attacked, and some criticized the papacy itself as an institution.

In the early sixteenth century critics of the church concentrated their attacks on clerical immorality, ignorance, and absenteeism. Charges of immorality were aimed at a number of priests who were drunkards, neglected the rule of celibacy, gambled, or indulged in fancy dress. Charges of ignorance applied to barely literate priests who delivered poor-quality sermons.

In regard to absenteeism, many clerics, especially higher ecclesiastics, held several benefices (offices) simultaneously. However, they seldom visited the communities served by the benefices. Instead they collected revenues from all the benefices assigned to them and hired a poor priest to fulfill their spiritual duties, paying him just a fraction of the income.

There was also local resentment of clerical privileges and immunities.

Priests, monks, and nuns were exempt from civic responsibilities, such as defending the city and paying taxes. Yet religious orders frequently held large amounts of urban property. City governments were increasingly determined to integrate the clergy into civic life. This brought city leaders into opposition with bishops and the papacy, which for centuries had stressed the independence of the church from lay control.

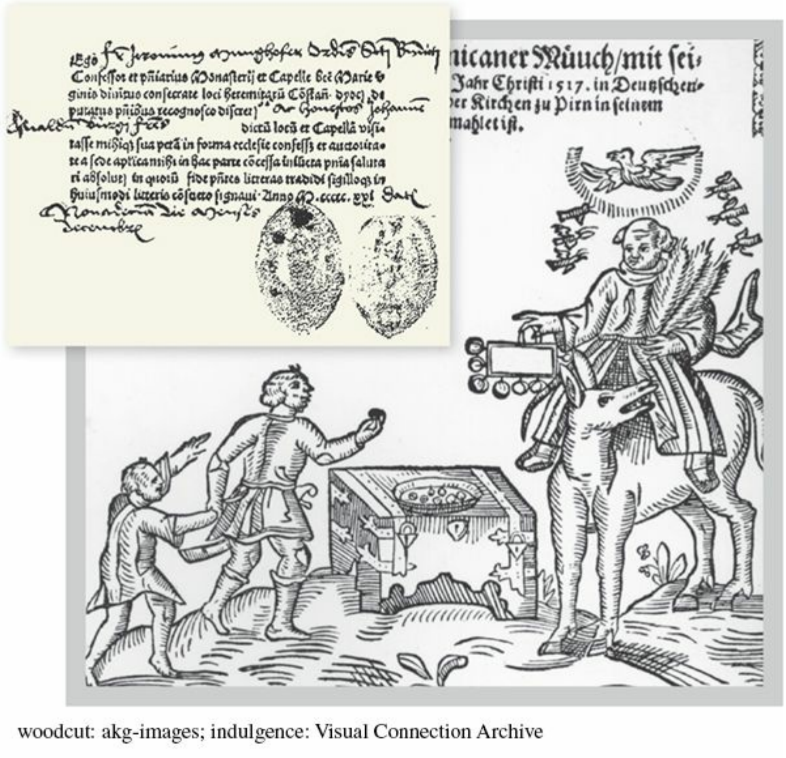
Martin Luther

By itself, widespread criticism of the church did not lead to the dramatic changes of the sixteenth century. Those resulted from the personal religious struggle of a German Augustinian friar and professor at the University of Wittenberg, Martin Luther (1483–1546).

Martin Luther was a very conscientious friar, but his scrupulous observance of the religious routine, frequent confessions, and fasting gave him only temporary relief from anxieties about sin and his ability to meet God’s demands. Through his study of Saint Paul’s letters in the New Testament, he gradually arrived at a new understanding of Christian doctrine. His understanding is often summarized as “faith alone, grace alone, scripture alone.” He believed that salvation and justification (righteousness in God’s eyes) come through faith, and that faith is a free gift of God, not the result of human effort. God’s word is revealed only in biblical scripture, not in the traditions of the church.

At the same time that Luther was engaged in scholarly reflections and professorial lecturing, Pope Leo X authorized a special Saint Peter’s indulgence to finance his building plans in Rome. An **indulgence** was a document issued by the pope that substituted for earthly penance or time in purgatory. The archbishop who controlled the area in which Wittenberg was located, Albert of Mainz, also promoted the sale of indulgences, in his case to pay off a debt he had incurred to be named bishop of several additional territories. Albert’s sales campaign promised that the purchase of indulgences would bring full forgiveness for one’s own sins or buy release from purgatory for a loved one. One of the slogans — “As soon as coin in coffer rings, the soul from purgatory springs” — brought phenomenal success.

indulgence A document issued by the pope that substituted for earthly penance or time in purgatory.


nicaner Münch/mit sei
Jahr Christi 1517. in Deutschen
der Kirchen zu Pirn in seinem
mahlet ist.

Ego fr Jeronimus
Confessor et pñiarius Monasterij et Capelle beẽ Marie v-
ginis diuinitus consecrate loci heremitarũ Cõstañ. dyoc. de
putatus pñibus recognosco discret Johanne
dictũ locũ et Capellã visi-
tasse mihiq3 sua peccã in forma ecclesie confessũ et auctorita-
te a sede aplica mihi in hac parte cõcessa iniũcta pnia saluta-
ri absolui; In quorũ fide pñtes litteras tradidi sigilloq3 in
huiusmodi litteris cõsueto signaui. Anno M.ccccc.xxi
decembre

woodcut: akg-images; indulgence: Visual Connection Archive

Selling Indulgences A German single-page pamphlet shows a monk offering an indulgence, with the official seals of the pope attached, as people run to put their money in the box in exchange for his promise of heavenly bliss, symbolized by the dove above his head. Indulgences were sold widely in Germany, and they were the first Catholic practice that Luther criticized openly. This pamphlet also attacks the sale of indulgences, calling it devilish and deceitful, a point of view expressed in the woodcut by the peddler's riding on a donkey, an animal that had long been used as a symbol of ignorance. Indulgences were often printed as fill-in-the-blank forms. This one, purchased in 1521, has space for the indulgence seller's name at the top, the buyer's name in the middle, and the date at the bottom. (woodcut: akg-images; indulgence: Visual Connection Archive)

Luther was severely troubled that many people believed that they had no further need for repentance once they had purchased indulgences. In October 1517 he wrote a letter to Archbishop Albert on the subject and enclosed in Latin his "Ninety-five Theses on the Power of Indulgences." His argument was that indulgences undermined the seriousness of the sacrament of penance and competed with the preaching of the Gospel. Luther intended his theses for academic debate, but by December of that year they had been translated into German and were being read throughout central Europe. Luther was ordered to go to Rome, but he was able to avoid this because the ruler of the territory in which he lived protected him. The pope nonetheless ordered him to recant many of his ideas, and

Luther publicly burned the letter containing the papal order. In this highly charged atmosphere, the twenty-one-year-old emperor Charles V summoned Luther to appear before the **Diet of Worms**, an assembly of representatives from the territories of the Holy Roman Empire meeting in the city of Worms in 1521. Luther, however, refused to give in to demands that he take back his ideas.

Diet of Worms An assembly of representatives from the territories of the Holy Roman Empire convened by Charles V in the city of Worms in 1521. It was here that Martin Luther refused to recant his writings.

Protestant Thought and Its Appeal

As he developed his ideas, Luther gathered followers, who came to be called Protestants. At first **Protestant** meant “a follower of Luther,” but with the appearance of many other reformers, it became a general term applied to all non-Catholic western European Christians.

Protestant Originally meaning “a follower of Luther,” this term came to be generally applied to all non-Catholic western European Christians.

Catholics and Protestants disagreed on many issues. Catholic teaching held that salvation is achieved by both faith and good works, while Protestants held that salvation comes by faith alone, irrespective of good works or the sacraments. God, not people, initiates salvation. (See “Analyzing the Evidence: Martin Luther, *On Christian Liberty*,” above.) Christian doctrine had long maintained that authority rests both in the Bible and in the traditional teaching of the church, but Protestants asserted that authority rested in the Bible alone. For a doctrine or issue to be valid, they thought, it had to have a scriptural basis. Roman Catholics saw the church as a clerical, hierarchical institution headed by the pope in Rome, while Protestants rejected the authority of the pope and developed various forms of church governance and organization. They also rejected the Catholic idea that monastic religious life was superior, so they closed monasteries and convents and championed marriage as the best Christian life.

Pulpits and printing presses spread the Protestant message all over Germany, and by the middle of the sixteenth century people of all social classes had rejected Catholic teachings and become Protestant. What was the immense appeal of Luther’s religious ideas and those of other Protestants?

Educated people and humanists were attracted by Luther’s ideas. He advocated a simpler personal religion based on faith, a return to the spirit of the early church, the centrality of the Scriptures in the liturgy and in Christian life, and the abolition of elaborate ceremonies — precisely the reforms the Christian humanists had been calling for. His insistence that everyone should read and reflect on the Scriptures attracted the literate middle classes. Luther’s ideas also appealed to townspeople who envied the church’s wealth and resented paying for it. After cities became Protestant, the city council taxed the clergy and placed them under the jurisdiction of civil courts.

The printing press also contributed to Luther’s fame and success. Many printed works included woodcuts and other illustrations, so that even those who could not read could grasp the main ideas. Hymns were also important means of conveying central points of doctrine, as was Luther’s translation of the New Testament into German in 1523.

Luther worked closely with political authorities, viewing them as fully justified in reforming the church in their territories. He instructed all Christians to obey their secular rulers, whom he saw as divinely ordained to maintain order. Individuals may have been convinced of the truth of Protestant teachings on their own, but a territory became Protestant when its ruler brought in reformers to re-educate the territory’s clergy, sponsored public sermons, and confiscated church property. This happened in many of the states of the empire during the 1520s and then moved beyond the empire to Denmark-Norway and Sweden.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

Martin Luther, *On Christian Liberty*

The idea of liberty or freedom has played a powerful role in the history of human society, but the meaning and understanding of liberty have changed. In the Roman world liberty meant the condition of being a free man rather than a slave, and in the Middle Ages possessing liberty meant having special privileges or rights that other persons did not have. Citizens in London, for example, were said to possess the “freedom of the city,” which allowed them to practice trades and own property without interference. Liberty also has a religious dimension, and the reformer Martin Luther formulated a classic interpretation of liberty in his treatise *On Christian Liberty* (sometimes translated as *On the Freedom of a Christian*), arguably his finest piece. Written in Latin for the pope but translated immediately into German and published widely, it contains the main themes of Luther’s theology: the importance of faith, the relationship of Christian faith and good works, the dual nature of human beings, and the fundamental importance of scripture. Luther writes that Christians were freed from sin and death through Christ, not by their own actions.

A Christian man is the most free lord of all, and subject to none; a Christian man is the dutiful servant of all, and subject to everyone. Although these statements appear contradictory, yet, when they are found to agree together, they will do excellently for my purpose. They are both the statements of Paul himself, who says, “Though I be free from all men, yet have I made myself a servant unto all” (I Corinthians 9:19), and “Owe no man anything but to love one another” (Romans 13:8). Now love is by its own nature dutiful and obedient to the beloved object. Thus even Christ, though Lord of all things, was yet made of a woman; made under the law; at once free and a servant; at once in the form of God and in the form of a servant.

Let us examine the subject on a deeper and less simple principle. Man is composed of a twofold nature, a spiritual and a bodily. As regards the spiritual nature, which they name the soul, he is called the spiritual, inward, new man; as regards the bodily nature, which they name the flesh, he is called the fleshly, outward, old man. The Apostle speaks of this: “Though our outward man perish, yet the inward man is renewed day by day” (II Corinthians 4:16)….

We first approach the subject of the inward man, that we may see by what means a man becomes justified, free, and a true Christian; that is, a spiritual, new, and inward man. It is certain that absolutely none among outward things, under whatever name they may be reckoned, has any influence in producing Christian righteousness or liberty, nor, on the other hand, unrighteousness or slavery. This can be shown by an easy argument. What can it profit to the soul that the body should be in good condition, free, and full of life, that it should eat, drink, and act according to its pleasure, when even the most impious slaves of every kind of vice are prosperous in these matters? Again, what harm can ill health, bondage, hunger, thirst, or any other outward evil, do to the soul, when even the most pious of men, and the freest in the purity of their conscience, are harassed by these things? Neither of these states of things has to do with the liberty or the slavery of the soul.

And so it will profit nothing that the body should be adorned with sacred vestment, or dwell in holy places, or be occupied in sacred offices, or pray, fast, and abstain from certain meats, or do whatever works can be done through the body and in the body. Something widely different will be necessary for the justification and liberty of the soul, since the things I have spoken of can be done by an impious person, and only hypocrites are produced by devotion to these things. On the other hand, it will not at all injure the soul that the body should be clothed in profane raiment, should dwell in profane places, should eat and drink in the ordinary fashion, should not pray aloud, and should leave undone all the things above mentioned, which may be done by hypocrites….

One thing, and one alone, is necessary for life, justification, and Christian liberty; and that is the most Holy Word of God, the Gospel of Christ, as He says, “I am the resurrection and the life; he that believeth in me shall not die eternally” (John 9:25), and also, “If the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed” (John 8:36)…. Let us therefore hold it for certain and firmly established that the soul can do without everything except the Word of God, without which none at all of its wants is provided for….

But you will ask, “What is this Word, and by what means is it to be used, since there are so many words of God?” I answer, “The Apostle Paul (Romans 1) explains what it is, namely the Gospel of God, concerning His Son, incarnate, suffering, risen, and glorified through the Spirit, the Sanctifier.” To preach Christ is to feed the soul, to justify it, to set it free, and to save it, if it believes the preaching. For faith alone, and the efficacious use of the Word of God, bring salvation. “If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised Him from the dead, thou shalt be saved” (Romans 9:9); … and “The just shall live by faith” (Romans 1:17)….

When you begin to believe, you learn at the same time that all that is in you is utterly guilty, sinful, and damnable, according to that saying, “All have sinned, and come short of the glory of God” (Romans 3:23)…. When you have learned this, you will know that Christ is necessary for you, since He has suffered and risen again for you, that, believing on Him, you might by this faith become another man, all your sins being remitted, and you being justified by the merits of another, namely Christ alone….

And since it [faith] alone justifies, it is evident that by no outward work or labour can the inward man be at all justified, made free, and saved; and that no works whatever have any relation to him…. Therefore the first care of every Christian ought to be to lay aside all reliance on works, and strengthen his faith alone more and more, and by it grow in knowledge, not of works, but of Christ Jesus, who has suffered and risen again for him, as Peter teaches (I Peter 5).

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What did Luther mean by liberty?
2. Why, for Luther, was scripture basic to Christian life?

Source: Luther’s Primary Works, ed. H. Wace and C. A. Buchheim (London: Holder and Stoughton, 1896). Reprinted in The Portable Renaissance Reader, ed. James Bruce Ross and Mary Martin McLaughlin (New York: Penguin Books, 1981), pp. 721–726.

The Radical Reformation and the German Peasants’ War

In the sixteenth century the practice of religion remained a public matter. The ruler determined the official form of religious practice in his (or occasionally her) jurisdiction. Almost everyone believed that the presence of a faith different from that of the majority represented a political threat to the security of the state.

Some individuals and groups rejected the idea that church and state needed to be united, however, and they sought to create a voluntary community of believers as they understood it to have existed in New Testament times. In terms of theology and spiritual practices, these individuals and groups varied widely, though they are generally termed “radicals” for their insistence on a more extensive break with prevailing ideas. Some adopted the custom of baptizing adult believers — for which they were given the title of “Anabaptists” by their enemies — while others saw all outward sacraments or rituals as misguided. Some groups attempted communal ownership of property. Some reacted harshly to members who deviated from the group’s accepted practices, but others argued for complete religious tolerance and individualism.

Religious radicals were met with fanatical hatred and bitter persecution, including banishment and execution. Both Protestant and Catholic authorities felt threatened by the social, political, and economic implications of radicals’ religious ideas and by their rejection of a state church. Their community spirit and heroism in the face of martyrdom, however, contributed to the survival of radical ideas. In 1787 the authors of the U.S. Constitution, with their opposition to the “establishment of religion” (state churches), would trace the origins of their beliefs, in part, to the radicals of the sixteenth century.

Another group to challenge state authorities was the peasantry. In the early sixteenth century the economic condition of peasants varied from place to place but was generally worse than it had been in the fifteenth century and was deteriorating. Peasants demanded limitations on the new taxes and labor obligations their noble landlords were imposing. They believed that their demands conformed to the Scriptures and cited Luther as a theologian who could prove that they did.

Wanting to prevent rebellion, Luther initially sided with the peasants. But when rebellion broke out, the peasants who expected Luther’s support were soon disillusioned. Freedom for Luther meant independence from the authority of the Roman Church, not opposition to legally established secular powers. Firmly convinced that rebellion would hasten the end of civilized society, he wrote the tract *Against the Murderous, Thieving*

Hordes of the Peasants. The nobility ferociously crushed the revolt, which became known as the German Peasants’ War of 1525.

The Peasants’ War greatly strengthened the authority of lay rulers. Because Luther turned against the peasants who revolted, the Reformation lost much of its popular appeal after 1525, though peasants and urban rebels sometimes found a place for their social and religious ideas in radical groups. Peasants’ economic conditions did moderately improve, however.

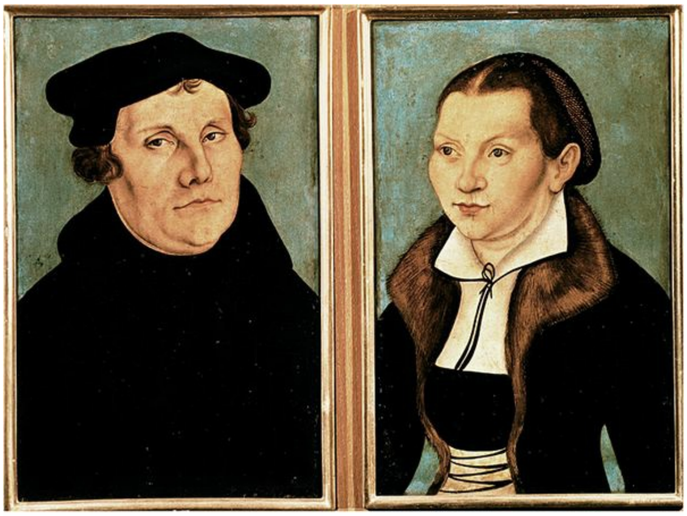
Marriage and Women’s Roles

Luther and other Protestants believed that a priest’s or nun’s vows of celibacy went against human nature and God’s commandments. Luther married a former nun, Katharina von Bora (1499–1532), who quickly had several children. Most other Protestant reformers also married, and their wives had to create a new and respectable role for themselves, pastor’s wife. They were living demonstrations of their husband’s convictions about the superiority of marriage to celibacy, and they were expected to be models of wifely obedience and Christian charity.

Catholics viewed marriage as a sacramental union that, if validly entered into, could not be dissolved. Protestants saw marriage as a contract in which each partner promised the other support, companionship, and the sharing of mutual goods. They believed that spouses who did not comfort or support one another endangered their own souls and the surrounding community; therefore, most Protestants came to allow divorce. Divorce remained rare, however, because marriage was such an important social and economic institution.

Protestants did not break with medieval scholastic theologians in their view that, within marriage, women were to be subject to men. Men were urged to treat their wives kindly and considerately, but also to enforce their authority, through physical coercion if necessary. A few women took the Protestant idea about the priesthood of all believers to heart and wrote religious pamphlets and hymns, but no sixteenth-century Protestants officially allowed women to hold positions of religious authority.

Because the Reformation generally brought the closing of monasteries and convents, marriage became virtually the only occupation for upper-class Protestant women. Recognizing this, women in some convents fought the Reformation or argued that they could still be pious Protestants within convent walls. Most nuns left, however, and we do not know what happened to them. The Protestant emphasis on marriage made unmarried women (and men) suspect, for they did not belong to the type of household regarded as the cornerstone of a proper, godly society.



Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, Italy/akg-images

Martin Luther and Katharina von Bora Lucas Cranach the Elder painted this double marriage portrait to celebrate Luther's wedding in 1525 to Katharina von Bora, a former nun. The artist was one of the witnesses at the wedding and, in fact, had presented Luther's marriage proposal to Katharina. The couple quickly became a model of the ideal marriage, and many churches wanted their portraits. More than sixty similar paintings, with slight variations, were produced by Cranach's workshop and hung in churches and wealthy homes.

The Reformation and German Politics

Criticism of the church was widespread in Europe in the early sixteenth century. Yet such movements could be more easily squelched by the strong central governments of Spain, France, and England. The Holy Roman Empire, in contrast, included hundreds of largely independent states in which the emperor had far less authority than did the monarchs of western Europe. Thus local rulers of the many states in the empire continued to exercise great power.

Luther's ideas appealed to local rulers within the empire for a variety of reasons. Though Germany was not a nation, people did have an understanding of being German because of their language and traditions. Luther frequently used the phrase "we Germans" in his attacks on the papacy, and his appeal to national feeling influenced many rulers. Also, while some German rulers were sincerely attracted to Lutheran ideas, material considerations swayed many others to embrace the new faith. The rejection of Roman Catholicism and the adoption of Protestantism would mean the legal confiscation of valuable church property. Thus many political authorities in the empire used the religious issue to extend their financial and political power and to enhance their independence from the emperor.

The Habsburg Charles V, elected as emperor in 1521, was a vigorous defender of Catholicism, so it is not surprising that the Reformation led to religious wars. Protestant territories in the empire formed military alliances, and the emperor could not oppose them effectively given other military engagements. In southeastern Europe Habsburg troops were already fighting the Ottoman Turks. Habsburg soldiers were also engaged in a series of wars with the Valois (VAL-wah) kings of France that stretched from 1494 to 1559. The cornerstone of French foreign policy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was the desire to keep the German states divided. Thus Europe witnessed the paradox of the Catholic king of France supporting Lutheran princes in their challenge to his fellow Catholic, Charles V.

Finally, in 1555, Charles agreed to the Peace of Augsburg, which officially recognized Lutheranism and ended religious war in Germany for many decades. Under this treaty, the political authority in each territory of the Holy Roman Empire was permitted to decide whether the territory would be Catholic or Lutheran. His hope of uniting his empire under a single church dashed, Charles V abdicated in 1556, transferring power over his Spanish and Netherlandish holdings to his son Philip II and his imperial power to his brother Ferdinand.

England’s Shift Toward Protestantism

As on the continent, the Reformation in England had economic and political as well as religious causes. The impetus for England’s break with Rome was the desire of King Henry VIII (r. 1509–1547) for a new wife. When the personal matter of his need to divorce his first wife became enmeshed with political issues, a complete break with Rome resulted.

In 1527, after eighteen years of marriage, Henry’s wife Catherine of Aragon had failed to produce a male child, and Henry had also fallen in love with a court lady in waiting, Anne Boleyn. So Henry petitioned Pope Clement VII for an annulment of his marriage to Catherine. When the pope procrastinated in granting the annulment, Henry decided to remove the English Church from papal authority.

Henry used Parliament to legalize the Reformation in England and to make himself the supreme head of the Church of England. Anne had a daughter, Elizabeth, but failed to produce a son, so Henry VIII charged her with adulterous incest and in 1536 had her beheaded. His third wife, Jane Seymour, gave Henry the desired son, Edward, but she died a few days after childbirth. Henry went on to three more wives.

Between 1535 and 1539 Henry decided to dissolve the English monasteries primarily because he wanted their wealth. Hundreds of former church properties were sold to the middle and upper classes, strengthening the upper classes and tying them to the Tudor dynasty, to which Henry belonged. How did everyday people react to Henry's break from the Catholic Church? Recent scholarship points out that people rarely "converted" from Catholicism to Protestantism overnight. Instead they responded to the local consequences of the shift from Catholicism with a combination of resistance, acceptance, and collaboration.

Loyalty to the Catholic Church remained particularly strong in Ireland. Ireland had been claimed by English kings since the twelfth century, but in reality the English had firm control of only the area around Dublin known as the Pale. In 1536, on orders from London, the Irish Parliament, which represented only the English landlords and the people of the Pale, approved the English laws severing the church from Rome. The (English) ruling class adopted the new reformed faith, but most of the Irish people remained Roman Catholic. Irish armed opposition to the Reformation led to harsh repression by the English.

In the short reign of Henry's sickly son Edward VI (r. 1547–1553), strongly Protestant ideas exerted a significant influence on the religious life of the country. The equally brief reign of Mary Tudor (r. 1553–1558), the devoutly Catholic daughter of Catherine of Aragon, witnessed a sharp move back to Catholicism, and many Protestants fled to the continent. Mary's death raised to the throne her half sister Elizabeth (r. 1558–1603) and inaugurated the beginning of religious stability.

Elizabeth had been raised a Protestant, but at the start of her reign sharp differences existed in England. On the one hand, Catholics wanted a Roman Catholic ruler. On the other hand, a vocal number of returning exiles wanted all Catholic elements in the Church of England eliminated. Members of the latter group were called Puritans. Shrewdly, Elizabeth chose a middle course between Catholic and Puritan extremes. The Anglican Church, as the Church of England was called, moved in a moderately Protestant direction.

Calvinism and Its Moral Standards

John Calvin (1509–1564) was born in Noyon in northwestern France. As a young man he studied law, but in 1533 he experienced a religious crisis, as a result of which he converted from Catholicism to Protestantism. Calvin believed that God had specifically selected him to reform the church. Accordingly, he accepted an invitation to assist in the reformation of the city of Geneva. There, beginning in 1541, Calvin worked to establish a Christian society ruled by God through civil magistrates and reformed ministers.

Calvin’s ideas are embodied in *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*, first published in 1536 and modified several times afterward. The cornerstone of Calvin’s theology was his belief in the absolute sovereignty and omnipotence of God and the total weakness of humanity.

Calvin did not ascribe free will to human beings because that would detract from the sovereignty of God. According to his beliefs, men and women could not actively work to achieve salvation; rather, God decided at the beginning of time who would be saved and who damned. This viewpoint constitutes the theological principle called **predestination**. “This terrible decree,” as even Calvin called it, did not lead to pessimism or fatalism. Instead, although Calvinists believed that one’s own actions could do nothing to change one’s fate, many came to believe that hard work, thrift, and moral conduct could serve as signs that one was among the “elect” chosen for salvation. Any occupation or profession could be a God-given “calling” and should be carried out with diligence and dedication.

predestination Calvin’s teaching that God decided at the beginning of time who would be saved and who damned, so people could not actively work to achieve salvation.

Calvin transformed Geneva into a community based on his religious principles. The most powerful organization in the city became the Consistory, a group of laymen and pastors charged with investigating and disciplining deviations from proper doctrine and conduct. (See “Global Viewpoints: Chinese and European Views on Proper Behavior,” above.)

Religious refugees from France, England, Spain, Scotland, and Italy visited Calvin’s Geneva, which became the model of a Christian community for many. Subsequently, the Reformed Church of Calvin served as the model for the Presbyterian Church in Scotland, the Huguenot (HYOO-guh-naht) Church in France, and the Puritan Churches in England and New England. Calvinism became the compelling force in international Protestantism, first in Europe and then in many Dutch and English colonies around the world.

GLOBAL VIEWPOINTS

Chinese and European Views on Proper Behavior

Protestant reformers in Europe had clear ideas about virtuous behavior and how to encourage it, and the same was true of Neo-Confucian scholar-officials in China (see “The Scholar-Officials and Neo-Confucianism” in Chapter 13). The reformer John Calvin designed ordinances for the city of Geneva that regulated public and family life, while in China the official and military leader Wang Yangming (1472–1529) called for “community compacts,” agreements between community members in which all pledged to act in a moral fashion.

Wang Yangming, Community Compact for Southern Ganzhou, 1520s

■ Nothing can be done to change what has already gone by, but something can still be done in the future. Therefore a community compact is now specially prepared to unite and harmonize all of you.

From now on, all of you who enter into this compact should be filial to your parents and respectful to your elders, teach your children, live in harmony with your fellow villagers, help one another when there is death in the family and assist one another in times of difficulty, encourage one another to do good and warn one another not to do evil, stop litigations and rivalry, cultivate faithfulness and promote harmony, and be sure to be good citizens so that together you may establish the custom of humanity and kindness....

Elect from the compact membership an elderly and virtuous person respected by all to be the compact chief and two persons to be assistant chiefs [and other officials].... Have three record books. One of these is to record the names of compact members and their daily movements and activities, and is to be in the charge of the compact executives. Of the remaining record books, one is for the purpose of displaying good deeds and the other for the purpose of reporting evil deeds.... To display good deeds, the language used must be clear and decisive, but in reporting mistakes, the language must be indirect and gentle.

John Calvin, Ecclesiastical Ordinances for the City of Geneva, 1541

■ [The office of the elders appointed to the Consistory] is to keep watch over the lives of everyone, to admonish in love those whom they see in error and leading disorderly lives. Whenever necessary they shall make a report concerning these to the ministers who will be designated to make brotherly corrections....

If the church deems it wise, it will be well to choose two from the Little Council, four from the Council of Two Hundred, honest men of good demeanor, without reproach and free from all suspicion, above all fearing God and possessed of good and spiritual judgment. It will be well to elect them from every part of the city so as to be able to maintain supervision over all….

If there shall be anyone who lays down opinions contrary to received doctrine, he is to be summoned. If he recants, he is to be dismissed without prejudice. If he is stubborn, he is to be admonished from time to time until it shall be evident that he deserves greater severity….

If anyone is negligent in attending worship so that a noticeable offense is evident for the communion of the faithful, or if anyone shows himself contemptuous of ecclesiastical discipline, he is to be admonished….

For the correction of faults, it is necessary to proceed after the ordinance of our Lord. That is, vices are to be dealt with secretly and no one is to be brought before the church for accusation if the fault is neither public nor scandalous, unless he has been found rebellious in the matter….

Let all these measures be moderate; let there not be such a degree of rigor that anyone should be cast down, for all corrections are but medicinal, to bring back sinners to the Lord.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

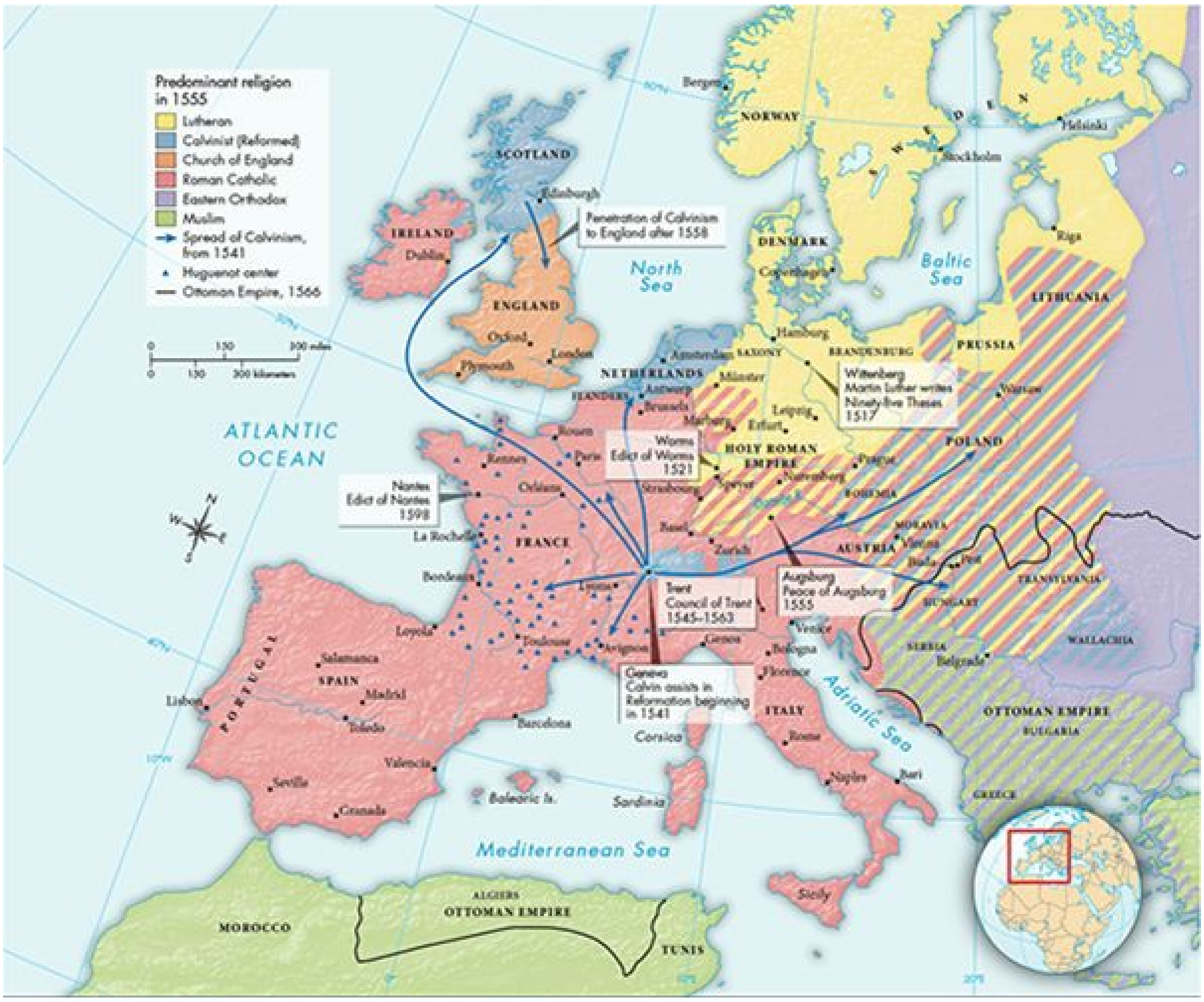
1. What types of actions do Wang and Calvin encourage and discourage?
2. What similarities and differences do you see in the institutions and procedures Wang and Calvin established to enforce proper conduct?
3. How do these documents reflect Confucian and Protestant Christian values and ideals?

Sources: William Theodore de Bary and Irene Bloom, eds., *Sources of Chinese Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), pp. 854–855; *The Protestant Reformation*, ed. Hans J. Hillerbrand (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1968), pp. 174, 177. Material originally appeared (in slightly modified form) in *The Reformation: A Narrative History Related by Contemporary Observers and Participants*, ed. Hans J. Hillerbrand (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), pp. 192–194. Used by permission of the author.

The Catholic Reformation

How did the Catholic Church respond to the new religious situation?

Between 1517 and 1547 Protestantism made remarkable advances. Nevertheless, the Roman Catholic Church made a significant comeback (Map 15.2). Many historians see the developments within the Catholic Church after the Protestant Reformation as two interrelated movements, one a drive for internal reform, and the other a Counter-Reformation that actively opposed Protestantism. In both movements, papal reforms and new religious orders were important agents.


Predominant religion in 1555
Lutheran
Calvinist (Reformed)
Church of England
Roman Catholic
Eastern Orthodox
Muslim
Spread of Calvinism, from 1541
Huguenot center
Ottoman Empire, 1566
0 150 300 miles
0 150 300 kilometers
ATLANTIC OCEAN
North Sea
Baltic Sea
Mediterranean Sea
Adriatic Sea
N
W
E
S
SCOTLAND
Edinburgh
IRELAND
Dublin
ENGLAND
Oxford
London
Plymouth
Penetration of Calvinism to England after 1558
Bergen
NORWAY
SWEDEN
Stockholm
Helsinki
Riga
DENMARK
Copenhagen
LITHUANIA
PRUSSIA
Hamburg
Amsterdam
SAXONY
BRANDENBURG
NETHERLANDS
FLANDERS
Antwerp
Brussels
Münster
Marburg
Erfurt
Leipzig
Wittenberg
Martin Luther writes Ninety-five Theses
1517
Warsaw
POLAND
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
Prague
Nuremberg
BOHEMIA
Speyer
Worms
Edict of Worms
1521
Strasbourg
Basel
Zurich
MORAVIA
Vienna
AUSTRIA
Buda
Pest
TRANSYLVANIA
HUNGARY
Augsburg
Peace of Augsburg
1555
Trent
Council of Trent
1545–1563
Venice
Genoa
Bologna
Florence
Geneva
Calvin assists in Reformation beginning in 1541
ITALY
Rome
Naples
Bari
Corsica
Sardinia
Sicily
SERBIA
Belgrade
WALLACHIA
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
BULGARIA
GREECE
Rouen
Paris
Rennes
Orléans
Nantes
Edict of Nantes
1598
La Rochelle
FRANCE
Bordeaux
Lyons
Toulouse
Avignon
Loyola
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
Salamanca
SPAIN
Madrid
Toledo
Barcelona
Valencia
Seville
Granada
Balearic Is.
ALGIERS
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
MOROCCO
TUNIS

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Mapping the Past

MAP 15.2 Religious Divisions in Europe, ca. 1555 The Reformation shattered the religious unity of Western Christendom. The situation was even more complicated than a map of this scale can show. Many cities within the Holy Roman Empire, for example, accepted a different faith than did the surrounding countryside; Augsburg, Basel, and Strasbourg were all Protestant, though surrounded by territory ruled by Catholic nobles.

ANALYZING THE MAP Which countries in Europe were the most religiously diverse? Which were the least diverse?

CONNECTIONS Where was the first arena of religious conflict in Europe, and why did it develop there and not elsewhere? What nonreligious factors contributed to the religious divisions that developed in sixteenth-century Europe, and to what degree can they explain these divisions?

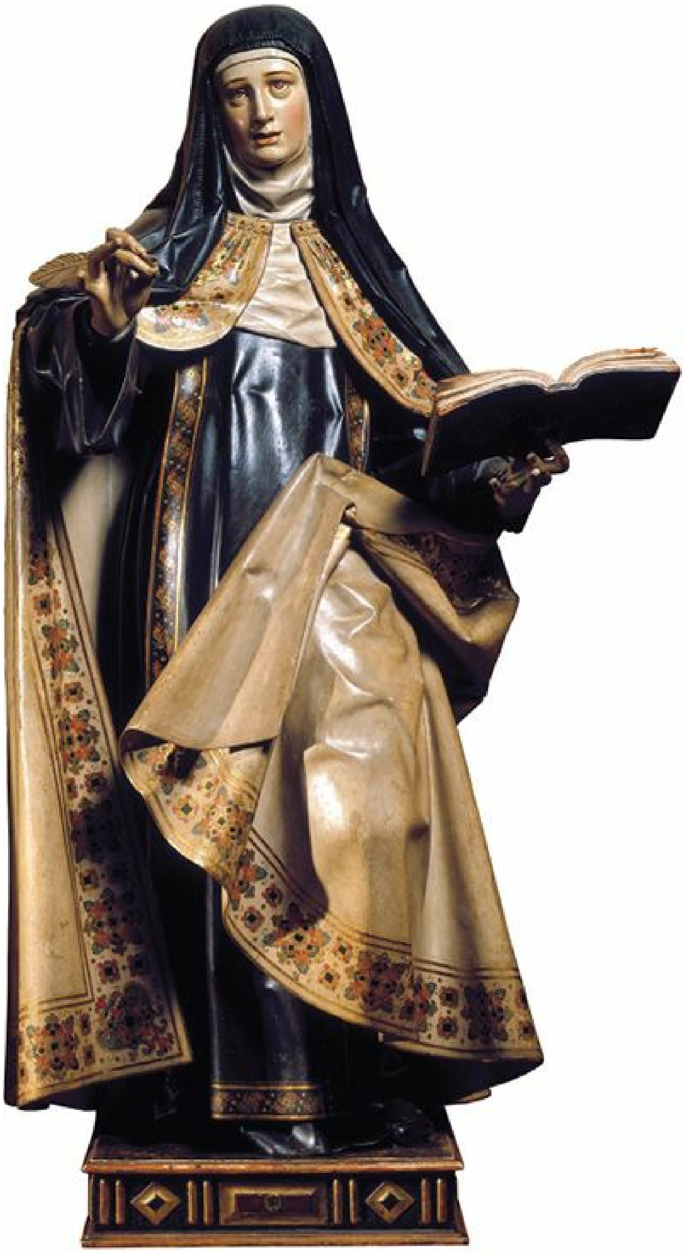
Papal Reforms and the Council of Trent

Under Pope Paul III (pontificate 1534–1549) the papal court became the center of a reform movement within the Catholic Church. In 1542 he established the Supreme Sacred Congregation of the Roman and Universal Inquisition, often called the Holy Office, with jurisdiction over the Roman Inquisition, a powerful instrument of the Catholic Reformation. The Inquisition had judicial authority over all Catholics and the power to arrest, imprison, and execute.

Pope Paul III also called a general council, which met intermittently from 1545 to 1563 at Trent, an imperial city close to Italy. The decrees of the Council of Trent laid a solid basis for the spiritual renewal of the Catholic Church. It gave equal validity to the Scriptures and to tradition as sources of religious truth and authority. It reaffirmed the seven sacraments and the traditional Catholic teaching on transubstantiation (the transformation of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist). It tackled the disciplinary matters that had disillusioned the faithful. The council also required every diocese to establish a seminary for educating and training clergy. Finally, great emphasis was placed on preaching to and instructing the laity, especially the uneducated. For four centuries the doctrinal and disciplinary legislation of Trent served as the basis for Roman Catholic faith, organization, and practice.

New Religious Orders

Just as seminaries provided education, so did new religious orders, which aimed to raise the moral and intellectual level of the clergy and people. The Ursuline (UHR-suh-luhn) order of nuns, founded in 1535 by Angela Merici (1474–1540), attained enormous prestige for its education of women. The Ursulines were the first women’s religious order concentrating exclusively on teaching young girls, with the goal of re-Christianizing society by training future wives and mothers. After receiving papal approval in 1565, the Ursulines rapidly spread to France and the New World.



National Museum of Sculpture, Valladolid, Spain/
© P. Rotger/Iberfoto/The Image Works

Teresa of Ávila In this wood carving from 1625, the Spanish artist Gregorio Fernandez shows Saint Teresa book in hand, actively teaching. The influence of her ideas and actions led the pope to give Teresa the title "Doctor of the Church" in 1970, the first woman to be so honored.

Another important new order was the Society of Jesus, or **Jesuits**. Founded by Ignatius Loyola (1491–1556), and approved by the pope in 1540, this order played a powerful international role in strengthening Catholicism in Europe and spreading the faith around the world. Under Loyola's leadership, the Society of Jesus developed into a highly centralized, tightly knit organization whose professed members vowed to go anywhere the pope said they were needed. They established schools that adopted the modern humanist curricula and methods and that educated the sons of the nobility as well as the poor. The Jesuits attracted many recruits and achieved phenomenal success for the papacy and the reformed Catholic Church, carrying Christianity to much of South and Central America, India, and Japan before 1550 and to Brazil, North America, and the Congo in the seventeenth century. Within Europe the Jesuits brought almost all of southern Germany and much of eastern Europe back to Catholicism. Also, as confessors and spiritual directors to kings, Jesuits exerted great political influence.

Jesuits Members of the Society of Jesus, founded by Ignatius Loyola in 1540, whose goal was the spread of the Roman Catholic faith through schools and missionary activity.

Religious Violence

What were the causes and consequences of religious violence, including riots, wars, and witch-hunts?

In 1559 France and Spain signed the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis (KAH-toh cahm-BREH-sis), which ended the long conflict known as the Habsburg-Valois wars. However, over the next century religious differences led to riots, civil wars, and international conflicts. Especially in France and the Netherlands, Protestants and Catholics opposed one another through preaching, teaching, and violence. Catholics and Protestants alike feared people of other faiths, whom they often saw as agents of Satan. Even more, they feared those explicitly identified with Satan: people believed to be witches. This era also saw the most virulent witch persecutions in European history, as both Protestants and Catholics tried to make their cities and states more godly.

French Religious Wars

The costs of the Habsburg-Valois wars, waged intermittently through the first half of the sixteenth century, forced the French to increase taxes and borrow heavily. King Francis I's treaty with the pope (see "Politics and the State in the Renaissance") gave the French crown a rich supplement of money and offices and also a vested financial interest in Catholicism. Significant numbers of French people, however, were attracted to Calvinism. Calvinism drew converts from among reform-minded members of the Catholic clergy, the industrious middle classes, and artisan groups. Additionally, some French nobles became Calvinist. By the middle of the sixteenth century perhaps one-tenth of the French population had become **Huguenots**, the name given to French Calvinists.

Huguenots French Calvinists.

Both Calvinists and Catholics believed that the others' books, services, and ministers polluted the community. Preachers communicated these ideas in sermons, triggering religious violence. Armed clashes between Catholic royalist nobles and Calvinist antimonarchical nobles occurred in many parts of France.

Calvinist teachings called the power of sacred images into question, and mobs in many cities destroyed statues, stained-glass windows, and paintings. Catholic mobs responded by defending the sacred images, and crowds on both sides killed their opponents, often in gruesome ways.

A particularly savage Catholic attack on Calvinists took place in Paris on August 24, 1572, Saint Bartholomew's Day. The occasion was the marriage of the king's sister Margaret of Valois to the Protestant Henry of Navarre, which was intended to help reconcile Catholics and Huguenots. Instead Huguenot wedding guests in Paris were massacred, and other Protestants were slaughtered by mobs. Violence spread to the provinces, where thousands were killed. The Saint Bartholomew's Day massacre led to a civil war that dragged on for fifteen years.

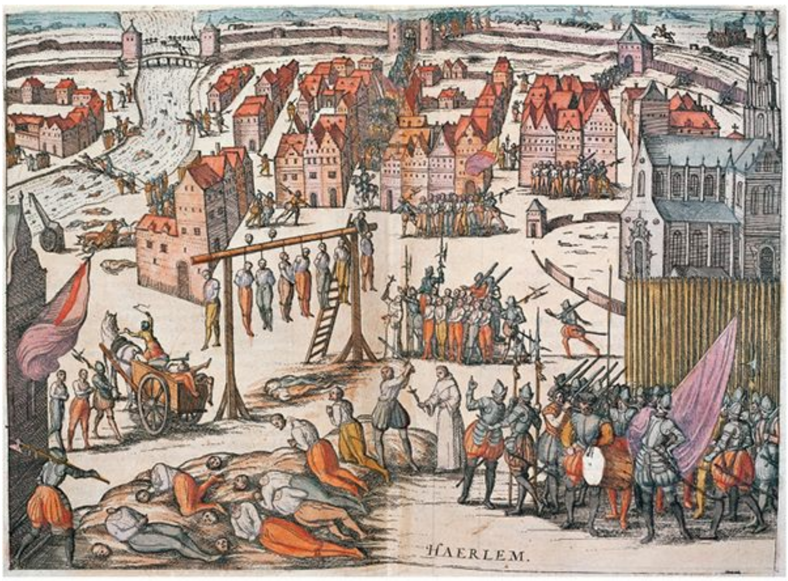
What ultimately saved France was a small group of moderates of both faiths called **politiques** (POH-lee-teeks), who believed that only the restoration of a strong monarchy could reverse the trend toward collapse. The politiques also favored officially recognizing the Huguenots. The death of the French queen Catherine de' Medici, followed by the assassination of her son King Henry III, paved the way for the accession of Henry of Navarre (the unfortunate bridegroom of the Saint Bartholomew's Day massacre), a politique who became Henry IV (r. 1589–1610).

politiques Catholic and Protestant moderates who sought to end the religious violence in France by restoring a strong monarchy and granting official recognition to the Huguenots.

Henry's willingness to sacrifice religious principles to political necessity saved France. He converted to Catholicism but also, in 1598, issued the Edict of Nantes (NAHNT), which granted liberty of conscience (freedom of thought) and liberty of public worship to Huguenots in 150 fortified towns. By helping restore internal peace in France, the reign of Henry IV and the Edict of Nantes paved the way for French kings to claim absolute power in the seventeenth century.

Civil Wars in the Netherlands

In the Netherlands a movement for church reform developed into a struggle for Dutch independence. The Catholic emperor Charles V had inherited the seventeen provinces that compose present-day Belgium and the Netherlands (see "The Habsburgs"). In the Netherlands, as in many other places, Lutheran ideas took root. Charles V had grown up in the Netherlands, however, and he was able to limit the impact of the new ideas. As discussed earlier, Charles V abdicated in 1556 and transferred power over the Netherlands to his son Philip II, who had grown up in Spain. Although Philip, like his father, opposed Protestantism, Protestant ideas spread in the Netherlands.



Private Collection/Bridgeman Images

Spanish Soldiers Killing Protestants in Haarlem In this 1573 engraving by the Calvinist artist Franz Hogenberg, Spanish soldiers accompanied by priests kill residents of the Dutch city of Haarlem by hanging or beheading, and then dump their bodies in the river. Haarlem had withstood a seven-month siege by Spanish troops in 1572–1573, and after the starving city surrendered, the garrison of troops and forty citizens judged guilty of sedition were executed. Images such as this were part of the propaganda battle that accompanied the wars of religion, but in many cases there were actual atrocities, on both sides.

By the 1560s Protestants in the Netherlands were primarily Calvinists. When Spanish authorities attempted to suppress Calvinist worship and raised taxes, their actions sparked riots and a wave of iconoclasm. In response, Philip II sent twenty thousand Spanish troops, and from 1568 to 1578 civil war raged in the Netherlands between Catholics and Protestants and between the seventeen provinces and Spain. Eventually the ten southern provinces came under the control of the Spanish Habsburg forces. The seven northern provinces, led by Holland, formed the Union of Utrecht (the United Provinces), and in 1581 they declared their independence from Spain. The north was Protestant, and the south remained Catholic. Philip did not accept the independence of the north, and war continued. England was even drawn into the conflict, supplying money and troops to the United Provinces. (Spain launched the Spanish Armada, an unsuccessful invasion of England, in response.) Hostilities ended in 1609 when Spain agreed to a truce that recognized the independence of the United Provinces.

The Great European Witch-Hunt

Insecurity created by the religious wars contributed to persecution for witchcraft, which actually began before the Reformation in the 1480s but became especially common about 1560. Both Protestants and Catholics tried and executed those accused of being witches.

The heightened sense of God’s power and divine wrath in the Reformation era was an important factor in the **witch-hunts**, but other factors were also significant. In the later Middle Ages, scholars and officials added a demonological component to existing ideas about witches. For them, the essence of witchcraft was making a pact with the Devil that required the witch to do the Devil’s bidding. Witches were no longer simply people who used magical power to do harm and get what they wanted, but rather people used by the Devil to do what he wanted.

witch-hunts Campaign against witchcraft in Europe and European colonies during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in which hundreds of thousands of people, mostly women, were tried, and many of them executed.

Trials involving this new notion of witchcraft as diabolical heresy began in Switzerland and southern Germany in the late fifteenth century; became less numerous in the early decades of the Reformation, when Protestants and Catholics were busy fighting each other; and then picked up again about 1560, spreading to much of western Europe and to European colonies in the Americas. Scholars estimate that during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries somewhere between 100,000 and 200,000 people were officially tried for witchcraft, and between 40,000 and 60,000 were executed.

Though the gender balance of the accused varied widely in different parts of Europe, between 75 and 85 percent of those tried and executed were women, whom some demonologists viewed as weaker and so more likely to give in to the Devil. Tensions within families, households, and neighborhoods also played a role in witchcraft accusations, as grievances and jealousies led to accusations. Suspects were questioned and tortured by legal authorities, and they often implicated others.

Even in the sixteenth century a few individuals questioned whether witches could ever do harm, make a pact with the Devil, or engage in the wild activities attributed to them. Furthermore, doubts about trial procedures and the use of torture to extract confessions gradually spread among the same type of religious and legal authorities who had so vigorously persecuted witches. By about 1660 prosecutions for witchcraft had become less common.

European ideas about witchcraft traveled across the Atlantic. There were a few trials of European colonists for witchcraft — the most famous of which was at Salem in Massachusetts — but more often indigenous people were accused of being witches.

Chapter Summary

The Renaissance was characterized by self-conscious awareness among educated Europeans, particularly scholars and writers known as humanists, that they were living in a new era. Central to humanists were interest in the Latin classics, belief in individual potential, education for a career of public service, and, in northern Europe, the reform of church and society. Their ideas spread as a result of the development of the printing press with movable metal type, which revolutionized communication. Interest in the classical past and in the individual shaped the style and subject matter of Renaissance art, and patrons provided the money needed for an outpouring of painting, sculpture, and architecture. Social hierarchies in the Renaissance developed new features that contributed to the modern social hierarchies of race, class, and gender. In politics, feudal monarchies gradually evolved into nation-states, as rulers used war, diplomacy, new forms of taxation, centralized institutions, and strategic marital alliances to build up their power.

Many individuals and groups had long called for reforms in the Catholic Church, providing a ready audience in the early sixteenth century for the ideas of Martin Luther. Luther and other reformers, called Protestants, developed a new understanding of Christian doctrine that emphasized faith and grace; Protestant ideas spread rapidly through preaching, hymns, and the printing press; and soon western Europe was split religiously. Local situations influenced religious patterns. In England the king’s need for a church-approved divorce triggered the break with Rome, while in France and eastern Europe the ideas of John Calvin gained wide acceptance. By the middle of the sixteenth century the Roman Catholic Church had begun a process of internal reform along with opposing Protestants intellectually, politically, militarily, and institutionally. This reinvigorated Catholic Church would carry Christian ideas around the world, while in Europe religious differences led to riots, witch persecutions, civil wars, and international conflicts.

CONNECTIONS

The Renaissance and the Reformation are often seen as key to the creation of the modern world. The radical changes of these times contained many elements of continuity, however. Artists, humanists, and religious reformers looked back to the classical era and early Christianity for inspiration. Political leaders played important roles in cultural and religious developments, just as they had for centuries in Europe and other parts of the world. Social hierarchies of race, status, and gender built on those of earlier periods. Thinkers highlighted individual achievement, but families, religious brotherhoods, and other groups remained important. The events of the Renaissance and Reformation were thus linked with earlier developments, and they were also closely connected with another important element in the modern world: European exploration and colonization (discussed in Chapter 16). Renaissance monarchs paid for maritime expeditions, expecting a large share of any profits gained and increasingly viewing overseas territory as essential to their own reputations and to a strong state. Moreover, for many, European expansion had a religious dimension and was explicitly linked to the spread of Christianity around the world. The desire for fame, wealth, and power that was central to the Renaissance, and the religious zeal central to the Reformation, were thus key to the European voyages and to colonial ventures as well.

CHAPTER 15 Review and Explore

Identify Key Terms

Identify and explain the significance of each item below.

Renaissance (p. 408)
patronage (p. 408)
humanism (p. 408)
Christian humanists (p. 410)
debate about women (p. 417)
Protestant Reformation (p. 419)
indulgence (p. 421)
Diet of Worms (p. 422)
Protestant (p. 422)
predestination (p. 426)
Jesuits (p. 428)
Huguenots (p. 430)
politiques (p. 430)
witch-hunts (p. 431)

Review the Main Ideas

Answer the focus questions from each section of the chapter.

1. What were the major cultural developments of the Renaissance? (p. 408)
2. What were the key social hierarchies in Renaissance Europe, and how did these hierarchies shape people's lives? (p. 415)
3. How did the nation-states of western Europe evolve in this period? (p. 418)
4. What were the central ideas of Protestant reformers, and why were they appealing to various groups across Europe? (p. 419)
5. How did the Catholic Church respond to the new religious situation? (p. 428)
6. What were the causes and consequences of religious violence, including riots, wars, and witch-hunts? (p. 430)

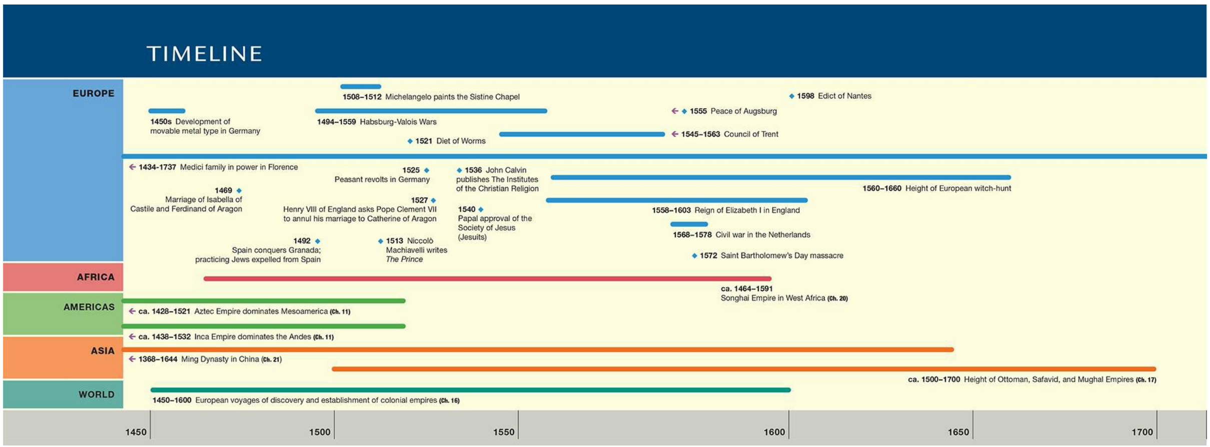
Make Comparisons and Connections

Analyze the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters.

1. The word *Renaissance*, invented to describe the cultural flowering in Italy that began in the fourteenth century, has often been used for other periods of advance in learning and the arts, such as the "Carolingian Renaissance" that you read about in Chapter 8. Can you think of other, more recent

"Renaissances" or ways the term is used today?

2. The "debate about women" that you read about in this chapter was not simply a European phenomenon, as educated men (and occasionally a few educated women) in many cultures discussed women's nature and character. How would you compare ideas about women in classical Islamic society (Chapter 9), Song China (Chapter 13), Heian Japan (Chapter 13), Renaissance Italy, and Protestant Germany? How were these ideas reflected (or not reflected) in women's actual lives?
3. Martin Luther is always on every list of the one hundred most influential individuals of all time. Should he be? Why or why not? Who else from this chapter (or other chapters) should be on such a list, and why?



Suggested Resources

Books

Bethencourt, Francisco. *The Inquisition: A Global History, 1478 – 1834*. 2009. A comprehensive study that examines the Inquisition in Spain, Portugal, Italy, and the Iberian empires overseas.

Cameron, Euan. *The European Reformation*, 2d ed. 2012. A thorough analysis of the Protestant and Catholic Reformations throughout Europe.

Earle, T. F., and K. J. P. Lowe, eds. *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*. 2005. Includes essays discussing many aspects of ideas about race and the experience of Africans in Europe.

Ertman, Thomas. *The Birth of Leviathan: Building States and Regimes in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. 1997. A good introduction to the creation of nation-states.

Hendrix, Scott. *Luther*. 2009. A brief introduction to Luther's thought; part of the Abingdon Pillars of Theology series.

Hsia, R. Po-Chia. *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540 – 1770*, 2d ed. 2005. Situates the Catholic Reformation in a global context and examines colonial Catholicism.

Johnson, Geraldine. *Renaissance Art: A Very Short Introduction*. 2005. An excellent brief survey that includes male and female artists and sets the art in

its cultural and historical context.
Levack, Brian. *The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe*, 3d ed. 2007. A good introduction to the vast literature on witchcraft, with helpful bibliographies.
Man, John. *Gutenberg Revolution: The Story of a Genius and an Invention That Changed the World*. 2002. Presents a rather idealized view of Gutenberg but has good discussions of his milieu and excellent illustrations.
Matheson, Peter, ed. *Reformation Christianity*. 2004. This volume in the People's History of Christianity series explores social issues and popular religion.
Nauert, Charles. *Humanism and the Culture of Renaissance Europe*, 2d ed. 2006. A thorough introduction to humanism throughout Europe.
Waley, Daniel, and Trevor Dean. *The Italian City-Republics*, 4th ed. 2010. Analyzes the rise of independent city-states in northern Italy, including discussion of the artistic and social lives of their inhabitants.
Wiesner-Hanks, Merry E. *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, 3d ed. 2008. Discusses all aspects of women's lives as well as ideas about gender.

Documentaries

Leonardo da Vinci (BBC, 2004). A three-part documentary telling the life story of Leonardo as an artist, inventor, and engineer. Features tests of his designs for the parachute, tank, diving suit, and glider, and an investigation of the *Mona Lisa*.
The Medici: Godfathers of the Renaissance (PBS, 2004). A four-part documentary examining the power and patronage of the Medici family, shot on location, with extensive coverage of art and architecture.
The Protestant Revolution (BBC, 2007). A four-part documentary series that examines the religious roots and the scientific, cultural, social, economic, and political impact of Protestantism, viewing these as wide-ranging and global in scope.

Feature Films and Television Dramas

The Borgias (Showtime, 2011). A fictionalized docudrama of the rise of the Borgia family to power in the church and in Italy, with Jeremy Irons as Pope Alexander VI.
Luther (Eric Till, 2003). A fairly accurate biopic, starring Joseph Fiennes, which traces Martin Luther's life from his becoming a monk through his break with the church, his marriage, and the German Peasants' War.
Wolf Hall (BBC, 2015). A miniseries based on the award-winning historical novels by Hilary Mantel that focuses on Thomas Cromwell, Henry VIII's chief minister. Praised for its acting and staging, but criticized for its harsh treatment of Thomas More.

Websites

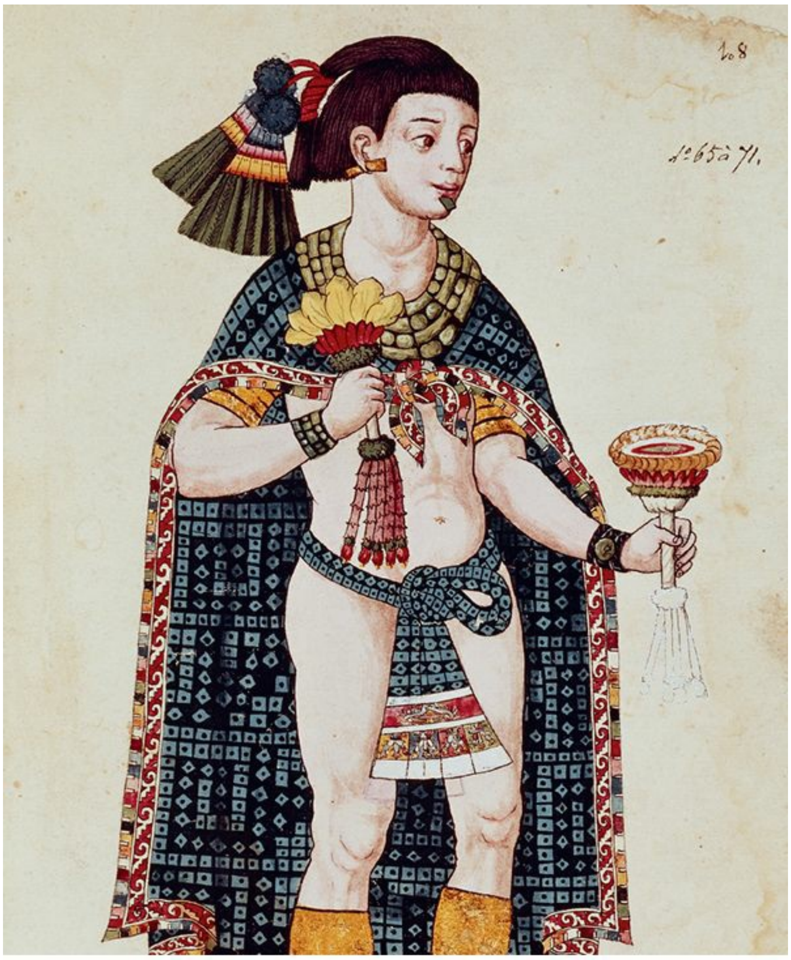
The Medici Archive Project. A database for researching the nearly 3 million

letters held by the Medici Granducal Archive Collection in Florence, spanning the years from 1537 to 1743. Includes topical “document highlights” in English and Italian, accompanied by illustrations.
www.medici.org/

16

The Acceleration of Global Contact

1450–1600



From *Codex Ixtlilxochiti*, 1582, pigment on European paper/Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, France/De Agostini Picture Library/akg-images

Nezahualpilli

At the time of the arrival of Europeans, Nezahualpilli was ruler of the city-state of Texcoco, the second-most-important city in the Aztec Empire after Tenochtitlan.

Before 1500 Europeans were relatively marginal players in a centuries-old tradin system that linked Africa, Asia, and Europe. The Indian Ocean was the locus of a vibrant cosmopolitan Afroeurasian trade world in which Arab, Persian, Turkish, Indian, African, Chinese, and European merchants and adventurers competed for trade in spices, silks, and other goods. Elites everywhere prized Chinese porcelains and silks, while wealthy members of the Celestial Kingdom, as China called itself, wanted gold, ivory, and rhinoceros horn from Africa and exotic goods and peacocks from India. African people wanted textiles from India and cowrie shells from the Maldives in the Indian Ocean. Europeans craved Asian silks and spices, but they had few desirable goods to offer their trading partners.

By 1550 the European search for better access to Asian trade goods had led to a new overseas empire in the Indian Ocean and the accidental discovery of the Western Hemisphere. With this discovery South and North America were drawn into an international network of trade centers and political empires, which Europeans came to dominate. The era of globalization had begun, creating new political systems and forms of economic exchange as well as cultural assimilation, conversion, and resistance.

CHAPTER PREVIEW

THE AFROEURASIAN TRADE WORLD
What was the Afroeurasian trade world prior to the era of European exploration?

THE EUROPEAN VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY
How and why did Europeans undertake ambitious voyages of expansion?

CONQUEST AND SETTLEMENT
What was the impact of Iberian conquest and settlement on the peoples and ecologies of the Americas?

THE ERA OF GLOBAL CONTACT
How was the era of global contact shaped by new commodities, commercial empires, and forced migrations?

CHANGING ATTITUDES AND BELIEFS
How did new encounters shape cultural attitudes and beliefs in Europe and the rest of the world?

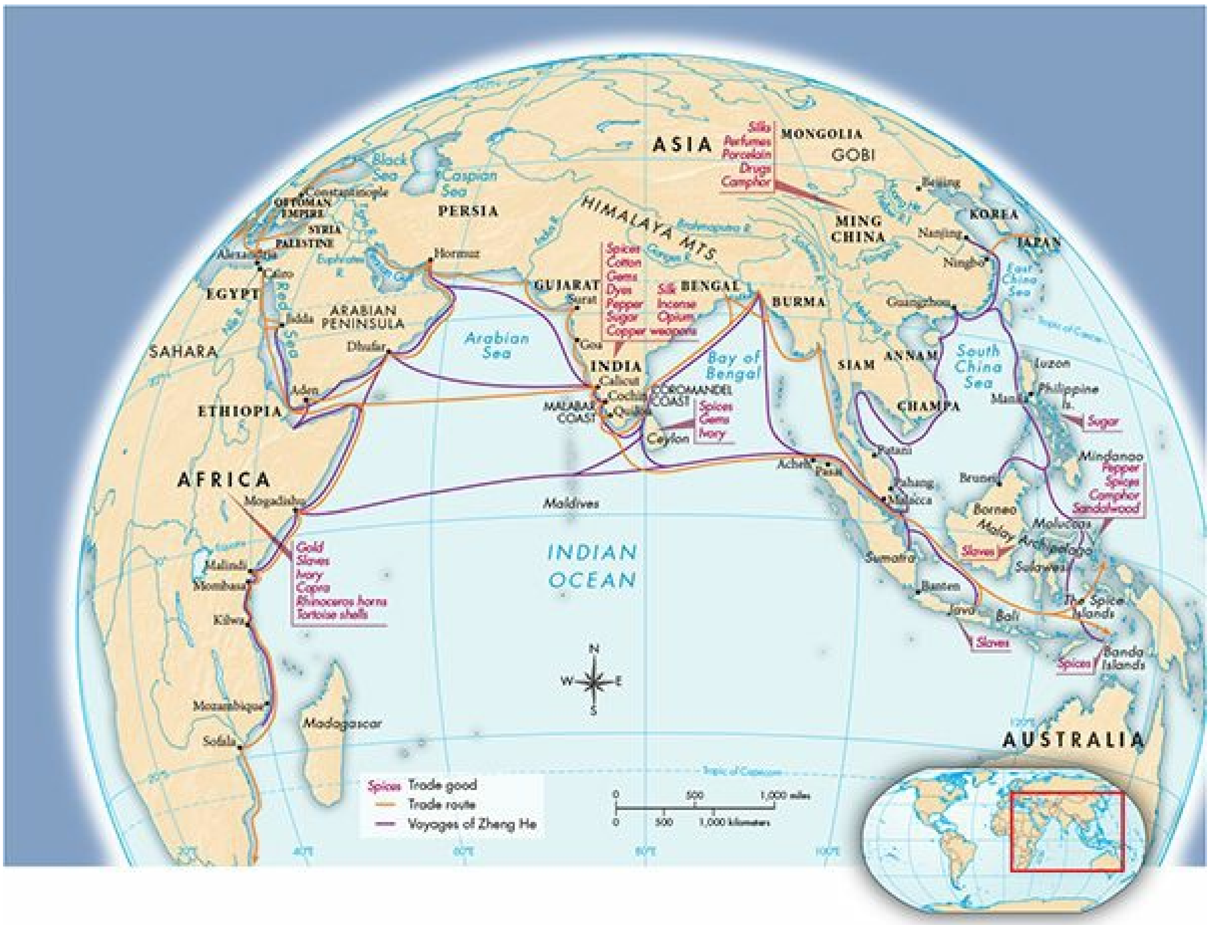
The Afroeurasian Trade World

What was the Afroeurasian trade world prior to the era of European exploration?

The Afroeurasian trade world linked the products and people of Europe, Asia, and Africa in the fifteenth century. The West was a marginal player in this trading system. Nevertheless, wealthy Europeans were eager consumers of luxury goods from the East, which they received through Italian middlemen.

The Trade World of the Indian Ocean

The Indian Ocean was the center of the Afroeurasian trade world, serving as a crossroads for commercial and cultural exchanges between China, India, the Middle East, Africa, and Europe (Map 16.1). From the seventh through the fourteenth centuries, the volume of this trade steadily increased, declining only during the years of the Black Death.


ASIA
Silks
Perfumes
Porcelain
Drugs
Camphor
MONGOLIA
GOBI
Beijing
KOREA
JAPAN
MING CHINA
Nanjing
Ningbo
East China Sea
Guangzhou
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
Constantinople
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
SYRIA
PALESTINE
Alexandria
Cairo
Euphrates R.
PERSIA
Hormuz
HIMALAYA MTS
Brahmaputra R.
Ganges R.
Indus R.
EGYPT
Nile R.
Red Sea
Jidda
ARABIAN PENINSULA
Dhufar
SAHARA
Aden
ETHIOPIA
GUJARAT
Surat
Spices
Cotton
Gems
Dyes
Pepper
Sugar
Copper
Silk
Incense
Opium
weapons
BENGAL
BURMA
Goa
INDIA
Calicut
Cochin
Quilon
MALABAR COAST
COROMANDEL COAST
Spices
Gems
Ivory
Ceylon
Arabian Sea
Bay of Bengal
SIAM
ANNAM
CHAMPA
South China Sea
Luzon
Philippine Is.
Manila
Sugar
Patani
Acheh
Pasai
Pahang
Malacca
Brunei
Borneo
Mindanao
Pepper
Spices
Camphor
Sandalwood
Moluccas
Malay Archipelago
Slaves
Sulawesi
Sumatra
Banten
Java
Bali
Slaves
The Spice Islands
Banda Islands
Spices
AFRICA
Mogadishu
Maldives
Gold
Slaves
Ivory
Copra
Rhinoceros horns
Tortoise shells
Malindi
Mombasa
Kilwa
Mozambique
Sofala
Madagascar
INDIAN OCEAN
N
W
E
S
AUSTRALIA
Tropic of Cancer
Tropic of Capricorn
Spices Trade good
Trade route
Voyages of Zheng He
0 500 1,000 miles
0 500 1,000 kilometers
40°E
60°E
80°E
100°E
120°E

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 16.1 The Fifteenth-Century Afroeurasian Trading World After a period of decline following the Black Death and the Mongol invasions, trade revived in the fifteenth century. Muslim merchants dominated trade, linking ports in East Africa and the Red Sea with those in India and the Malay Archipelago. The Chinese admiral Zheng He followed the most important Indian Ocean trade routes on his voyages (1405–1433), hoping to impose Ming dominance of trade and tribute.

Merchants congregated in a series of multicultural, cosmopolitan port cities strung around the Indian Ocean. Most of these cities had some form of autonomous self-government, and mutual self-interest largely limited violence and prevented attempts to monopolize trade. The most developed area of this commercial web was made up of the ports surrounding the South China Sea. In the fifteenth century the port of Malacca became a great commercial entrepôt (AHN-truh-poh), a trading center to which goods were shipped for storage while awaiting redistribution. To Malacca came porcelains, silks, and camphor (used in the manufacture of many medications) from China; pepper, cloves, nutmeg, and raw materials such as sandalwood from the Moluccas; sugar from the Philippines; and textiles, copper weapons, incense, dyes, and opium from India.

The Mongol emperors opened the doors of China to the West, encouraging Europeans like the Venetian trader and explorer Marco Polo to do business there. Marco Polo’s tales of his travels from 1271 to 1295 and his encounter with the Great Khan fueled Western fantasies about the Orient. After the Mongols fell to the Ming Dynasty in 1368, China entered a period of agricultural and commercial expansion, population growth, and urbanization (see “Ming China” in Chapter 21). Historians agree that China had the most advanced economy in the world until at least the beginning of the eighteenth century.

China also took the lead in exploration, sending Admiral Zheng He’s fleet as far west as Egypt. Each of his seven expeditions from 1405 to 1433 involved hundreds of ships and tens of thousands of men. The purpose of the voyages was primarily diplomatic, to enhance China’s prestige and seek tribute-paying alliances. The high expense of the voyages in a period of renewed Mongol encroachment led to the abandonment of the maritime expeditions after the deaths of Zheng He and the emperor. China’s turning away from external trade opened new opportunities for European states to expand their role in Asian trade.

Another center of Indian Ocean trade was India, the crucial link between the Persian Gulf and the Southeast Asian and East Asian trade networks. The subcontinent had ancient links with its neighbors to the northwest. Trade among ports bordering the Indian Ocean was revived in the Middle Ages by Arab merchants who circumnavigated India on their way to trade in the South China Sea. The inhabitants of India's Coromandel coast traditionally looked to Southeast Asia, where they had ancient trading and cultural ties. Hinduism and Buddhism arrived in Southeast Asia from India during late antiquity, and a brisk trade between Southeast Asian and Coromandel port cities persisted from that time until the arrival of the Portuguese in the sixteenth century. India itself was an important contributor of goods to the world trading system. Most of the world's pepper was grown in India, and Indian cotton and silk textiles were also highly prized.

Peoples and Cultures of the Indian Ocean

Indian Ocean trade connected peoples from the Malay Peninsula (the southern extremity of the Asian continent), India, China, and East Africa, among whom there was an enormous variety of languages, cultures, and religions. In spite of this diversity, certain sociocultural similarities linked these peoples, especially in Southeast Asia.

In comparison to India, China, or even Europe after the Black Death, Southeast Asia was sparsely populated. People were concentrated in port cities and in areas of intense rice cultivation. Another difference between Southeast Asia and India, China, and Europe was the higher status of women — their primary role in planting and harvesting rice gave them authority and economic power. At marriage, which typically occurred around age twenty, the groom paid the bride (or sometimes her family) a sum of money called **bride wealth**, which remained under her control. This practice was in sharp contrast to the Chinese, Indian, and European dowry, which came under the husband's control. Property was administered jointly, in contrast to the Chinese principle and Indian practice that wives had no say in the disposal of family property. All children, regardless of gender, inherited equally.

bride wealth In early modern Southeast Asia, a sum of money the groom paid the bride or her family at the time of marriage. This practice contrasted with the dowry in China, India, and Europe, which the husband controlled.

Respect for women carried over to the commercial sphere. Women participated in business as partners and independent entrepreneurs. When Portuguese and Dutch men settled in the region and married local women, their wives continued to play important roles in trade and commerce.

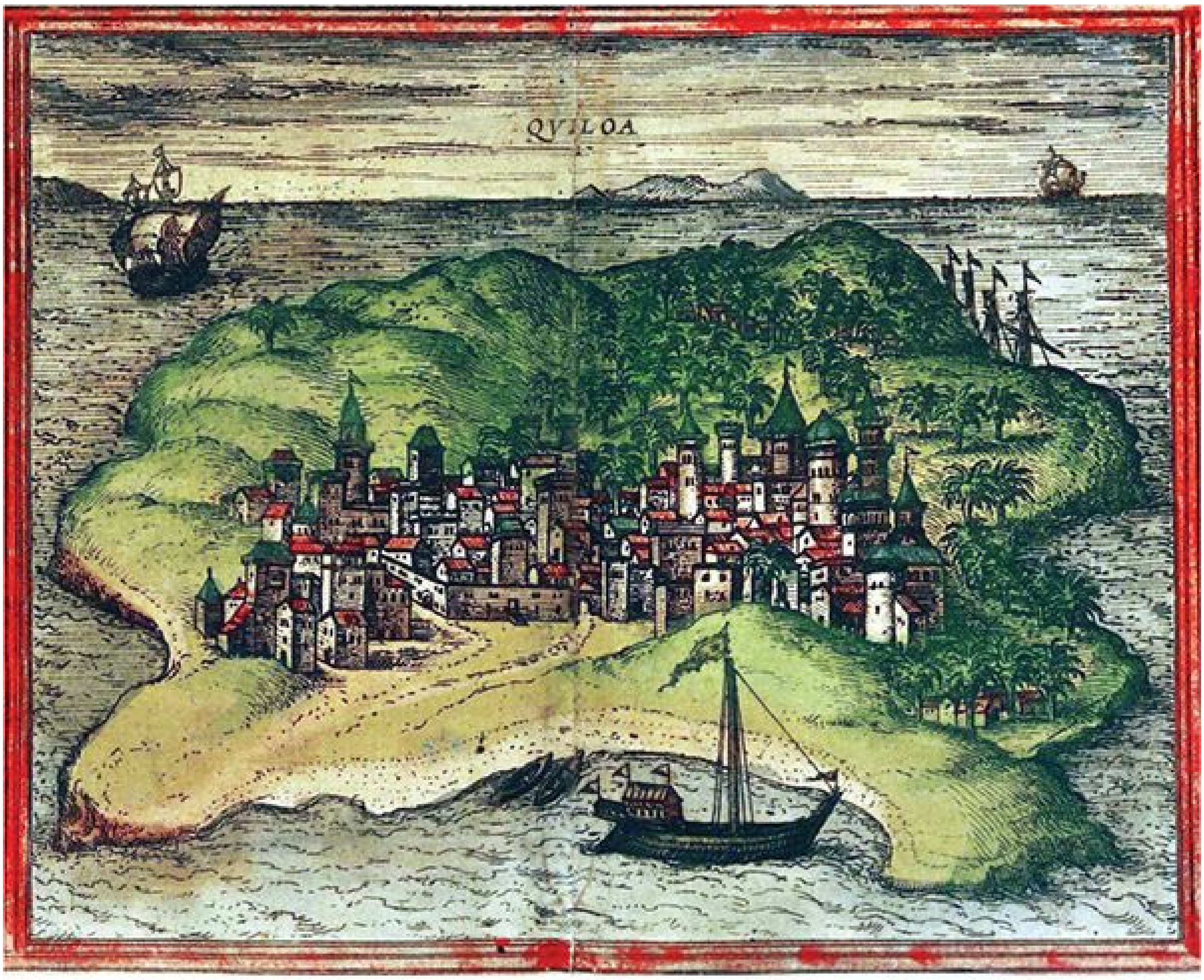
In contrast to most parts of the world other than Africa, Southeast

Asian peoples had an accepting attitude toward premarital sexual activity and placed no premium on virginity at marriage. Divorce carried no social stigma and was easily attainable if a pair proved incompatible. Either the woman or the man could initiate a divorce.

Trade with Africa and the Middle East

On the east coast of Africa, Swahili-speaking city-states engaged in the Indian Ocean trade, exchanging ivory, rhinoceros horn, tortoise shells, copra (dried coconut), and slaves for textiles, spices, cowrie shells, porcelain, and other goods. The most important cities were Mogadishu, Mombasa, and Kilwa, which had converted to Islam by the eleventh century.

West Africa also played an important role in world trade. In the fifteenth century most of the gold that reached Europe came from the Sudan region in West Africa. Transported across the Sahara by Arab and African traders on camels, the gold was sold in the ports of North Africa. Other trading routes led to the Egyptian cities of Alexandria and Cairo.



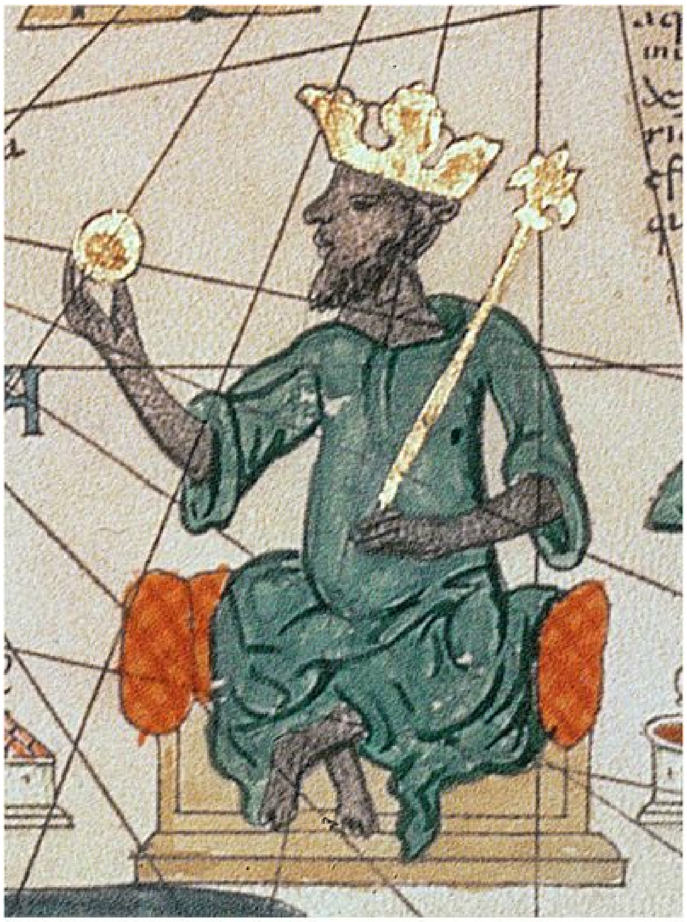
Pictures from History/Bridgeman Images

Island of Kilwa The small island of Kilwa, off the coast of modern-day Tanzania, was a vital center of Indian Ocean trade from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. During this period, the sultanate of Kilwa controlled trade among the Swahili-speaking cities of the east coast of Africa; its merchants dealt in gold, silver, pearls, and porcelain. The arrival of the Portuguese in 1498 led to the loss of Kilwa's autonomy.

Inland nations that sat astride the north-south caravan routes grew wealthy from this trade. In the mid-thirteenth century the kingdom of Mali emerged as an important player on the overland trade route. In later centuries, however, the diversion of gold away from the trans-Sahara routes would weaken the inland states of Africa politically and economically.

Gold was one important object of trade; slaves were another. Long before the arrival of Europeans, Arab and African merchants took West African slaves to the Mediterranean to be sold in European, Egyptian, and Middle Eastern markets and also brought eastern Europeans to West Africa as slaves. In addition, Indian and Arab merchants traded slaves in the coastal regions of East Africa.

The Middle East served as an intermediary for trade between Europe, Africa, and Asia and was also an important supplier of goods for foreign exchange. Two great rival empires, the Persian Safavids and the Turkish Ottomans, dominated the region, competing for control over western trade routes to the East. By the mid-sixteenth century the Ottomans had established control over eastern Mediterranean sea routes to trading centers in Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and the rest of North Africa (see "The Expansion of the Ottoman Empire" in Chapter 17). Their power extended into Europe as far west as Vienna.



Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, France/Bridgeman Images) from the *Catalan Atlas*, 1375 (vellum), by Abraham Cresques (1325-1387)/Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, France/Bridgeman Images

Mansa Musa This detail from the Catalan Atlas of 1375, a world map created for the Catalan king, depicts a king of Mali, Mansa Musa, who was legendary for his wealth in gold. European desires for direct access to the trade in sub-Saharan gold helped inspire Portuguese exploration of the west coast of Africa in the fifteenth century.

Genoese and Venetian Middlemen

Europe constituted a minor outpost in the world trading system, for European craftsmen produced few products to rival those of Asia. However, Europeans desired luxury goods from the East, and in the late Middle Ages such trade was controlled by the Italian city-states of Venice and Genoa. Venice had opened the gateway to Asian trade in 1304, when it established formal relations with the sultan of Mamluk Egypt and started operations in Cairo. Because demand for European goods was low, Venetians funded their purchases through shipping and trade in firearms and slaves.

Venice's ancient trading rival was Genoa. By 1270 Genoa dominated the northern route to Asia through the Black Sea. From then until the fourteenth century the Genoese expanded their trade routes as far as Persia and the Far East.

In the fifteenth century, with Venice claiming victory in the spice trade, the Genoese shifted focus from trade to finance and from the Black Sea to the western Mediterranean. When Spanish and Portuguese voyages began to explore the western Atlantic (see "The European Voyages of Discovery"), Genoese merchants, navigators, and financiers provided their skills and capital to the Iberian monarchs.

A major element of Italian trade was slavery. Merchants purchased slaves in the Balkans of southeastern Europe. After the loss of the Black Sea trade routes — and thus the source of slaves — to the Ottomans, the Genoese sought new supplies of slaves in the West, eventually seizing or buying and selling the Guanches (indigenous peoples from the Canary Islands), Muslim prisoners and Jewish refugees from Spain, and, by the early 1500s, both black and Berber Africans. With the growth of Spanish colonies in the New World, Genoese and Venetian merchants became important players in the Atlantic slave trade.

The European Voyages of Discovery

How and why did Europeans undertake ambitious voyages of expansion?

As Europe recovered after the Black Death, new European players entered the scene with novel technology, eager to spread Christianity and to undo Italian and Ottoman domination of trade with the East. A century after the plague, Iberian explorers began overseas voyages that helped create the modern world, with immense consequences for their own continent and the rest of the planet.

Causes of European Expansion

European expansion had multiple causes. The first was economic. By the middle of the fifteenth century Europe was experiencing a revival of population and economic activity after the lows of the Black Death. This revival created renewed demand for luxuries, especially spices, from the East. Introduced into western Europe by the Crusaders in the twelfth century, spices such as pepper, nutmeg, cinnamon, and cloves added flavor and variety to the monotonous European diet. They were also used in anointing oil and as incense for religious rituals, and as perfumes, medicines, and dyes in daily life. The fall of Constantinople and the subsequent Ottoman control of trade routes created obstacles to fulfilling demands for these precious and prestigious goods. Europeans eager for the profits of trade thus needed to find new sources of precious metal to exchange with the Ottomans or trade routes that bypassed the Ottomans.

Religious fervor and the crusading spirit were the second important catalyst for expansion. Just seven months separated Isabella and Ferdinand’s conquest of the emirate of Granada, the last remaining Muslim state on the Iberian Peninsula, and Columbus’s departure across the Atlantic. Overseas exploration thus transferred the militaristic religious fervor of the reconquista (reconquest) to new non-Christian territories. As they conquered indigenous empires, Iberians brought the attitudes and administrative practices developed during the reconquista to the Americas.

A third motivation was the dynamic spirit of the Renaissance. Like other men of the Renaissance era, explorers sought to win glory for their exploits and demonstrated a genuine interest in learning more about unknown waters. The detailed journals kept by European voyagers attest to their fascination with the new peoples and places they visited.

The people who stayed at home had a powerful impact on the voyages of discovery. Merchants provided the capital for many early voyages and had a strong say in their course. To gain authorization and financial support for their expeditions, they sought official sponsorship from the Crown. Competition among European monarchs for the prestige and profit of overseas exploration thus constituted another crucial factor in encouraging the steady stream of expeditions that began in the late fifteenth century.

The small number of Europeans who could read provided a rapt audience for tales of fantastic places and unknown peoples. Cosmography, natural history, and geography aroused enormous interest among educated people in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. One of the most popular books of the time was the fourteenth-century text *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, which purported to be a firsthand account of the author's travels in the Middle East, India, and China.

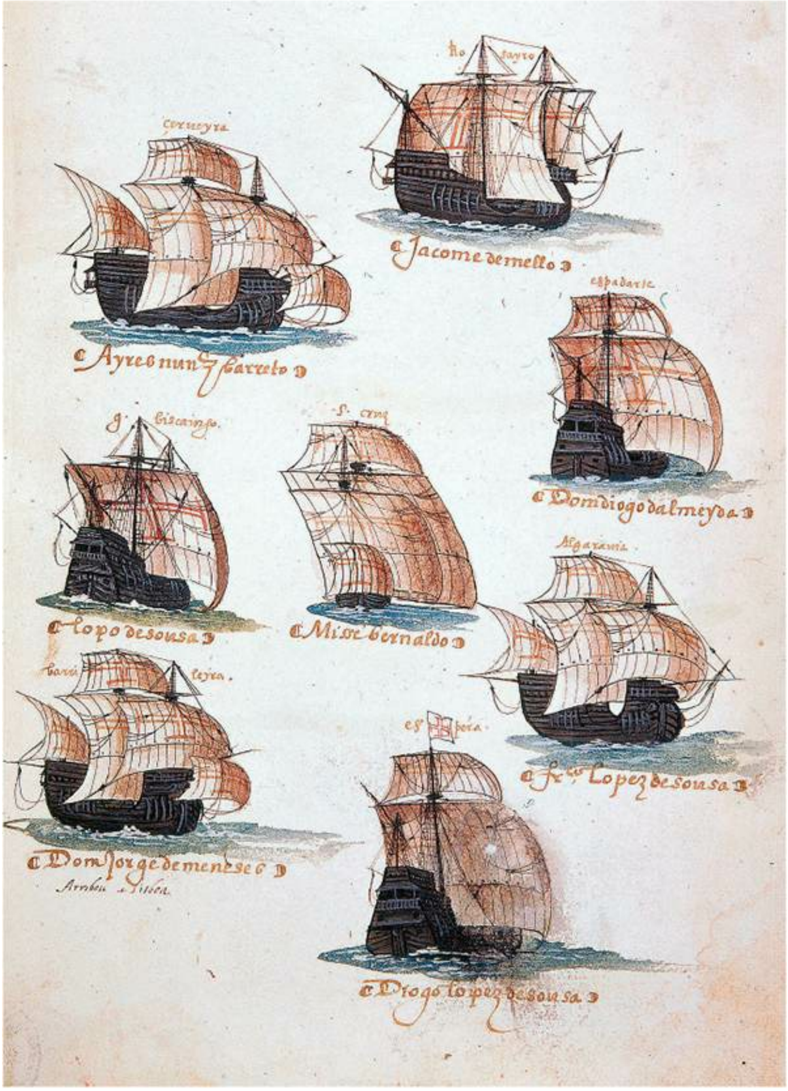
Technology and the Rise of Exploration

The Iberian powers sought technological improvements in shipbuilding, weaponry, and navigation in order to undertake ambitious voyages of exploration and trade. Medieval European seagoing vessels consisted of open galleys propelled by oars, common in Mediterranean trade, or single-masted sailing ships. Though adequate for short journeys that hugged the shoreline, such vessels were incapable of long-distance journeys or high-volume trade. In the fifteenth century the Portuguese developed the **caravel**, a three-masted sailing ship. Its multiple sails and sternpost rudder made the caravel a more maneuverable vessel that required fewer crewmen to operate. It could carry more cargo than a galley, which meant it could sail farther without stopping for supplies and return with a larger cache of profitable goods. When fitted with cannon, it could dominate larger vessels and bombard port cities.

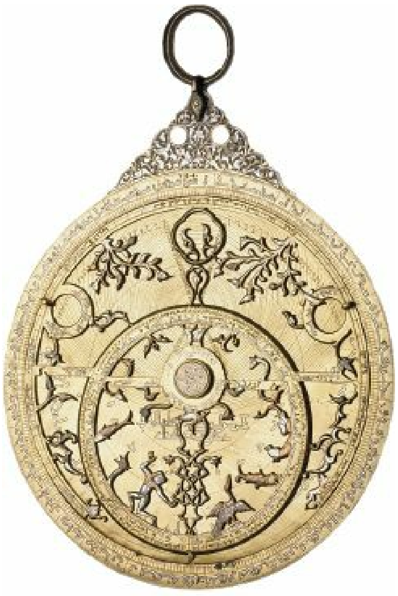
caravel A small, maneuverable, three-masted sailing ship developed by the Portuguese in the fifteenth century that gave the Portuguese a distinct advantage in exploration and trade.

This period also saw great strides in cartography and navigational aids. Around 1410 a Latin translation reintroduced western Europeans to **Ptolemy's *Geography***. Written in the second century, the work synthesized the geographical knowledge of the classical world. It represented a major improvement over medieval cartography by depicting the world as round and introducing latitude and longitude markings, but it also contained significant errors. Unaware of the Americas, Ptolemy showed the world as much smaller than it is, so that Asia appeared not very far to the west of Europe.

Ptolemy's *Geography* A second-century work translated into Latin around 1410 that synthesized the classical knowledge of geography and introduced latitude and longitude markings.


Jacome de mello
Dom diogo dalmeyda
Lopo de sousa
Misse bernaldo
Dom Jorge de meneses
Diogo lopez de sousa

Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY



© The Trustees of the British Museum/Art Resource, NY

The Portuguese Fleet Embarked for the Indies This image shows a Portuguese trading fleet in the late fifteenth century bound for the riches of the Indies. Between 1500 and 1635 over nine hundred ships sailed from Portugal to ports on the Indian Ocean in annual fleets composed of five to ten ships. Portuguese sailors used astrolabes, such as the one pictured here, to accurately plot their position.

Originating in China, the magnetic compass was brought to the West in the late Middle Ages. By using the compass to determine their direction and estimating their speed of travel over a set length of time, mariners could determine the course of a ship’s voyage. The astrolabe, an instrument invented by the ancient Greeks and perfected by Muslim navigators, was used to determine the altitude of the sun and other celestial bodies. It allowed mariners to plot their latitude, that is, their precise position north or south of the equator.

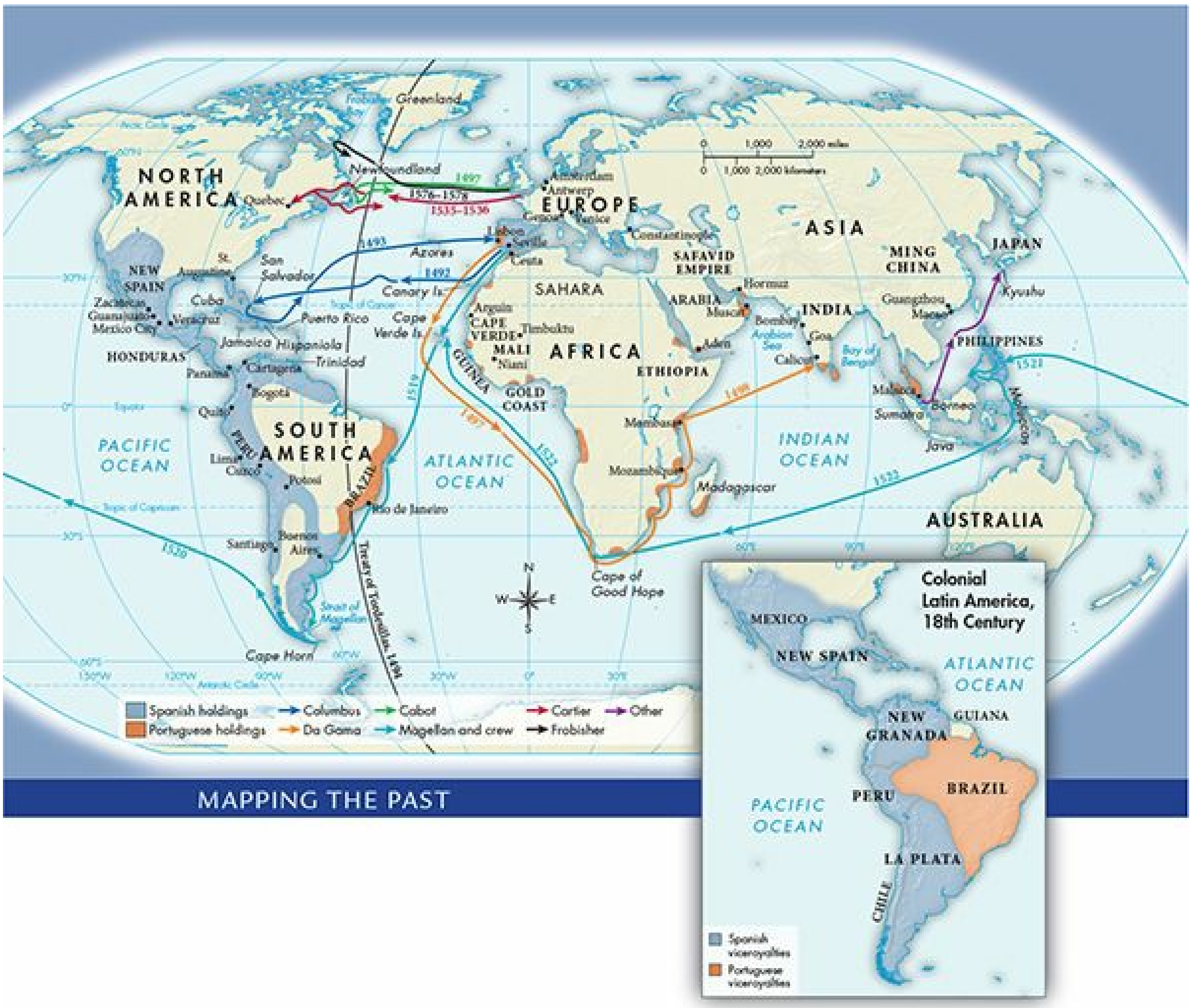
Much of the new technology that Europeans used on their voyages was borrowed from the East. Gunpowder, the compass, and the sternpost rudder were Chinese inventions. The triangular lateen sail, which allowed caravels to tack against the wind, was a product of the Indian Ocean trade world. Advances in cartography and navigation also drew on the rich tradition of Judeo-Arabic mathematical and astronomical learning in Iberia. In exploring new territories, European sailors thus called on techniques and knowledge developed over centuries in China, the Muslim world, and trading centers along the Indian Ocean.

The Portuguese in Africa and Asia

For centuries Portugal was a small and poor nation on the margins of European life whose principal activities were fishing and subsistence farming. Yet Portugal had a long history of seafaring and navigation. Nature favored the Portuguese: winds blowing along their coast offered passage to Africa, its Atlantic islands, and, ultimately, Brazil. Once they had mastered the secret to sailing against the wind to return to Europe (by sailing farther west to catch winds from the southwest), they were poised to lead Atlantic exploration. The objectives of Portuguese exploration included achieving military glory; converting Muslims; and finding gold, slaves, and an overseas route to Asian spice markets.

In the early phases of Portuguese exploration, Prince Henry (1394–1460), a younger son of the king, played a leading role. A nineteenth-century scholar dubbed Henry “the Navigator” because of his support for Portuguese voyages of discovery. Henry participated in Portugal’s conquest of Ceuta (sa-OO-tah), an Arab city in northern Morocco, in 1415, an event that marked the beginning of European overseas expansion. In the 1420s, under Henry’s direction, the Portuguese began to settle the Atlantic islands of Madeira (ca. 1420) and the Azores (1427). In 1443 they founded their first African commercial settlement at Arguin in North Africa. By the time of Henry’s death in 1460, his support for exploration had resulted in thriving sugar plantations on the Atlantic islands, the first arrival of enslaved Africans in Portugal, and new access to African gold.

The Portuguese next established fortified trading posts, called factories, on the gold-rich Guinea coast and penetrated into the African continent all the way to Timbuktu (Map 16.2). By 1500 Portugal controlled the flow of African gold to Europe. In contrast to the Spanish who conquered the Americas (see “Spanish Conquest of the Aztec and Inca Empires”), the Portuguese did not establish large settlements in West Africa or seek to control the political or cultural lives of those with whom they traded. Instead they sought to profit by inserting themselves into existing trading systems. For the first century of their relations, African rulers were equal partners with the Portuguese, benefiting from their experienced armies and European vulnerability to tropical diseases.


Greenland
NORTH AMERICA
Newfoundland
Quebec
1497
1576–1578
1535–1536
Amsterdam
Antwerp
EUROPE
Genoa
Venice
Lisbon
Seville
Ceuta
Constantinople
1493
Azores
1492
Canary Is.
Tropic of Cancer
St. Augustine
San Salvador
NEW SPAIN
Cuba
Zacatecas
Guanajuato
Mexico City
Veracruz
Puerto Rico
Cape Verde Is.
Jamaica
Hispaniola
HONDURAS
Panama
Cartagena
Trinidad
Bogotá
Equator
Quito
PERU
Lima
Cuzco
Potosí
SOUTH AMERICA
BRAZIL
Rio de Janeiro
PACIFIC OCEAN
Tropic of Capricorn
1520
Santiago
Buenos Aires
Strait of Magellan
Cape Horn
Treaty of Tordesillas, 1494
ATLANTIC OCEAN
1519
1497
1522
SAHARA
Arguin
CAPE VERDE
Timbuktu
MALI
Niani
GUINEA
GOLD COAST
AFRICA
ETHIOPIA
Mombasa
Mozambique
Madagascar
Cape of Good Hope
N
W
E
S
ASIA
SAFAVID EMPIRE
Hormuz
ARABIA
Muscat
Aden
INDIA
Bombay
Goa
Calicut
Arabian Sea
Bay of Bengal
1498
INDIAN OCEAN
MING CHINA
Guangzhou
Macao
JAPAN
Kyushu
PHILIPPINES
1521
Malacca
Sumatra
Borneo
Java
Moluccas
1522
AUSTRALIA
0 1,000 2,000 miles
0 1,000 2,000 kilometers
30°N
0°
30°S
60°S
150°W
120°W
90°W
60°W
30°W
0°
30°E
60°E
90°E
Arctic Circle
Antarctic Circle
Spanish holdings
Portuguese holdings
Columbus
Da Gama
Cabot
Magellan and crew
Cartier
Frobisher
Other
MAPPING THE PAST
Colonial Latin America, 18th Century
MEXICO
NEW SPAIN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NEW GRANADA
GUIANA
PACIFIC OCEAN
PERU
BRAZIL
LA PLATA
CHILE
Spanish viceroyalties
Portuguese viceroyalties

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Mapping the Past

MAP 16.2 Overseas Exploration and Conquest in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries The voyages of discovery marked a dramatic new phase in the centuries-old migrations of European peoples. This map depicts the voyages of the most significant European explorers of the period.

ANALYZING THE MAP Consider the routes and dates of the voyages shown. How might the successes of the earlier voyages have contributed to the later expeditions? Which voyage had the most impact, and why?

CONNECTIONS Do you think the importance of these voyages was primarily economic, political, or cultural? Why?

In 1487 Bartholomew Diaz (ca. 1451–1500) rounded the Cape of Good Hope at the southern tip of Africa (see Map 16.2), but poor conditions forced him to turn back. A decade later Vasco da Gama (ca. 1469–1524) succeeded in rounding the Cape while commanding a fleet in search of a sea route to India. With the help of an Indian guide, da Gama reached the port of Calicut in India. He returned to Lisbon with spices and samples of

Indian cloth, having proved the possibility of lucrative trade with the East via the Cape route. Thereafter, a Portuguese convoy set out for passage around the Cape every March.

Lisbon became the entrance port for Asian goods into Europe, but this was not accomplished without a fight. Muslim-controlled port city-states had long controlled the rich trade of the Indian Ocean, and they did not surrender it willingly. From 1500 to 1515 the Portuguese used a combination of bombardment and diplomatic treaties to establish trading factories at Goa, Malacca, Calicut, and Hormuz, thereby laying the foundation for a Portuguese trading empire. The acquisition of port cities and their trade routes brought riches to Portugal, but, as in Africa, the Portuguese had limited impact on the lives and religious faith of peoples beyond Portuguese coastal holdings.

Inspired by the Portuguese, the Spanish had also begun the quest for empire. Theirs was to be a second, entirely different mode of colonization, leading to the conquest of existing empires, large-scale settlement, and the forced assimilation of huge indigenous populations.

Spain’s Voyages to the Americas

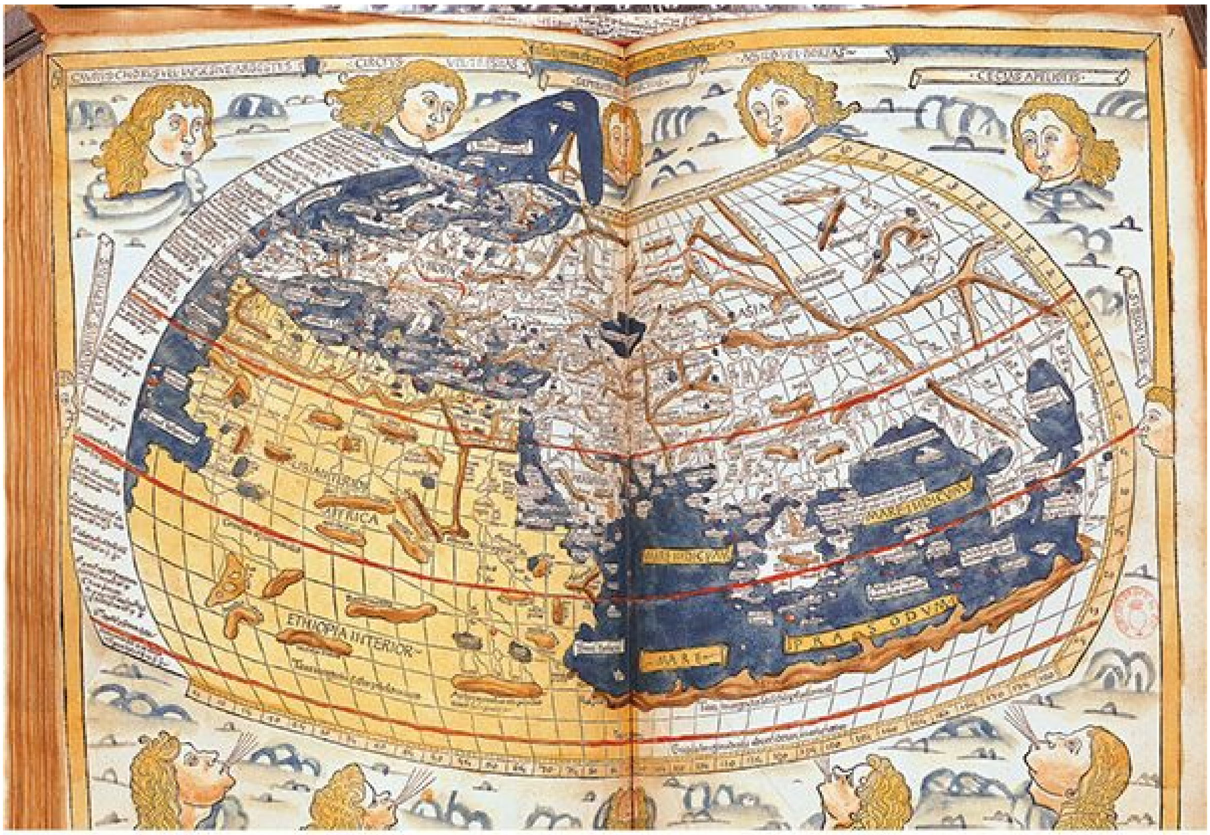
Christopher Columbus was not the first to cross the Atlantic. Ninth-century Vikings established short-lived settlements in Newfoundland, and it is probable that others made the voyage, either on purpose or accidentally, carried by westward currents off the coast of Africa. In the late fifteenth century the achievements of Portugal’s decades of exploration made the moment right for Christopher Columbus’s attempt to find a westward route across the Atlantic to Asia.

Christopher Columbus, a native of Genoa, was an experienced seaman and navigator. He had worked as a mapmaker in Lisbon and had spent time on Madeira. He was familiar with such fifteenth-century Portuguese navigational aids as *portolans* — written descriptions of the courses along which ships sailed — and the use of the compass as a navigational instrument.

Columbus was also a deeply religious man. He had witnessed the Spanish conquest of Granada and shared fully in the religious fervor surrounding that event. Like the Spanish rulers and most Europeans of his age, Columbus understood Christianity as a missionary religion that should be carried to all places of the earth.

Rejected for funding by the Portuguese in 1483 and by Ferdinand and Isabella in 1486, Columbus finally won the support of the Spanish monarchy in 1492. Buoyed by the success of the reconquista and eager to earn profits from trade, the Spanish crown agreed to make him viceroy over any territory he might discover and to give him one-tenth of the material rewards of the journey.

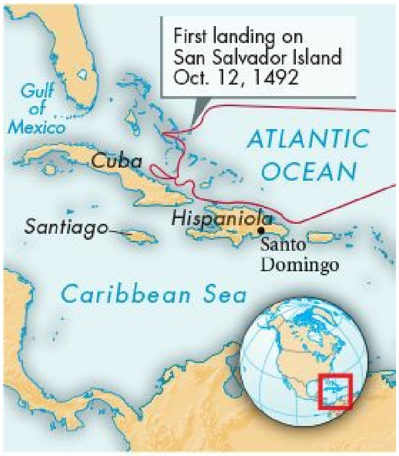
Columbus and his small fleet left Spain on August 3, 1492. Columbus dreamed of reaching the court of the Mongol emperor, the Great Khan, not realizing that the Ming Dynasty had overthrown the Mongols in 1368. Based on Ptolemy's *Geography* and other texts, he expected to pass the islands of Japan and then land on the east coast of China.



Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, France/Bridgeman Images

Ptolemy's *Geography* The recovery of Ptolemy's *Geography* in the early fifteenth century gave Europeans new access to ancient geographical knowledge. This 1486 world map is a great advance over medieval maps but contains errors with significant consequences for future exploration. It shows a single continent watered by a single ocean, with land covering three-quarters of the world's surface. Africa and Asia are joined with Europe, making the Indian Ocean a landlocked sea and rendering the circumnavigation of Africa impossible. Australia and the Americas are nonexistent, and the continent of Asia is stretched far to the east, greatly shortening the distance from Europe to Asia via the Atlantic.

On October 12 Columbus landed in the Bahamas, which he christened San Salvador and claimed for the Spanish crown. In a letter he wrote to Ferdinand and Isabella on his return to Spain, Columbus described the natives as handsome, peaceful, and primitive. Believing he was somewhere off the east coast of Japan, in what he considered the Indies, he called them "Indians," a name that was later applied to all inhabitants of the Americas. Columbus concluded that they would make good slaves and could quickly be converted to Christianity. (See “Analyzing the Evidence: Columbus Describes His First Voyage,” above.)



Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin’s

Columbus’s First Voyage to the New World, 1492–1493

Scholars have identified the inhabitants of the islands as the Taino (TIGH-noh) people. From San Salvador, Columbus sailed southwest, landing on Cuba on October 28. Deciding that he must be on the mainland of China near the coastal city of Quinsay (now Hangzhou), he sent a small embassy inland with letters from Ferdinand and Isabella and instructions to locate the city. Although they found no large settlement, the sight of Taino people wearing gold ornaments on Hispaniola suggested that gold was available in the region. In January, confident that its source would soon be found, he headed back to Spain to report on his discovery.

On his second voyage, Columbus took control of the island of Hispaniola and enslaved its indigenous peoples. On this and subsequent voyages, he brought with him settlers for the new Spanish territories, along with agricultural seed and livestock. Columbus himself, however, had limited skills in governing. Revolt soon broke out against him and his brother on Hispaniola. A royal expedition sent to investigate returned the brothers to Spain in chains, and a royal governor assumed control of the colony.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

Columbus Describes His First Voyage

On his return voyage to Spain in February 1493, Christopher Columbus composed a letter intended for wide circulation and had copies of it sent ahead to Isabella, Ferdinand, and others when his ship docked at Lisbon. Because the letter sums up Columbus's understanding of his achievements, it is considered the most important document of his first voyage.

▩ Since I know that you will be pleased at the great success with which the Lord has crowned my voyage, I write to inform you how in thirty-three days I crossed from the Canary Islands to the Indies, with the fleet which our most illustrious sovereigns gave me. I found very many islands with large populations and took possession of them all for their Highnesses; this I did by proclamation and unfurled the royal standard. No opposition was offered.

I named the first island that I found "San Salvador," in honour of our Lord and Saviour who has granted me this miracle.… When I reached Cuba, I followed its north coast westwards, and found it so extensive that I thought this must be the mainland, the province of Cathay.[*] … From there I saw another island eighteen leagues eastwards which I then named "Hispaniola."[†] …

Hispaniola is a wonder. The mountains and hills, the plains and meadow lands are both fertile and beautiful. They are most suitable for planting crops and for raising cattle of all kinds, and there are good sites for building towns and villages. The harbours are incredibly fine and there are many great rivers with broad channels and the majority contain gold.[‡] The trees, fruits and plants are very different from those of Cuba. In Hispaniola there are many spices and large mines of gold and other metals.[§] …

The inhabitants of this island, and all the rest that I discovered or heard of, go naked, as their mothers bore them, men and women alike. A few of the women, however, cover a single place with a leaf of a plant or piece of cotton which they weave for the purpose. They have no iron or steel or arms and are not capable of using them, not because they are not strong and well built but because they are amazingly timid. All the weapons they have are canes cut at seeding time, at the end of which they fix a sharpened stick, but they have not the courage to make use of these, for very often when I have sent two or three men to a village to have conversation with them a great number of them have come out. But as soon as they saw my men all fled immediately, a father not even waiting for his son. And this is not because we have harmed any of them; on the contrary, wherever I have gone and been able to have conversation with them, I have given them some of the various things I had, a cloth and other articles, and received nothing in exchange. But they have still remained incurably timid. True, when they have been reassured and lost their fear, they are so ingenuous and so liberal with all their possessions that no one who has not seen them would believe it. If one asks for anything they have they never say no. On the contrary, they offer a share to anyone with demonstrations of heartfelt affection, and they are immediately content with any small thing, valuable or valueless, that is given them. I forbade the men to give them bits of broken crockery, fragments of glass or tags of laces, though if they could get them they fancied them the finest jewels in the world.

I hoped to win them to the love and service of their Highnesses and of the whole Spanish nation and to persuade them to collect and give us of the things which they possessed in abundance and which we needed. They have no religion and are not idolaters; but all believe that power and goodness dwell in the sky and they are firmly convinced that I have come from the sky with these ships and people. In this belief they gave me a good reception everywhere, once they had overcome their fear; and this is not because they are stupid — far from it, they are men of great intelligence, for they navigate all those seas, and give a marvellously good account of everything — but because they have never before seen men clothed or ships like these….

In all these islands the men are seemingly content with one woman, but their chief or king is allowed more than twenty. The women appear to work more than the men and I have not been able to find out if they have private property. As far as I could see whatever a man had was shared among all the rest and this particularly applies to food…. In another island, which I am told is larger than Hispaniola, the people have no hair. Here there is a vast quantity of gold, and from here and the other islands I bring Indians as evidence.

In conclusion, to speak only of the results of this very hasty voyage, their Highnesses can see that I will give them as much gold as they require, if they will render me some very slight assistance; also I will give them all the spices and cotton they want…. I will also bring them as much aloes as they ask and as many slaves, who will be taken from the idolaters. I believe also that I have found rhubarb and cinnamon and there will be countless other things in addition….

So all Christendom will be delighted that our Redeemer has given victory to our most illustrious King and Queen and their renowned kingdoms, in this great matter. They should hold great celebrations and render solemn thanks to the Holy Trinity with many solemn prayers, for the great triumph which they will have, by the conversion of so many peoples to our holy faith and for the temporal benefits which will follow, for not only Spain, but all Christendom will receive encouragement and profit.

This is a brief account of the facts.

Written in the caravel off the Canary Islands.[**]

15 February 1493

At your orders
THE ADMIRAL

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. How did Columbus explain the success of his voyage?
2. What was Columbus's view of the Native Americans he met?
3. Evaluate Columbus's statements that the Caribbean islands possessed gold, cotton, and spices.
4. Why did Columbus cling to the idea that he had reached Asia?

Source: J. M. Cohen, ed. and trans., *The Four Voyages of Christopher Columbus* (Penguin Classics, 1969), pp. 115–123. Copyright © J. M. Cohen, 1969, London. Used by permission of Penguin Books Ltd.

---

[*] Cathay is the old name for China. In the logbook and later in this letter Columbus accepts the natives' story that Cuba is an island that they can circumnavigate in something more than twenty-one days, yet he insists here and during the second voyage that it is in fact part of the Asiatic mainland.

[†] Hispaniola is the second-largest island of the West Indies; Haiti occupies the western third of the island, the Dominican Republic the rest.

[‡] This did not prove to be true.

[§] These statements are also inaccurate.

[**] Actually, Columbus was off Santa Maria in the Azores.

Spain “Discovers” the Pacific

Columbus never realized the scope of his achievement: that he had found a vast continent unknown to Europeans, except for the fleeting Viking presence centuries earlier. The Florentine navigator Amerigo Vespucci (veh-SPOO-chee) (1454–1512) realized what Columbus had not. Writing about his discoveries on the coast of modern-day Venezuela, Vespucci stated: “Those new regions which we found and explored with the fleet … we may rightly call a New World.” This letter was the first document to describe America as a continent separate from Asia. In recognition of Amerigo’s bold claim, the continent was named for him.

To settle competing claims to the Atlantic discoveries, Spain and Portugal turned to Pope Alexander VI. The resulting **Treaty of Tordesillas** (tawr-duh-SEE-yuhs) in 1494 gave Spain everything to the west of an imaginary line drawn down the Atlantic and Portugal everything to the east.

Treaty of Tordesillas The 1494 agreement giving Spain everything west of an imaginary line drawn down the Atlantic and giving Portugal everything to the east.

The search for profits determined the direction of Spanish exploration. Because its profits from Hispaniola and other Caribbean islands were insignificant compared to Portugal’s enormous riches from the Asian spice trade, Spain renewed the search for a western passage to Asia. In 1519 Charles I of Spain (who was also Holy Roman emperor Charles V) commissioned Ferdinand Magellan (1480–1521) to find a direct sea route to Asia. Magellan sailed southwest across the Atlantic to Brazil, and after a long search along the coast he located the strait off the southern tip of South America that now bears his name (see Map 16.2). After passing through the strait into the Pacific Ocean in 1520, his fleet sailed north up the west coast of South America and then headed west into the Pacific.

Terrible storms, disease, starvation, and violence devastated the expedition. Magellan himself was killed in a skirmish in the Malay Archipelago, and only one of the five ships that began the expedition made it back to Spain. This ship returned home in 1522 with only eighteen men aboard, having traveled from the east by way of the Indian Ocean, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Atlantic. The voyage — the first to circumnavigate the globe — had taken close to three years.

Despite the losses, this voyage revolutionized Europeans' understanding of the world by demonstrating the vastness of the Pacific. The earth was clearly much larger than Ptolemy's map had shown. Magellan's expedition also forced Spain's rulers to rethink their plans for overseas commerce and territorial expansion. The westward passage to the Indies was too long and dangerous for commercial purposes. Thus Spain soon abandoned the attempt to oust Portugal from the Eastern spice trade and concentrated on exploiting its New World territories.

Early Exploration by Northern European Powers

Spain's northern European rivals also set sail across the Atlantic during the early days of exploration, searching for a northwest passage to the Indies. In 1497 John Cabot (ca. 1450–1499), a Genoese merchant living in London, landed on Newfoundland. The next year he returned and explored the New England coast. These forays proved futile, and at that time the English established no permanent colonies in the territories they explored.

News of the riches of Mexico and Peru later inspired the English to renew their efforts, this time in the extreme north. Between 1576 and 1578 Martin Frobisher (ca. 1535–1594) made three voyages in and around the Canadian bay that now bears his name. Frobisher brought a quantity of ore back to England, but it proved to be worthless.

Early French exploration of the Atlantic was equally frustrating. Between 1534 and 1541 Frenchman Jacques Cartier (1491–1557) made several voyages and explored the St. Lawrence River of Canada, searching for a passage to the wealth of Asia. When this hope proved vain, the French turned to a new source of profit within Canada itself: trade in beavers and other furs. As had the Portuguese in Asia, French traders bartered with local peoples whom they largely treated as autonomous and equal partners. French fishermen also competed with the Spanish and English for the schools of cod they found in the Atlantic waters around Newfoundland.

Conquest and Settlement

What was the impact of Iberian conquest and settlement on the peoples and ecologies of the Americas?

Before Columbus's arrival, the Americas were inhabited by thousands of groups of indigenous peoples with distinct languages and cultures. These groups ranged from hunter-gatherer tribes organized into tribal confederations to settled agriculturalists to large-scale empires containing bustling cities and towns. The best estimate is that the peoples of the Americas numbered between 50 and 60 million in 1492. These numbers were decimated, and the lives of survivors radically altered, by the arrival of Europeans.

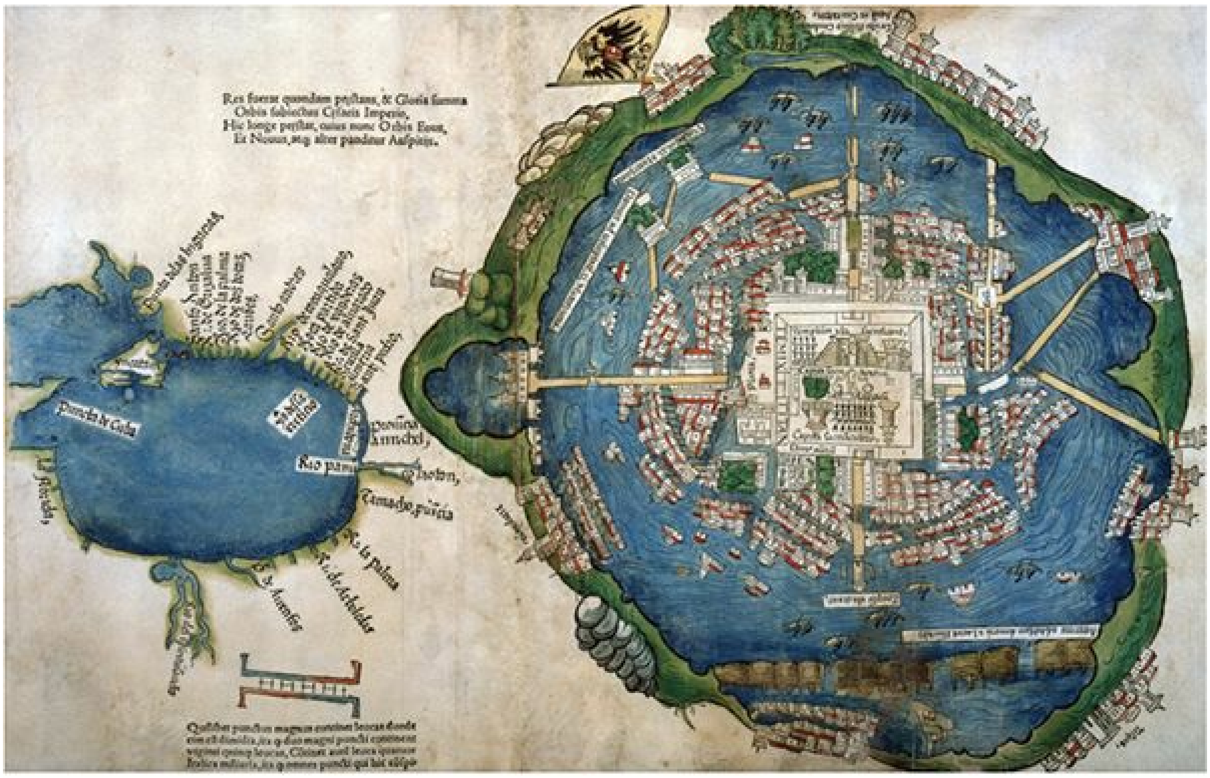
Spanish Conquest of the Aztec and Inca Empires

The first two decades after Columbus's arrival in the New World saw Spanish settlement of Hispaniola, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and other Caribbean islands. Based on rumors of a wealthy mainland civilization, the Spanish governor in Cuba sponsored expeditions to the Yucatán coast of the Gulf of Mexico, including one in 1519 under the command of the **conquistador** (kahn-KEES-tuh-dawr) Hernán Cortés (1485–1547). *Conquistador* was Spanish for "conqueror," a Spanish soldier-explorer who sought to conquer the New World for the Spanish crown. Alarmed by Cortés's ambition, the governor withdrew his support, but Cortés quickly set sail before being removed from command. Cortés and his party landed on the Mexican coast on April 21, 1519. His camp soon received visits by delegations of Aztec leaders bearing gifts and news of their great emperor.

conquistador Spanish for "conqueror"; a Spanish soldier-explorer, such as Hernán Cortés or Francisco Pizarro, who sought to conquer the New World for the Spanish crown.

The **Aztec Empire**, an alliance between the Mexica people and their conquered allies, had risen rapidly in size and power over the fifteenth century. At the time of the Spanish arrival, the empire was ruled by Moctezuma II (r. 1502–1520), from his capital at Tenochtitlan (tay-nawch-TEET-lahn), now Mexico City. The Aztecs were a sophisticated society and culture, with advanced mathematics, astronomy, and engineering. As in European nations at the time, a hereditary nobility dominated the army, the priesthood, and the state bureaucracy and reaped the gains from the agricultural labor of the common people.

Aztec Empire An alliance between the Mexica people and their conquered allies, with its capital in Tenochtitlan (now Mexico City), that rose in size and power in the fifteenth century and possessed a sophisticated society and culture, with advanced mathematics, astronomy, and engineering.



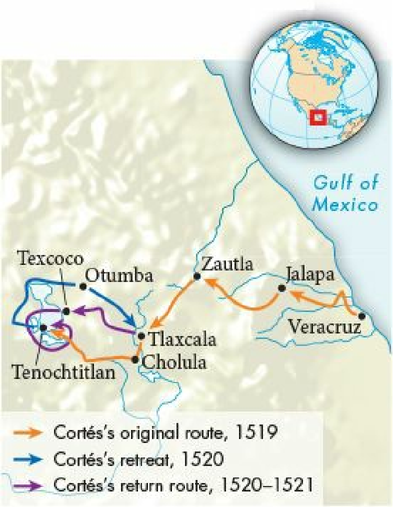
Newberry Library, Chicago/Bridgeman Images

The Aztec Capital of Tenochtitlan This woodcut map was published in 1524 along with Cortés's letters describing the conquest of the Aztecs. As it shows, Tenochtitlan occupied an island and was laid out in concentric circles. The administrative and religious buildings were at the heart of the city, which was surrounded by residential quarters. Cortés himself marveled at the city in his letters: "The city is as large as Seville or Cordoba…. There are bridges, very large, strong, and well constructed, so that, over many, ten horsemen can ride abreast…. The city has many squares where markets are held…. There is one square … where there are daily more than sixty thousand souls, buying and selling. In the service and manners of its people, their fashion of living was almost the same as in Spain, with just as much harmony and order."

Within weeks of his arrival, Cortés acquired translators who provided vital information on the empire and its weaknesses. (See "Thinking Like a Historian: Who Was Doña Marina?" page 452.) Through his interpreters, Cortés learned of strong local resentment against the Aztec Empire. The

Aztec state practiced brutal warfare against neighboring peoples to secure captives for religious sacrifices and laborers for agricultural and building projects. Once conquered, subject tribes paid continual tribute to the empire through their local chiefs. Realizing that he could exploit dissensions within the empire to his own advantage, Cortés forged an alliance with Tlaxcala (tlah-SKAH-lah), a subject kingdom of the Aztecs. In October a combined Spanish-Tlaxcalan force occupied the Aztec city of Cholula, the second largest in the empire, and massacred thousands of inhabitants. Strengthened by this victory, Cortés formed alliances with other native kingdoms. In November 1519, with a few hundred Spanish men and some six thousand indigenous warriors, he marched on Tenochtitlan.

Unlike other native leaders, Moctezuma refrained from attacking the Spaniards and instead welcomed Cortés and his men into Tenochtitlan. Moctezuma was apparently deeply impressed by Spanish victories and believed the Spanish were invincible. When Cortés took Moctezuma hostage, the emperor's influence crumbled. During the ensuing attacks and counterattacks, Moctezuma was killed. The Spaniards and their allies escaped from the city suffering heavy losses. Cortés quickly began gathering forces and making new alliances against the Aztecs. In May 1521 he led a second assault on Tenochtitlan, leading an army of approximately one thousand Spanish and seventy-five thousand native warriors.[1]



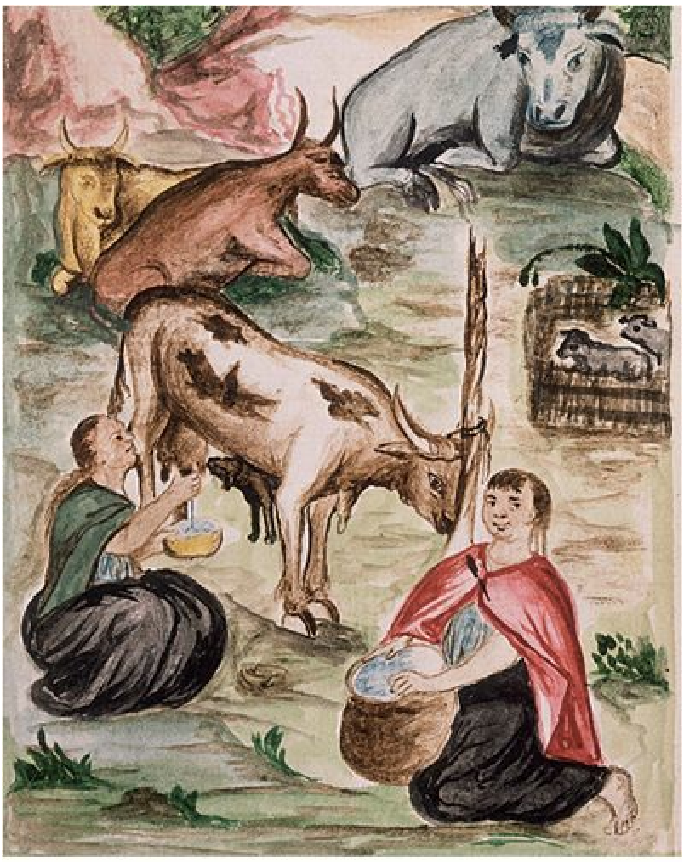
Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Invasion of Tenochtitlan, 1519–1521

The Spanish victory in late summer 1521 was hard-won and was greatly aided by the effects of smallpox, which had devastated the besieged population of the city. After establishing a new capital in the ruins of Tenochtitlan, Cortés and other conquistadors began the systematic conquest of Mexico, a decades-long and brutal process.

More remarkable than the defeat of the Aztecs was the fall of the remote **Inca Empire** in Peru. Living in a settlement perched more than 9,800 feet above sea level, the Incas were isolated from the Mesoamerican civilization of the Aztecs. Like the Mexica, the Incas had created a polity that rivaled that of the Europeans in population and complexity and that had reached its height in the fifteenth century. The Incas’ strength lay largely in their bureaucratic efficiency. Ruled from the capital city of Cuzco, the empire was divided into four major regions, each region into provinces, and each province into districts. Officials at each level used the extensive network of roads to transmit information and orders. While the Aztecs used a system of glyphs for writing, the Incas had devised a complex system of colored and knotted cords, called khipus, for administrative bookkeeping.

Inca Empire The vast and sophisticated Peruvian empire centered at the capital city of Cuzco that was at its peak in the fifteenth century but weakened by civil war at the time of the Spanish arrival.

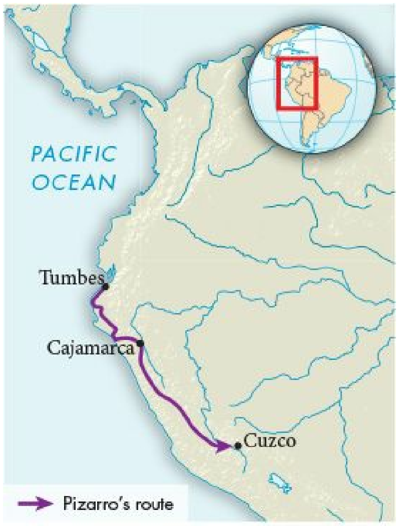


Palacio Real, Madrid, Spain/Photo: Albers Foundation/
Art Resource, NY)

Inca Women Milking Cows This illustration of Inca women milking cows is from a collection of illustrations by a Spanish bishop that offers a valuable view of life in Peru in the 1780s.

By the time of the Spanish invasion, however, the Inca Empire had been weakened by a civil war over succession and an epidemic of disease, probably smallpox, spread through trade with groups in contact with Europeans. The Spanish conquistador Francisco Pizarro (ca. 1475–1541) landed on the northern coast of Peru on May 13, 1532, the very day the Inca leader Atahualpa (ah-tuh-WAHL-puh) won control of the empire. As Pizarro advanced across the Andes toward Cuzco (KOOS-ko), the capital of the Inca Empire, Atahualpa was also heading there for his coronation.

Like Moctezuma in Mexico, Atahualpa sent envoys to greet the Spanish. Motivated by curiosity about the Spanish, he intended to meet with them to learn more about them and their intentions. Instead the Spaniards ambushed and captured him, extorted an enormous ransom in gold, and then executed him on trumped-up charges in 1533. The Spanish then marched on to Cuzco, profiting, as with the Aztecs, from internal conflicts and forming alliances with local peoples. When Cuzco fell in 1533, the Spanish plundered immense riches in gold and silver.



Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

The Conquest of Peru, 1532–1533

How was it possible for several hundred Spanish conquistadors to defeat powerful empires commanding large armies, vast wealth, and millions of inhabitants? Historians seeking answers to this question have emphasized a combination of factors: the military superiority provided by Spanish gunpowder, steel swords, and horses; divisions within the Aztec and Inca Empires, which produced many native allies and interpreters for the Spanish; and, most important, the devastating impact of contagious diseases among the indigenous population. Ironically, the well-organized, urban-based Aztec and Inca Empires were more vulnerable to wholesale takeover than were more decentralized and fragmented groups like the Maya in the Yucatán peninsula, whose independence was not wholly crushed until the end of the seventeenth century.

THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN

Who Was Doña Marina?

In April 1519 Doña Marina was among twenty women given to the Spanish as slaves. Fluent in Nahuatl and Yucatec Maya (spoken by a Spanish priest accompanying Cortés), she acted as an interpreter and diplomatic guide for the Spanish. She had a close relationship with Cortés and bore his son, Don Martín Cortés, in 1522. Although no writings by Doña Marina survive, she figures prominently in both Spanish and indigenous sources on the conquest.

1 **Cortés's letter to Charles I, 1522.** This letter to Charles I contains one of only two written references to Doña Marina found in Cortés's correspondence with the king. He describes her as his "interpreter."

■ During the three days I remained in that city they fed us worse each day, and the lords and principal persons of the city came only rarely to see and speak with me. And being somewhat disturbed by this, my interpreter, who is an Indian woman from Putunchan, which is the great river of which I spoke to Your Majesty in the first letter, was told by another Indian woman and a native of this city that very close by many of Mutezuma's men were gathered, and that the people of the city had sent away their women and children and all their belongings, and were about to fall on us and kill us all; and that if she wished to escape she should go with her and she would shelter her. All this she told to Gerónimo de Aguilar, an interpreter whom I acquired in Yucatán, of whom I have also written to Your Highness; and he informed me.

2 **Díaz's account of the conquest of the Aztecs.** Bernal Díaz del Castillo participated in the conquest of the Aztecs alongside Cortés. His historical account of the conquest, written much later in life, provides the lengthiest descriptions of Doña Marina.

■ Early the next morning many Caciques and chiefs of Tabasco and the neighbouring towns arrived and paid great respect to us all, and they brought a present of gold, … and some other things of little value…. This present, however, was worth nothing in comparison with the twenty women that were given us, among them one very excellent woman called Doña Marina, for so she was named when she became a Christian.

… Cortés allotted one of the women to each of his captains and Doña Marina, as she was good looking and intelligent and without embarrassment, he gave to Alonzo Hernández Puertocarrero. When Puertocarrero went to Spain, Doña Marina lived with Cortés, and bore him a son named Don Martin Cortés.

… Her father and mother were chiefs and Caciques of a town called Paynala…. Her father died while she was still a little child, and her mother married another Cacique, a young man, and bore him a son. It seems that the father and mother had a great affection for this son and it was agreed between them that he should succeed to their honours when their days were done. So that there should be no impediment to this, they gave the little girl, Doña Marina, to some Indians from Xicalango, and this they did by night so as to escape observation, and they then spread the report that she had died, and as it happened at this time that a child of one of their Indian slaves died they gave out that it was their daughter and the heiress who was dead.

The Indians of Xicalango gave the child to the people of Tabasco and the Tabasco people gave her to Cortés.

… As Doña Marina proved herself such an excellent woman and good interpreter throughout the wars in New Spain, Tlaxcala and Mexico (as I shall show later on) Cortés always took her with him, and during that expedition she was married to a gentleman named Juan Jaramillo at the town of Orizaba.

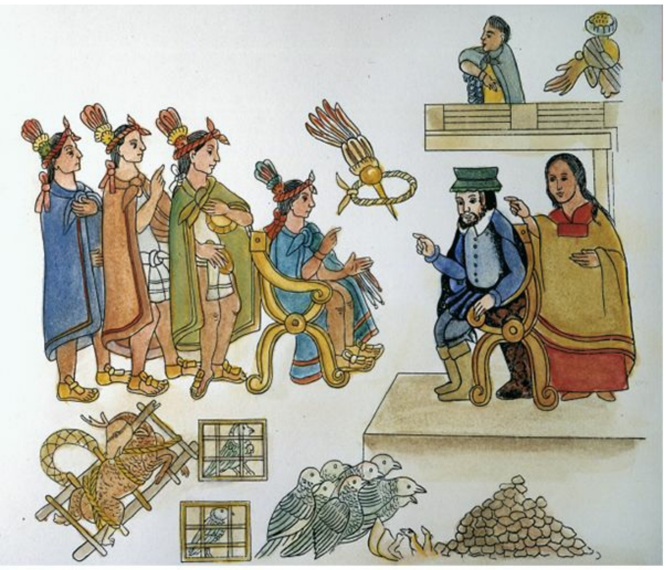
Doña Marina was a person of the greatest importance and was obeyed without question by the Indians throughout New Spain.

Marina … said that God had been very gracious to her in freeing her from the worship of idols and making her a Christian, and letting her bear a son to her lord and master Cortés and in marrying her to such a gentleman as Juan Jaramillo, who was now her husband. That she would rather serve her husband and Cortés than anything else in the world, and would not exchange her place to be Cacica of all the provinces in New Spain.

Doña Marina knew the language of Coatzacoalcos, which is that common to Mexico, and she knew the language of Tabasco, as did also Jerónimo de Aguilar, who spoke the language of Yucatan and Tabasco, which is one and the same. So that these two could understand one another clearly, and Aguilar translated into Castilian for Cortés.

This was the great beginning of our conquests and thus, thanks be to God, things prospered with us. I have made a point of explaining this matter, because without the help of Doña Marina we could not have understood the language of New Spain and Mexico.

3 **Doña Marina translating for Hernán Cortés during his meeting with Moctezuma.** This image was created by Tlaxcalan artists shortly after the conquest of Mexico and represents one indigenous perspective on the events.



Granger, NYC—All rights reserved

4 **The *Florentine Codex*.** In the decades following the conquest, a Franciscan monk, Bernardino de Sahagún, worked with indigenous partners to compile a history of Aztec society. Known today as the *Florentine Codex*, it contains images and text written in both Nahuatl and Spanish. The following excerpt describes the entry of the victorious Spanish into Tenochtitlan.

■ Next they went to Motecuhzoma's storehouse, in the place called Totocalco, where his personal treasures were kept. The Spaniards grinned like little beasts and patted each other with delight.

When they entered the hall of treasures, it was as if they had arrived in Paradise. They searched everywhere and coveted everything; they were slaves to their own greed….

They seized these treasures as they were their own, as if this plunder were merely a stroke of good luck. And when they had taken all the gold, they heaped up everything else in the middle of the patio.

La Malinche [Doña Marina] called all the nobles together. She climbed up to the palace roof and cried: "Mexicanos, come forward! The Spaniards need your help! Bring them food and pure water. They are tired and hungry; they are almost fainting from exhaustion! Why do you not come forward? Are you angry with them?"

The Mexicas were too frightened to approach. They were crushed by terror and would not risk coming forward. They shied away as if the Spaniards were wild beasts, as if the hour were midnight on the blackest night of the year. Yet they did not abandon the Spaniards to hunger and thirst. They brought them whatever they needed, but shook with fear as they did so. They delivered the supplies to the Spaniards with trembling hands, then turned and hurried away.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. How would you compare the attitudes toward Doña Marina displayed in Cortés's letter to the Spanish crown (Source 1) and Díaz's account of the conquest (Source 2)?

Why would Cortés downplay his reliance on Doña Marina in correspondence with the Spanish king?

2. What skills and experience enabled Doña Marina to act as an intermediary between the Spanish and the Aztecs? Based on the evidence, what role did she play in interactions between the Spanish and the Aztecs?
3. According to Díaz (Source 2), how did Doña Marina feel about her relationship with Cortés and the Spanish? How do you interpret this passage? Is there any evidence in the other sources that supports or undermines the sentiments he attributed to her?
4. Based on the evidence of these sources, what role did indigenous women play in relations between Spanish and Aztec men? How exceptional was Doña Marina?

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

Using the sources above, along with what you have learned in class and in this chapter, imagine the events and experiences described in these sources from Doña Marina's point of view. Reflect on the various aspects of Doña Marina described in the sources — betrayed daughter, slave, concubine, mother, wife, interpreter, and commander — and write an essay that uses her experience to explore the interaction among Spanish, Aztec, and other indigenous groups during the conquest period.

Sources: (1) Hernán Cortés to Emperor Carlos V, 1522, in *Hernán Cortés: Letters from Mexico,* trans. and ed. Anthony Pagden (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), pp. 72–74; (2) Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *The Discovery and Conquest of Mexico, 1517–1521,* trans. A. P. Maudslay (New York: Noonday Press, 1965), pp. 62–63, 64, 66–67; (4) Miguel León-Portilla, ed., *The Broken Spears: The Aztec Account of the Conquest of Mexico,* pp. 68–69. Copyright © 1962, 1990 by Miguel León-Portilla. Expanded and Updated Edition © 1992 by Miguel León-Portilla. Reprinted by permission of Beacon Press, Boston.

Portuguese Brazil

Unlike Mesoamerica or the Andes, the territory of Brazil contained no urban empires but instead had roughly 2.5 million nomadic and settled people divided into small tribes and many different language groups. In 1500 the Portuguese crown named Pedro Álvares Cabral commander of a fleet headed for the spice trade of the Indies. En route, the fleet sailed far to the west, claiming the coast where they accidentally landed for Portugal under the terms of the Treaty of Tordesillas. The Portuguese soon undertook a profitable trade with local people in brazilwood, a valued source of red dye, which inspired the name of the new colony.

In the 1520s Portuguese settlers brought sugarcane production to Brazil. They initially used enslaved indigenous laborers on sugar plantations, but the rapid decline in the indigenous population soon led to the use of forcibly transported Africans. In Brazil the Portuguese thus created a new form of colonization in the Americas: large plantations worked by enslaved people. This model of slave-worked sugar plantations would spread throughout the Caribbean in the seventeenth century.

Colonial Administration

By the end of the sixteenth century the Spanish and Portuguese had successfully overcome most indigenous groups and expanded their territory throughout modern-day Mexico, the southwestern United States, and Central and South America. In Mesoamerica and the Andes, the Spanish had taken over the cities and tribute systems of the Aztecs and the Incas, basing their control on the prior existence of well-established polities with organized tribute systems.

While early conquest and settlement were conducted largely by private initiatives, the Spanish and Portuguese governments soon assumed more direct control. In 1503 the Spanish granted the port of Seville a monopoly over all traffic to the New World and established the House of Trade to oversee economic matters. In 1523 Spain created the Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies, with authority over all colonial affairs subject to approval by the king. Spanish territories themselves were divided initially into two **viceroyalties**, or administrative divisions: New Spain, created in 1535; and Peru, created in 1542. In the eighteenth century two new viceroyalties, New Granada and La Plata, were created (see Map 16.2).

viceroyalties The name for the four administrative units of Spanish possessions in the Americas: New Spain, Peru, New Granada, and La Plata.

Within each territory, the viceroy, or imperial governor, exercised broad military and civil authority. The viceroy presided over the *audiencia* (ow-dee-EHN-see-ah), a board of judges that served as his advisory council and the highest judicial body. As in Spain, settlement in the Americas was centered on cities and towns. In each city, the municipal council, or *cabildo*, exercised local authority. Women were denied participation in public life, a familiar pattern from both Spain and precolonial indigenous society.

Portugal adopted similar patterns of rule, with India House in Lisbon functioning much like the Spanish House of Trade and royal representatives overseeing Portuguese possessions in West Africa and Asia. To secure the vast expanse of Brazil, in the 1530s the Portuguese implemented a distinctive system of rule, called **captaincies**, hereditary grants of land given to nobles and loyal officials who bore the costs of settling and administering their territories. Over time, the Crown secured greater power over the captaincies, appointing royal governors to act as administrators. The captaincy of Bahia was the site of the capital, Salvador, home to the governor general and other royal officials.

captaincies A system established by the Portuguese in Brazil in the 1530s, whereby hereditary grants of land were given to nobles and loyal officials who bore the costs of settling and administering their territories.

The Catholic Church played an integral role in Iberian rule. The papacy allowed Portuguese and Spanish officials greater control over the church than was the case at home, allowing them to appoint clerics and collect tithes. This control allowed colonial powers to use the church as an instrument to indoctrinate indigenous people (see “Religious Conversion”).

Indigenous Population Loss and Economic Exploitation

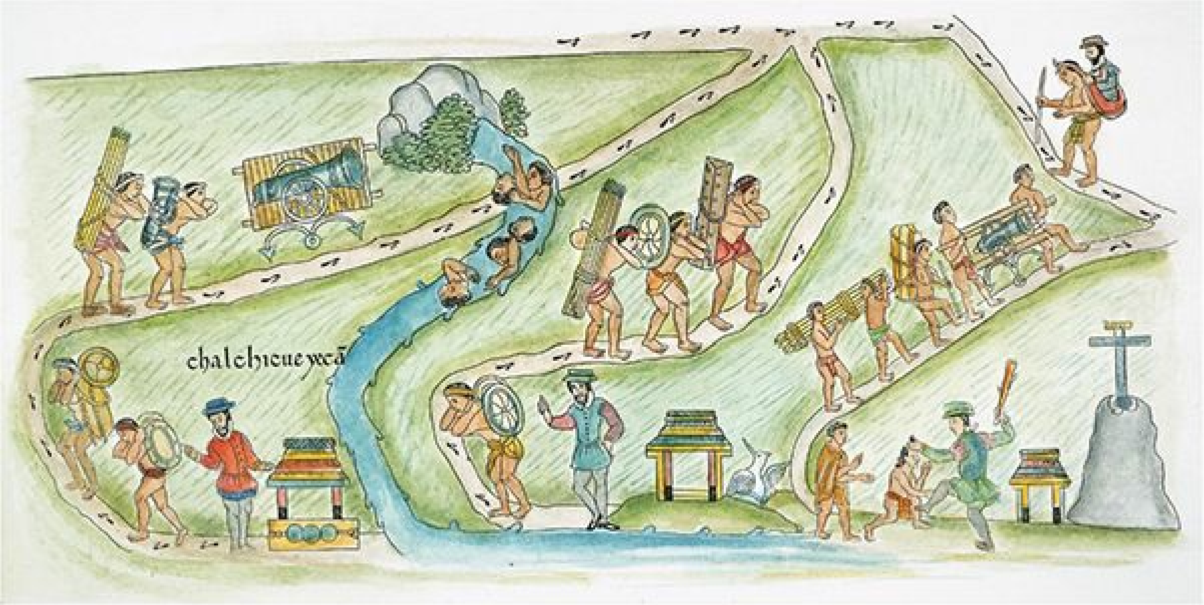
From the time of Christopher Columbus in Hispaniola, the Spanish made use of the **encomienda system** to profit from the peoples and territories they encountered in the Americas. This system was a legacy of the methods used to reward military leaders in the time of the reconquista. First in the Caribbean and then on the mainland, conquistadors granted their followers the right to forcibly employ groups of indigenous people as laborers and to demand tribute payments from them in exchange for providing food, shelter, and instruction in the Christian faith. This system was first used in Hispaniola to work gold fields and then in Mexico for agricultural labor and, when silver was discovered in the 1540s, for silver mining.

encomienda system A system whereby the Spanish crown granted the conquerors the right to forcibly employ groups of indigenous people as laborers and to demand tribute payments from them in exchange for providing food, shelter, and instruction in the Christian faith.

A 1512 Spanish law authorizing the use of the encomienda (en-ko-me-EN-duh) called for indigenous people to be treated fairly, but in practice the system led to terrible abuses. Spanish missionaries publicized these abuses, leading to debates in Spain about the nature and proper treatment of indigenous people (see “European Debates About Indigenous Peoples”). King Charles I responded to such complaints in 1542 with the New Laws, which set limits on the authority of encomienda holders.

The New Laws provoked a revolt among elites in Peru and were little enforced throughout Spanish territories. Nonetheless, the Crown gradually gained control over encomiendas in central areas of the empire and required indigenous people to pay tributes in cash, rather than in labor. To respond to a shortage of indigenous workers, royal officials established a new government-run system of forced labor, called *repartimiento* in New Spain and *mita* in Peru. Administrators assigned a certain percentage of the inhabitants of native communities to labor for a set period each year in public works, mining, agriculture, and other tasks.

Spanish systems for exploiting the labor of indigenous peoples were both a cause of and a response to the disastrous decline in their numbers that began soon after the arrival of Europeans. Some indigenous people died as a direct result of the violence of conquest and the disruption of agriculture and trade caused by warfare. The most important cause of death, however, was infectious disease. Having little or no resistance to diseases brought from the Old World, the inhabitants of the New World fell victim to smallpox, typhus, influenza, and other illnesses.



Sarin Images/Granger, NYC — All rights reserved.

Spanish Exploitation of Indigenous Labor This image depicts Spanish conquistadors supervising indigenous laborers as they carry arms along the steep road from Veracruz to Tlaxcala in 1520. It was part of a larger painting, produced in the postconquest era and known as the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*, that tells the story of the alliance between the Tlaxcala kingdom and the Spanish and their defeat of the Aztec Empire.

The pattern of devastating disease and population loss established in the Spanish colonies was repeated everywhere Europeans settled. Overall, population declined by as much as 90 percent or more but with important regional variations. In general, densely populated urban centers were worse hit than rural areas, and tropical, low-lying regions suffered more than cooler, higher-altitude ones.

Colonial administrators responded to native population decline by forcibly combining dwindling indigenous communities into new settlements and imposing the rigors of the encomienda and the repartimiento. By the end of the sixteenth century the search for fresh sources of labor had given birth to the new tragedy of the Atlantic slave trade (see “Sugar and Early Transatlantic Slavery”).

Patterns of Settlement

The century after the discovery of silver in 1545 marked the high point of Iberian immigration to the Americas. Although the first migrants were men, soon whole families began to cross the Atlantic, and the European population began to increase through natural reproduction. By 1600 American-born Europeans, called *Creoles*, outnumbered immigrants.

Iberian settlement was predominantly urban in nature. Spaniards settled into the cities and towns of the former Aztec and Inca Empires as the native population dwindled through death and flight. They also established new cities in which settlers were quick to develop urban institutions familiar to them from home: city squares, churches, schools, and universities.

Despite the growing number of Europeans and the rapid decline of the native population, Europeans remained a small minority of the total inhabitants of the Americas. Iberians had sexual relationships with native women, leading to the growth of a substantial population of mixed Iberian and Indian descent known as *mestizos* (meh-STEE-zohz). The large-scale arrival of enslaved Africans, starting in Brazil in the mid-sixteenth century, added new ethnic and racial dimensions to the population.

The Era of Global Contact

How was the era of global contact shaped by new commodities, commercial empires, and forced migrations?

The centuries-old Afroeurasian trade world was forever changed by the European voyages of discovery and their aftermath. For the first time, a truly global economy emerged in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and it forged new links among far-flung peoples, cultures, and societies. The ancient civilizations of Europe, Africa, the Americas, and Asia confronted each other in new and rapidly evolving ways. Those confrontations often led to conquest, forced migration, and brutal exploitation, but they also contributed to cultural exchange and new patterns of life.

The Columbian Exchange

The travel of people and goods between the Old and New Worlds led to an exchange of animals, plants, and diseases, a complex process known as the **Columbian exchange**. As we have seen, the introduction of new diseases to the Americas had devastating consequences. But other results of the exchange brought benefits not only to the Europeans but also to native peoples.

Columbian exchange The exchange of animals, plants, and diseases between the Old and the New Worlds.

Everywhere they settled, the Spanish and Portuguese brought and raised wheat. Grapes and olives brought over from Spain did well in parts of Peru and Chile. Perhaps the most significant introduction to the diet of Native Americans came via the meat and milk of the livestock that the early conquistadors brought with them, including cattle, sheep, and goats. The horse enabled both the Spanish conquerors and native populations to travel faster and farther and to transport heavy loads more easily.

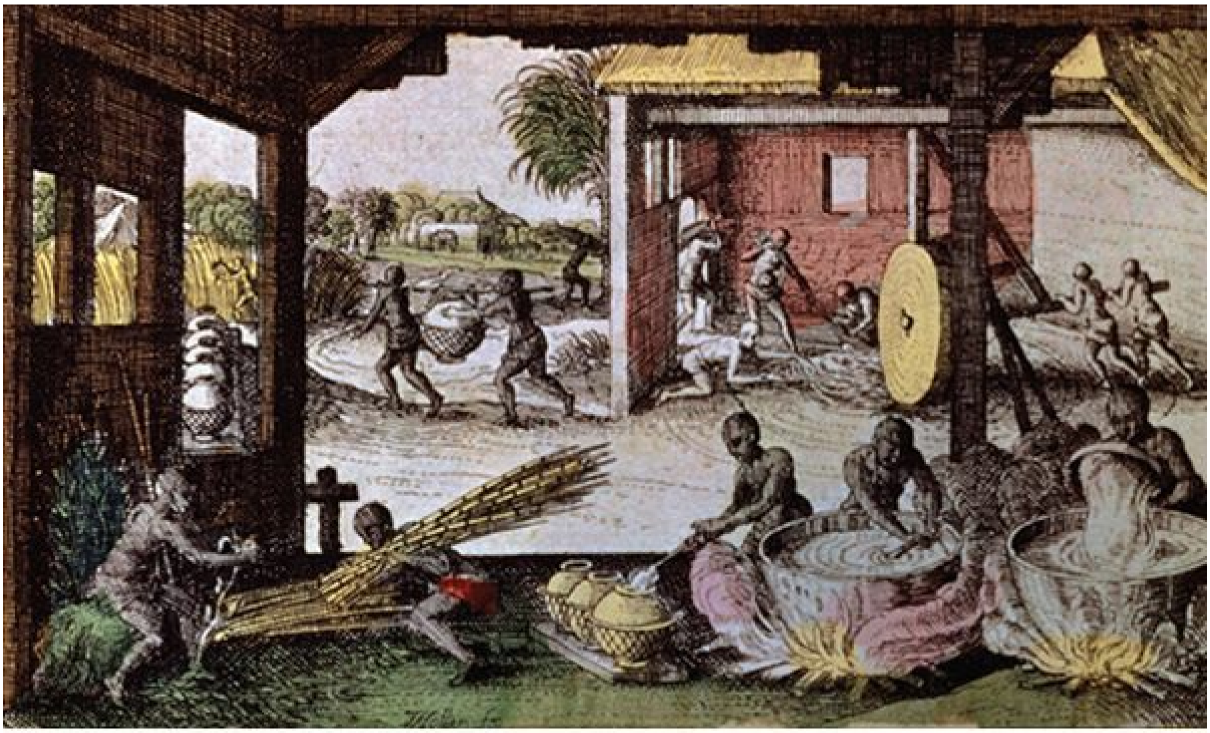
In turn, Europeans returned home with many food crops that became central elements of their diet. Crops originating in the Americas included tomatoes, squash, pumpkins, peppers, and many varieties of beans, as well as tobacco. One of the most important of such crops was maize (corn). By the late seventeenth century maize had become a staple in Spain, Portugal, southern France, and Italy, and in the eighteenth century it became one of the chief foods of southeastern Europe and southern China. Even more valuable was the nutritious white potato, which slowly spread from west to east, contributing everywhere to a rise in population.

While the exchange of foods was a great benefit to cultures across the world, the introduction of European pathogens to the New World had a disastrous impact on the native population. In Europe infectious diseases like smallpox, measles, and influenza — originally spread through contact with domestic animals — killed many people each year. Over centuries of dealing with these diseases, the European population had had time to adapt. Prior to contact with Europeans, indigenous peoples of the New World suffered from insect-borne diseases and some infectious ones, but their lack of domestic livestock spared them the host of highly infectious diseases known in the Old World. The arrival of Europeans spread these microbes among a totally unprepared population, and they fell victim in vast numbers (see “Indigenous Population Loss and Economic Exploitation”). The world after Columbus was thus unified by disease as well as by trade and colonization.

Sugar and Early Transatlantic Slavery

Two crucial and interrelated elements of the Columbian exchange were the transatlantic trade in sugar and slaves. Throughout the Middle Ages, slavery was deeply entrenched in the Mediterranean, but it was not based on race. How, then, did black African slavery enter the European picture and take root in South and then North America? In 1453 the Ottoman capture of Constantinople halted the flow of European slaves from the eastern Mediterranean. Additionally, the successes of the Christian reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula drastically diminished the supply of Muslim captives. Cut off from its traditional sources of slaves, Mediterranean Europe turned to sub-Saharan Africa, which had a long history of slave trading.

As Portuguese explorers began their voyages along the western coast of Africa in the 1440s, one of the first commodities they sought was slaves. While the first slaves were simply seized by small raiding parties, Portuguese merchants soon found that it was easier and more profitable to trade with African leaders, who were accustomed to dealing in enslaved people captured through warfare with neighboring powers. In 1483 the Portuguese established an alliance with the kingdom of Kongo. The royal family eventually converted to Christianity, and Portuguese merchants intermarried with Kongolese women, creating a permanent Afro-Portuguese community. From 1490 to 1530 Portuguese traders brought between three hundred and two thousand enslaved Africans to Lisbon each year.



Album/Art Resource, NY

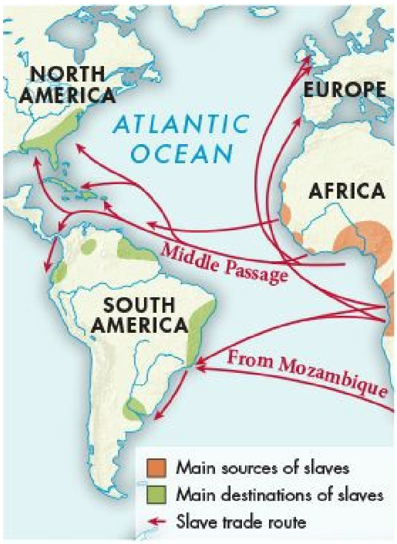
Indians Working in a Spanish Sugar Mill Belgian engraver Theodore de Bry published many images of the European exploration and settlement of the New World. De Bry never crossed the Atlantic himself, instead basing his images on travel accounts and other firsthand sources. This image depicts the exploitation of indigenous people in a Spanish sugar mill.

In this stage of European expansion, the history of slavery became intertwined with the history of sugar. In the Middle Ages, sugarcane — native to the South Pacific — was brought to Mediterranean islands. Population increases and greater prosperity in the fifteenth century led to increasing demand for sugar. The establishment of sugar plantations on the Canary and Madeira Islands in the fifteenth century after Iberian colonization testifies to this demand.

Sugar was a particularly difficult crop to produce for profit, requiring constant, backbreaking labor. The invention of roller mills to crush the cane more efficiently meant that yields could be significantly augmented, but only if a sufficient labor force was found to supply the mills. Plantation owners solved the labor problem by forcing first native islanders and then transported Africans to perform the backbreaking work.

The transatlantic slave trade that would ultimately result in the forced transport of over 12 million individuals began in 1518, when Spanish king Charles I authorized traders to bring enslaved Africans to New World colonies. The Portuguese brought the first slaves to Brazil around 1550.

After its founding in 1621, the Dutch West India Company transported thousands of Africans to Brazil and the Caribbean, mostly to work on sugar plantations. In the late seventeenth century, with the chartering of the Royal African Company, the English began to bring slaves to Barbados and other English colonies in the Caribbean and mainland North America.



Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

The Transatlantic Slave Trade

Before 1700, when slavers decided it was better business to improve conditions, some 20 percent of slaves died on the voyage from Africa to the Americas.[2] The most common cause of death was dysentery induced by poor-quality food and water, lack of sanitation, and intense crowding. On sugar plantations, death rates among enslaved people from illness and exhaustion were extremely high. Driven by rising demands for plantation crops, the tragic transatlantic slave trade reached its height in the eighteenth century.

Spanish Silver and Its Economic Effects

The sixteenth century has often been called Spain's golden century, but silver mined in the Americas was the true source of Spain's wealth. In 1545, at an altitude of fifteen thousand feet, the Spanish discovered an extraordinary source of silver at Potosí (poh-toh-SEE) (in present-day Bolivia) in unsettled territory captured from the Inca Empire. By 1550 Potosí yielded perhaps 60 percent of all the silver mined in the world. From Potosí and the mines at Zacatecas (za-kuh-TAY-kuhs) and Guanajuato (gwah-nah-HWAH-toh) in Mexico, huge quantities of precious metals poured forth.

Mining became the most important industry in the colonies. Millions of indigenous laborers suffered brutal conditions and death in the silver mines. Demand for new sources of labor for the mines also contributed to the intensification of the African slave trade. Profits for the Spanish crown were immense. The Crown claimed the quinto, one-fifth of all precious metals mined in South America, which represented 25 percent of its total income. Between 1503 and 1650, 35 million pounds of silver and over 600,000 pounds of gold entered Seville's port.

Spain's immense profits from silver paid for the tremendous expansion of its empire and for the large armies that defended it. However, the easy flow of money also dampened economic innovation. It exacerbated the rising inflation Spain was already experiencing in the mid-sixteenth century, a period of growing population and stagnant production. Several times between 1557 and 1647, King Philip II and his successors wrote off the state debt, thereby undermining confidence in the government and destroying the economy. When the profitability of the silver mines diminished in the 1640s, Spain's power was fundamentally undercut.

As Philip II paid his armies and foreign debts with silver bullion, Spanish inflation was transmitted to the rest of Europe. Between 1560 and 1600 prices in most parts of Europe doubled and in some cases quadrupled. Because money bought less, people who lived on fixed incomes, such as nobles, were badly hurt. Those who owed fixed sums of money, such as the middle class, prospered because in a time of rising prices, debts lessened in value each year. Food costs rose most sharply, and the poor fared worst of all.

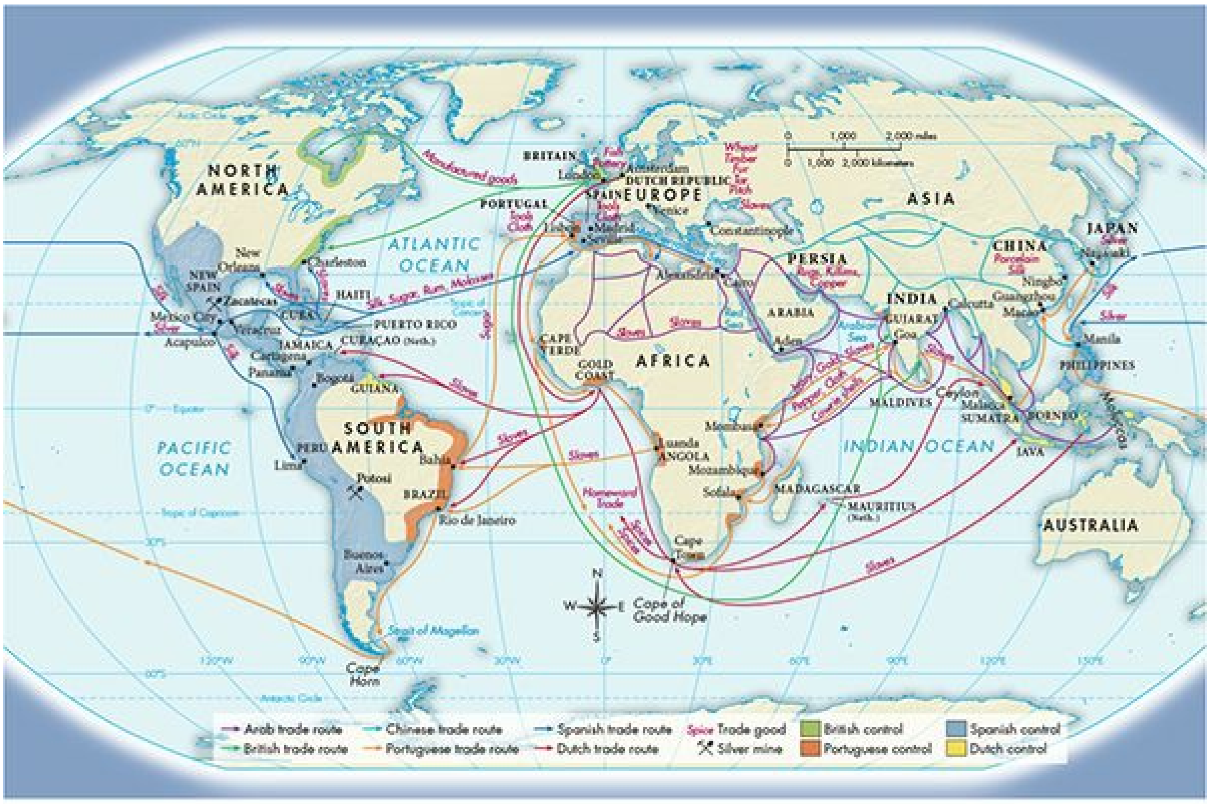
In many ways, though, it was not Spain but China that controlled the world trade in silver. The Chinese demanded silver for their products and for the payment of imperial taxes. China was thus the main buyer of world silver, absorbing half the world's production. The silver market drove world trade, with New Spain and Japan acting as major sources of the supply of silver and China dominating demand. The world trade in silver is one of the best examples of the new global economy that emerged in this period.

The Birth of the Global Economy

With Europeans' discovery of the Americas and their exploration of the Pacific, the entire world was linked for the first time in history by seaborne trade. The opening of that trade brought into being three successive commercial empires: the Portuguese, the Spanish, and the Dutch.

In the sixteenth century the Portuguese controlled the sea route to India

(Map 16.3). From their bases at Goa on the Arabian Sea and at Malacca on the Malay Peninsula, ships carried goods to the Portuguese settlement at Macao. From Macao Portuguese ships loaded with Chinese silks and porcelains sailed to Japan and the Philippines, where Chinese goods were exchanged for Spanish silver from New Spain. Throughout Asia the Portuguese traded in slaves, some of whom were brought all the way across the Pacific to Mexico. (See "Individuals in Society: Catarina de San Juan," page 460.) They also exported horses from Mesopotamia and copper from Arabia to India; from India they exported hawks and peacocks for the Chinese and Japanese markets. Back to Portugal they brought Asian spices that had been purchased with textiles produced in India and with gold and ivory from East Africa. From their colony in Brazil they also shipped back sugar, produced by African slaves whom they had transported across the Atlantic.


NORTH AMERICA
SOUTH AMERICA
EUROPE
ASIA
AFRICA
AUSTRALIA
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
BRITAIN
London
Amsterdam
DUTCH REPUBLIC
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
Madrid
Seville
Venice
Constantinople
Alexandria
Cairo
PERSIA
ARABIA
Aden
Red Sea
Arabian Sea
INDIA
GUJARAT
Goa
Calcutta
Ceylon
MALDIVES
CHINA
Ningbo
Guangzhou
Macao
JAPAN
Nagasaki
Manila
PHILIPPINES
Malacca
SUMATRA
BORNEO
JAVA
Moluccas
CAPE VERDE
GOLD COAST
Luanda
ANGOLA
Mombasa
Mozambique
Sofala
MADAGASCAR
MAURITIUS (Neth.)
Cape Town
Cape of Good Hope
NEW SPAIN
New Orleans
Charleston
Zacatecas
Mexico City
Veracruz
Acapulco
HAITI
CUBA
PUERTO RICO
JAMAICA
CURAÇAO (Neth.)
Cartagena
Panama
Bogotá
GUIANA
PERU
Lima
Potosí
Bahia
BRAZIL
Rio de Janeiro
Buenos Aires
Strait of Magellan
Cape Horn
Manufactured goods
Fish
Pottery
Wheat
Timber
Fur
Fish
Slaves
Tools
Cloth
Rugs, Kilims, Copper
Porcelain
Silk
Silver
Silk, Sugar, Rum, Molasses
Sugar
Ivory, Gold, Slaves
Pepper, Cloth
Cowrie shells
Homeward trade
Arctic Circle
Tropic of Cancer
Equator
Tropic of Capricorn
Antarctic Circle
120°W
90°W
60°W
30°W
0°
30°E
60°E
90°E
120°E
150°E
0 1,000 2,000 miles
0 1,000 2,000 kilometers
N
S
E
W
Arab trade route
British trade route
Chinese trade route
Portuguese trade route
Spanish trade route
Dutch trade route
Spice Trade good
Silver mine
British control
Portuguese control
Spanish control
Dutch control

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 16.3 Seaborne Trading Empires in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries By the mid-seventeenth century trade linked all parts of the world except for Australia. Notice that trade in slaves was not confined to the Atlantic but involved almost all parts of the world.

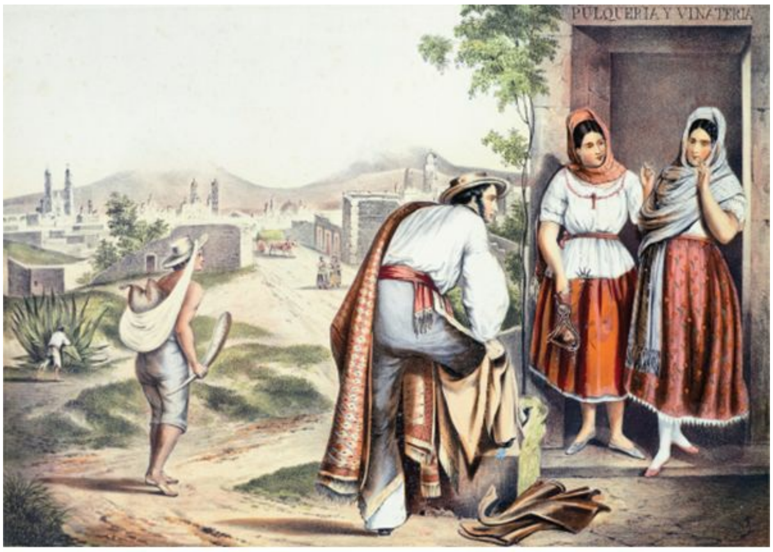
Becoming an imperial power a few decades later than the Portuguese, the Spanish were determined to claim their place in world trade. The Spanish Empire in the New World was basically land based, but across the

Pacific the Spaniards built a seaborne empire centered at Manila in the Philippines. Established in 1571, the city of Manila served as the transpacific bridge between Spanish America and China. In Manila Spanish traders used silver from American mines to purchase Chinese silk for European markets. The European demand for silk was so huge that in 1597, for example, 12 million pesos of silver, almost the total value of the transatlantic trade, moved from Acapulco in New Spain to Manila.

In the seventeenth century the Dutch challenged the Spanish and Portuguese Empires. The Dutch East India Company was founded in 1602 with the stated intention of capturing the spice trade from the Portuguese. Drawing on their commercial wealth and long experience in European trade, the Dutch emerged by the end of the century as the most powerful worldwide seaborne trading power (see “The Dutch Trading Empire” in Chapter 18).

INDIVIDUALS IN SOCIETY

Catarina de San Juan



De Agostini Picture Library/Gianni Dagli Orti/Bridgeman Images

Women of Puebla, Mexico, in traditional clothing.

A LONG JOURNEY LED CATARINA DE SAN JUAN FROM enslavement in South Asia to adulation as a popular saint in Mexico. Her journey began on the west coast of India around 1610 when Portuguese traders captured a group of children, including the small girl who would become Catarina. Their ship continued around the southern tip of India, across the Bay of Bengal, through the Strait of Malacca, and across the South China Sea. It docked at Manila, a Spanish city in the Philippines, where the girl was sold at a slave auction. In 1619 Catarina boarded a ship that was part of the Manila Galleon, the annual convoy of Spanish ships that crossed the Pacific between Manila and the Mexican port of Acapulco. After a six-month voyage, Catarina arrived in Acapulco; she then walked to Mexico City and continued on to the city of Puebla.

In Puebla, Catarina became the property of a Portuguese merchant and worked as a domestic servant. She was one of thousands of *chinos*, a term for natives of the East Indies who were brought via the Philippines to Spanish America. Many were slaves, transported as part of a transoceanic slave trade that reached from the Indian Ocean to the South China Sea and across the Pacific to the Atlantic world. They constituted a small but significant portion of people forcibly transported by Europeans to the Americas in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries to replace dwindling numbers of indigenous laborers. Chinos were considered particularly apt for domestic labor, and many wealthy Spanish Americans bought them in Manila.

Before crossing the Pacific, Catarina converted to Catholicism and chose her Christian name. In Puebla her master encouraged Catarina's faith and allowed her to attend mass every day. He also drafted a will emancipating her after his death, which occurred in 1619. With no money of her own, Catarina became the servant of a local priest. On his advice, Catarina reluctantly gave up her dream of becoming a lay sister and married a fellow chino named Domingo. The marriage was unhappy; Catarina reportedly refused to enter sexual relations with her husband and suffered from his debts, infidelity, and hostility to her faith. She found solace in renewed religious devotion, winning the admiration of priests and neighbors who flocked to her for spiritual comfort and to hear about her ecstatic visions. After fourteen years of marriage, Catarina became a widow and lived out her life in the home of wealthy supporters.

Catarina's funeral in 1688 drew large crowds. Her followers revered her as an unofficial saint, and soon the leaders of Puebla began a campaign to have Catarina beatified (officially recognized by the Catholic church as a saint). Her former confessors published accounts of her life emphasizing her piety, beauty, and exotic Asian origins and marveling at the miraculous preservation of her virginity through the perils of enslavement, long journeys at sea, and marriage. Much of what we know about Catarina derives from these sources and must be viewed as idealized, rather than as strictly historically accurate.

The Spanish Inquisition, which oversaw the process of beatification, rejected Catarina's candidacy and, fearing that popular adulation might detract from the authority of the church, forbade the circulation of images of and texts about her. Despite this ban, popular reverence for Catarina de San Juan continued, and continues to this day in Mexico.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Why would the Inquisition react so negatively to popular devotion to Catarina? What dangers did she pose to the Catholic Church in New Spain?
2. What does Catarina's story reveal about the global nature of the Spanish Empire and the slave trade in this period? What does it reveal about divisions within the Catholic Church?

Sources: Tatiana Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico: From Chinos to Indians* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 8–26; Ronald J. Morgan, *Spanish American Saints and the Rhetoric of Identity, 1600–1810* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2002), pp. 119–142.

Changing Attitudes and Beliefs

How did new encounters shape cultural attitudes and beliefs in Europe and the rest of the world?

The age of overseas expansion heightened Europeans' contacts with the rest of the world. These contacts gave birth to new ideas about the inherent superiority or inferiority of different races. Religion became another means of cultural contact, as European missionaries aimed to spread Christianity in both the New World and East Asia. The East-West contacts also led to exchanges of influential cultural and scientific ideas.

Religious Conversion

Converting indigenous people to Christianity was one of the most important justifications for European expansion. The first missionaries to the New World accompanied Columbus on his second voyage, and more than 2,500 Franciscans, Dominicans, Jesuits, and other friars crossed the Atlantic in the following century. Jesuit missionaries were also active in Japan and China in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, until authorities banned their teachings.

Catholic friars were among the first Europeans to seek an understanding of native cultures and languages as part of their effort to render Christianity comprehensible to indigenous people. They were also the most vociferous opponents of abuses committed by Spanish settlers.

Religion had been a central element of pre-Columbian societies, and many, if not all, indigenous people were receptive to the new religion that accompanied the victorious Iberians. (See "Global Viewpoints: Aztec and Spanish Views on Christian Conversion in New Spain," page 462.) In addition to spreading Christianity, missionaries taught indigenous peoples European methods of agriculture and instilled obedience to colonial masters. Despite the success of initial conversion efforts, authorities could not prevent the melding together of Catholic teachings with elements of pagan beliefs and practices.

GLOBAL VIEWPOINTS

Aztec and Spanish Views on Christian Conversion in New Spain

In justifying their violent conquest of the Aztec and Inca civilizations, Spanish conquistadors emphasized the need to bring Christianity to heathen peoples. For the conquered, the imposition of Christianity and the repression of their pre-existing religions were often experienced as yet another form of loss. The first document describes the response of the recently vanquished Aztec leaders of Tenochtitlan to Franciscan missionaries. Despite resistance, missionaries eventually succeeded in converting much of the indigenous population to Catholicism. In the second document, a firsthand account of the Spanish conquest written a few decades after the fall of Tenochtitlan, Bernal Díaz del Castillo expresses great satisfaction at the Catholic piety of some indigenous communities.

Aztec Response to the Franciscans’ Explanation of Their 1524 Mission

■ You have told us that we do not know the One who gives us life and being, who is Lord of the heavens and of the earth. You also say that those we worship are not gods. This way of speaking is entirely new to us, and very scandalous. We are frightened by this way of speaking because our forebears who engendered and governed us never said anything like this. On the contrary, they left us this our custom of worshiping our gods, in which they believed and which they worshiped all the time that they lived here on earth. They taught us how to honor them. And they taught us all the ceremonies and sacrifices that we make. They told us that through them [our gods] we live and are, and that we were beholden to them, to be theirs and to serve countless centuries before the sun began to shine and before there was daytime. They said that these gods that we worship give us everything we need for our physical existence: maize, beans, chia seeds, etc.…

All of us together feel that it is enough to have lost, enough that the power and royal jurisdiction have been taken from us. As for our gods, we will die before giving up serving and worshiping them.

Bernal Díaz del Castillo, from *The True History of the Conquest of New Spain, 1521*

■ It is a thing to be grateful for to God, and for profound consideration, to see how the natives assist in celebrating a holy Mass.… There is another good thing they do [namely] that both men, women and children, who are of the age to learn them, know all the holy prayers in their own languages and are obliged to know them. They have other good customs about their holy Christianity, that when they pass near a sacred altar or Cross they bow their heads with humility, bend their knees, and say the prayer "Our Father," which we Conquistadores have taught them, and they place lighted wax candles before the holy altars and crosses, for formerly they did not know how to use wax in making candles. In addition to what I have said, we taught them to show great reverence and obedience to all the monks and priests, and, when these went to their pueblos, to sally forth to receive them with lighted wax candles and to ring the bells, and to feed them very well…. Beside the good customs reported by me they have others both holy and good, for when the day of Corpus Christ comes, or that of Our Lady, or other solemn festivals when among us we form processions, most of the pueblos in the neighbourhood of this city of Guatemala come out in procession with their crosses and lighted wax tapers, and carry on their shoulders, on a litter, the image of the saint who is the patron of the pueblo.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What reasons do the leaders of Tenochtitlan offer for rejecting the teachings of Franciscan missionaries? What importance do they accord their own religious traditions?
2. What evidence does Díaz provide for the conversion of the indigenous people in the city of Guatemala?
3. How and why do you think the attitudes of indigenous peoples might have evolved from those expressed in the first document to those described in the second? Do you think the second document tells the whole story of religious attitudes under Spanish rule?

Sources: "The Lords and Holy Men of Tenochtitlan Reply to the Franciscans: Bernardino de Sahagún, Coloquios y doctrina Cristiana," ed. Miguel León-Portilla, in *Colonial Spanish America: A Documentary History*, ed. Kenneth Mills and William B. Taylor, pp. 20–21. Reproduced with permission of ROWMAN & LITTLEFIELD PUBLISHERS, INCORPORATED, in the format Republish in a book via Copyright Clearance Center; Bernal Díaz, *The True History of the Conquest of New Spain*, in Stuart B. Schwartz, *Victors and Vanquished: Spanish and Nahua Views of the Conquest of Mexico* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2000), pp. 218–219.

European Debates About Indigenous Peoples

Iberian exploitation of the native population of the Americas began from the moment of Columbus’s arrival in 1492. Denunciations of this abuse by Catholic missionaries, however, quickly followed, inspiring vociferous debates in both Europe and the colonies about the nature of indigenous peoples and how they should be treated. Bartolomé de Las Casas (1474–1566), a Dominican friar and former encomienda holder, was one of the earliest and most outspoken critics of the brutal treatment inflicted on indigenous peoples.

Mounting criticism in Spain led King Charles I to assemble a group of churchmen and lawyers to debate the issue in 1550 in the city of Valladolid. One side of the **Valladolid debate**, led by Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, argued that conquest and forcible conversion were both necessary and justified to save indigenous people from the horrors of human sacrifice, cannibalism, and idolatry. To counter these arguments, Las Casas and his supporters depicted indigenous people as rational and innocent children, who deserved protection and tutelage from more advanced civilizations.

Valladolid debate A debate organized by Spanish king Charles I in 1550 in the city of Valladolid that pitted defenders of Spanish conquest and forcible conversion against critics of these practices.

Elsewhere in Europe, audiences also debated these questions. Eagerly reading denunciations of Spanish abuses by critics like Las Casas, they derived the **Black Legend** of Spanish colonialism, the notion that the Spanish were uniquely brutal and cruel in their conquest and settlement of the Americas. This legend helped other European powers overlook their own record of colonial violence and exploitation.

Black Legend The notion that the Spanish were uniquely brutal and cruel in their conquest and settlement of the Americas, an idea propagated by rival European powers.

New Ideas About Race

At the beginning of the transatlantic slave trade, most Europeans grouped

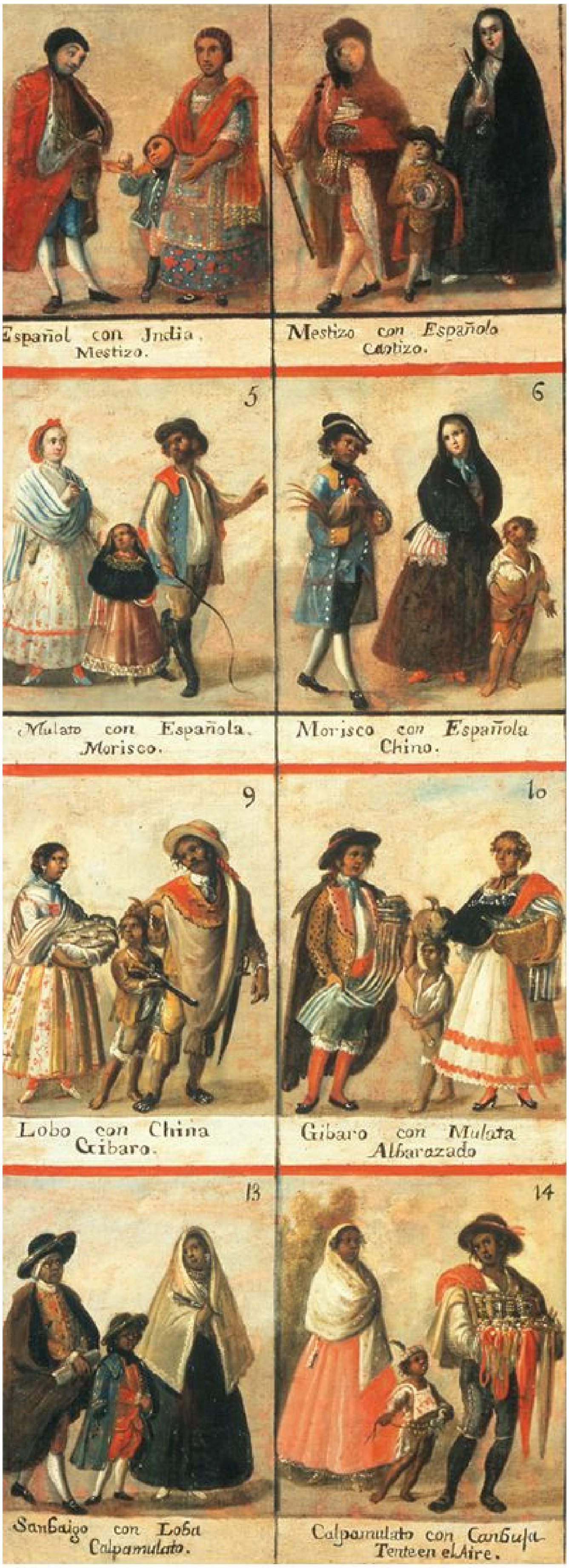
Africans into the despised categories of pagan heathens or Muslim infidels. As Europeans turned to Africa for new sources of slaves, they drew on myths about Africans' primitiveness and barbarity to defend slavery. (See “Analyzing the Evidence: Mixed Races,” page 463.)

Over time, the institution of slavery fostered a new level of racial inequality. Africans gradually became seen as utterly distinct from and wholly inferior to Europeans. In a transition from rather vague assumptions about Africans' non-Christian religious beliefs and general lack of civilization, Europeans developed increasingly rigid ideas of racial superiority and inferiority to safeguard the growing profits gained from plantation slavery. Black skin became equated with slavery itself as Europeans at home and in the colonies convinced themselves that blacks were destined by God to serve them as slaves in perpetuity.

Support for this belief went back to the Greek philosopher Aristotle's argument that some people are naturally destined for slavery and to biblical associations between darkness and sin, derived from the biblical story of Noah's curse upon the descendants of his disobedient son Ham to be the “servant[s] of servants.” Biblical genealogies listing Ham's sons as those who peopled North Africa and Cush (which includes parts of modern Egypt and Sudan) were read to mean that all inhabitants of those regions bore Noah's curse.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

Mixed Races


Español con India.
Mestizo.
Mestizo con Española
Castizo.
5
6
Mulato con Española.
Morisco.
Morisco con Española
Chino.
9
10
Lobo con China
Gibaro.
Gibaro con Mulata
Albarazado
13
14
Sanbaigo con Loba
Calpamulato.
Calpamulato con Canbuja
Tenteen el Aire.

Schalkwijk/Art Resource, NY

When Spanish settlers came to the Americas, they brought with them the religious and racial prejudices of the old country. One of the most important of these was the doctrine of *limpieza de sangre,* or purity of blood. This principle was originally adopted during the reconquista to distinguish Spaniards whose ancestors had always been Christian and who were therefore not tainted (in Christians' eyes) by the blood of Jewish or Muslim converts. After the conquest, the Spanish applied this notion in the Americas; because indigenous peoples had never been exposed to Christianity — the Spanish reasoned — they could not be considered impure like Jews and Muslims. Africans, however, fell into the same heretical category as Jews and Muslims. These distinctions help explain why the Spanish decided indigenous people could not be enslaved, while Africans and those of African descent could.

Despite these obsessions with racial purity, Spanish America from its first years was characterized by a high degree of racial mixing, which began as male conquistadors formed unions with women of high-ranking indigenous families. With the arrival of some thirty-five thousand enslaved Africans in Mexico during the sixteenth century, the mixing of peoples increased. Many of these unions were forced, with Spanish men seeking concubines among indigenous women and enslaved women of African descent. The fact that children inherited their legal status from their mothers encouraged enslaved men to seek wives among indigenous and *mestiza* (mixed) women. Defying neat boundaries that were supposed to exist between racial categories, the children born of these unions were viewed with suspicion by state and religious officials, and they suffered from a range of discriminatory laws.

An elaborate terminology emerged to describe the many possible combinations of indigenous, African, and European blood, which were known collectively as *castas*. *Mestizos* referred to people of mixed Spanish and Indian descent, whereas *mulattos* were those of Spanish and African origin. This painting belongs to a genre, known as casta paintings, that emerged in the late seventeenth century in Mexico and depicted couples composed of individuals of different ethnic origin and the children produced of their unions. This genre reflects the ambivalent fascination inspired by the unprecedented mixing of peoples in Spanish America.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What do these images suggest about the racial composition of the population of Spanish America and the interaction of people with different racial and ethnic backgrounds?
2. Who do you think the audience might have been for these images, and why would viewers be fascinated by them?
3. What elements of this chapter might suggest that these are romanticized or idealized depictions of relations among different racial and ethnic groups?

Chapter Summary

Prior to Columbus's voyages, well-developed trade routes linked the peoples and products of Africa, Asia, and Europe. Overall, Europe played a minor role in the Afroeurasian trade world. As the economy and population recovered from the Black Death, Europeans began to seek more direct and profitable access to the Afroeurasian trade world. Technological innovations, many borrowed from the East, enabled explorers to undertake ever more ambitious voyages.

In the aftermath of their conquests of Caribbean islands and the Aztec and Inca Empires, the Spanish established new forms of governance to dominate indigenous peoples and exploit their labor. The arrival of Europeans brought enormous population losses to native communities, primarily through the spread of infectious diseases. Disease was one element of the Columbian exchange, a complex transfer of germs, plants, and animals between the Old and New Worlds. These exchanges contributed to the creation of the first truly global economy. Tragically, a major component of global trade was the transatlantic slave trade, in which Europeans transported Africans to labor in the sugar plantations and silver mines of the New World. European nations vied for supremacy in global trade, with early Portuguese success in India and Asia being challenged first by the Spanish and then by the Dutch.

Increased contact with the outside world led Europeans to develop new ideas about cultural and racial differences. Debates occurred in Spain and its colonies over the nature of the indigenous peoples of the Americas and how they should be treated. Europeans had long held negative attitudes about Africans; as the slave trade grew, they began to express more rigid notions of racial inequality and to claim that Africans were inherently suited for slavery. Religion became another means of cultural contact, as European missionaries aimed to spread Christianity in the New World.

CONNECTIONS

Just two years separated Martin Luther's attack on the Catholic Church in 1517 and Ferdinand Magellan's discovery of the Pacific Ocean in 1520. Within a few short years western Europeans' religious unity and notions of terrestrial geography were shattered. In the ensuing decades Europeans struggled to come to terms with religious differences among Protestants and Catholics at home and with the multitudes of new peoples and places they encountered abroad. Like Muslim forces in the first centuries of Islam, Christian Europeans brought their religion with them and sought to convert conquered peoples to their faith. While some Europeans were fascinated and inspired by this new diversity, too often the result was suffering and violence. Europeans endured decades of religious civil war, and indigenous peoples overseas underwent massive population losses as a result of European warfare, disease, and exploitation. Both Catholic and Protestant religious leaders condoned the trade in slaves that ultimately brought suffering and death to millions of Africans.

Even as the voyages of discovery contributed to the fragmentation of European culture, they also played a role in state centralization and consolidation in the longer term. Henceforth, competition to gain overseas colonies became an integral part of European politics. While Spain’s enormous profits from conquest ultimately led to a weakening of its power, over time the Netherlands, England, and France used profits from colonial trade to help build modernized, centralized states.

Two crucial consequences emerged from this era of expansion. The first was the creation of enduring contacts among five of the seven continents of the globe — Europe, Asia, Africa, North America, and South America. From the sixteenth century onward, the peoples of the world were increasingly entwined in divergent forms of economic, social, and cultural exchange. The second was the growth of European power. Europeans controlled the Americas and gradually assumed control over existing trade networks in Asia and Africa. Although China remained the world’s most powerful economy until at least 1800, the era of European dominance was born.

CHAPTER 16 Review and Explore

Identify Key Terms

Identify and explain the significance of each item below.

bride wealth (p. 438)
caravel (p. 442)
Ptolemy's *Geography* (p. 442)
Treaty of Tordesillas (p. 448)
conquistador (p. 450)
Aztec Empire (p. 450)
Inca Empire (p. 450)
viceroyalties (p. 454)
captaincies (p. 454)
encomienda system (p. 454)
Columbian exchange (p. 456)
Valladolid debate (p. 461)
Black Legend (p. 461)

Review the Main Ideas

Answer the focus questions from each section of the chapter.

1. What was the Afroeurasian trade world prior to the era of European exploration? (p. 438)
2. How and why did Europeans undertake ambitious voyages of expansion? (p. 441)
3. What was the impact of Iberian conquest and settlement on the peoples and ecologies of the Americas? (p. 449)
4. How was the era of global contact shaped by new commodities, commercial empires, and forced migrations? (p. 456)
5. How did new encounters shape cultural attitudes and beliefs in Europe and the rest of the world? (p. 459)

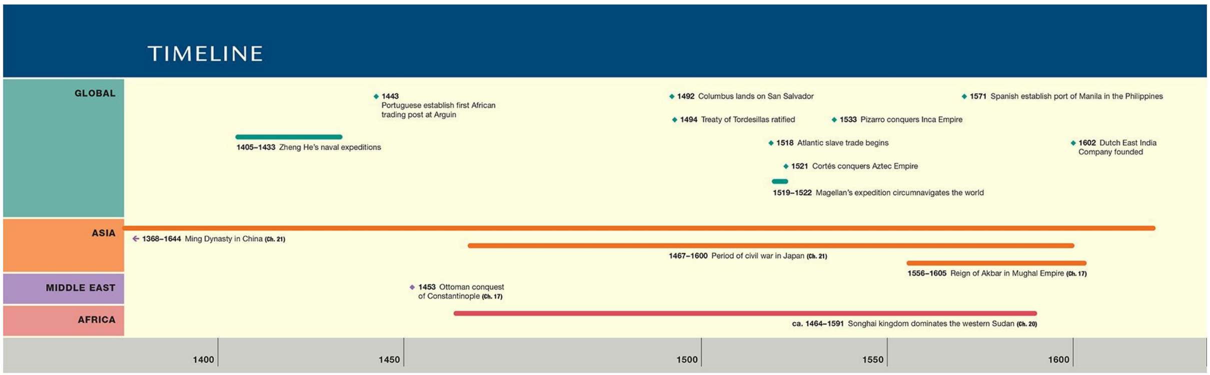
Make Comparisons and Connections

Analyze the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters.

1. If Europe was at the periphery of the global trading system prior to 1492, where was it situated by the middle of the sixteenth century? What had changed? What had not?
2. How does the spread of Christianity in the aftermath of European conquest in

the New World compare with the earlier spread of Christianity under the Roman Empire (Chapter 6) and the spread of Buddhism (Chapter 7) and Islam (Chapters 9, 10, 12)?

3. How did European expansion in the period covered in this chapter draw on earlier patterns of trade and migration in Africa (Chapter 10) and Asia (Chapters 12, 13)?
4. To what extent did the European voyages of expansion and conquest inaugurate an era of global history? Did this era represent the birth of “globalization”? Why or why not?



Suggested Resources

Books

Crosby, Alfred W. *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492*, 30th anniversary ed. 2003. A lively and highly influential account of the environmental impact of the transatlantic movement of animals, plants, and microbes inaugurated by Columbus.

Elliot, J. H. *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492 – 1830.* 2006. A masterful comparative study of the British and Spanish Empires in the Americas.

Fernández-Armesto, Felipe. *Columbus.* 1992. An excellent biography of Christopher Columbus.

Mann, Charles C. *1491: New Revelations on the Americas Before Columbus*, 2d ed. 2011. A highly readable explanation of the peoples and societies of the Americas before the arrival of Europeans.

Menard, Russell R. *Sweet Negotiations: Sugar, Slavery, and Plantation Agriculture in Early Barbados.* 2006. Explores the intertwined history of sugar plantations and slavery in seventeenth-century Barbados.

Parker, Charles H. *Global Interactions in the Early Modern Age, 1400 – 1800.* 2010. An examination of the rise of global connections in the early modern period, which situates the European experience in relation to the world’s other empires and peoples.

Pomeranz, Kenneth, and Steven Topik. *The World That Trade Created: Society, Culture, and the World Economy, 1400 to the Present.* 1999. The creation of a world market presented through rich and vivid stories of merchants, miners, slaves, and farmers.

Restall, Matthew. *Seven Myths of Spanish Conquest.* 2003. A re-examination of common misconceptions about why and how the Spanish conquered native civilizations in the New World.

Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500 – 1700: A Political and Economic History*, 2d ed. 2012. A masterful study of the Portuguese overseas empire in Asia that draws on both European and Asian sources.

Documentaries

America Before Columbus (National Geographic, 2010). Explores the complex societies and cultures of North America before contact with Europeans and the impact of the Columbian exchange.

Conquistadors (PBS, 2000). Traveling in the footsteps of the Spanish conquistadors, the narrator tells their story while following the paths and rivers they used. Includes discussion of the perspectives and participation of native peoples.

1421: The Year China Discovered America? (PBS, 2004). Investigates the voyages of legendary Chinese admiral Zheng He, exploring the possibility that he and his fleet reached the Americas decades before Columbus.

Feature Films and Television Dramas

Black Robe (Bruce Beresford, 1991). A classic film about French Jesuit missionaries among Algonquin and Huron Indians in New France in the seventeenth century.

Marco Polo (Hallmark Channel, 2007). A made-for-television film that follows Italian merchant Marco Polo as he travels to China to establish trade ties with Mongol emperor Khubilai Khan.

The Other Conquest (Salvador Carrasco, 1998). A Mexican film depicting the brutality of the Spanish conquest and its social and religious impact, seen from the perspective of a young Aztec man.

Websites

Discovery and Exploration Collection. A Library of Congress digital collection of maps and manuscripts related to exploration and discovery, many of which relate to the period covered in this chapter. **https://www.loc.gov/collections/discovery-and -exploration/**

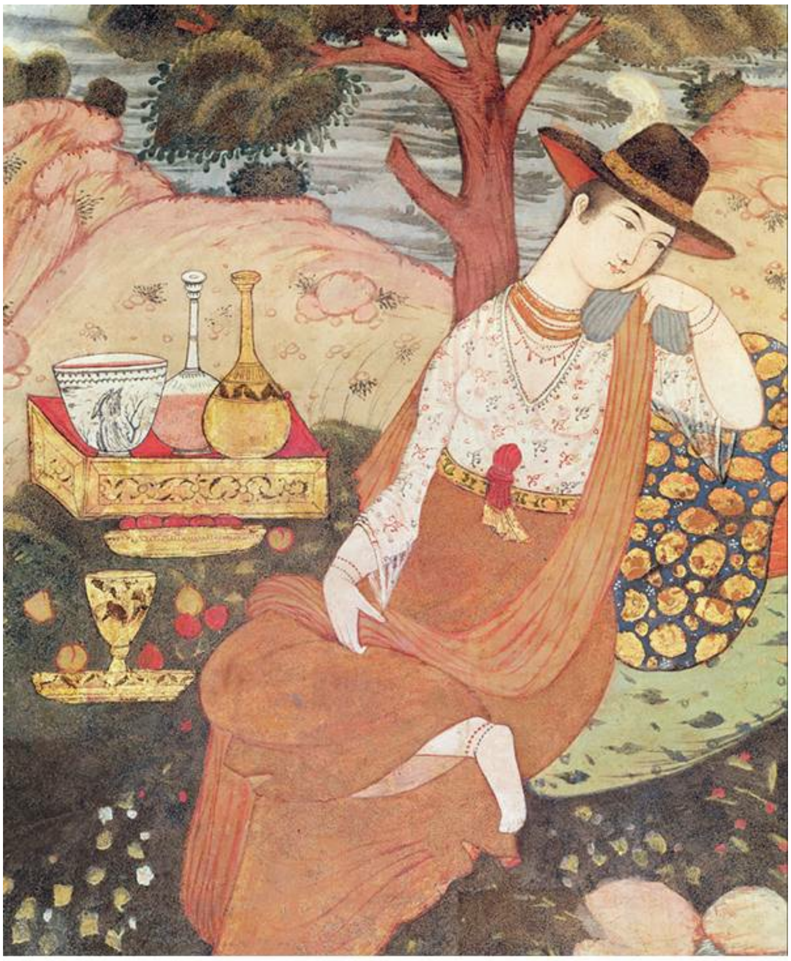
Explore Mesolore. A website featuring resources on Mesoamerica, including indigenous documents from the sixteenth century, with helpful explanations of the origins and meaning of the documents. **www.mesolore.org**

The Globalization of Food and Plants. Hosted by the Yale University Center for the Study of Globalization, this website provides information on how various foods and plants — such as spices, coffee, and tomatoes — traveled the world in the Columbian exchange.**yaleglobal.yale.edu/about/food.jsp**

17

The Islamic World Powers

1300–1800



Chehel Sotoun, or *The 40 Columns*, Isfahan, Iran/Bridgeman Images

Persian Princess

The ruling houses of the Islamic empires were great patrons of art and architecture. This depiction of a princess in a garden is from an early-seventeenth-century palace built by Shah Abbas of the Safavid

Dynasty in Persia.

After the decline of the Mongol Empire in the mid-fourteenth century, powerful Islamic states emerged in south and west Eurasia. By the sixteenth century the Ottoman Empire, centered in Anatolia; the Safavid (SAH-fah-vid) Empire in Persia; and the Mughal (MOO-guhl) Empire in India controlled vast territories from West Africa to Central Asia, from the Balkans to the Bay of Bengal.

Lasting more than six centuries (1299–1922), the Ottoman Empire was one of the largest, best-organized, and most enduring political entities in world history. In Persia (now Iran) the Safavid Dynasty created a Shi'a state and presided over a brilliant culture. In India the Mughal leader Babur and his successors gained control of much of the Indian subcontinent. Mughal rule inaugurated a period of radical administrative reorganization in India and the flowering of intellectual and architectural creativity. Although these three states were often at war with each other, they shared important characteristics and challenges. Their ruling houses all emerged from Turkish tribal organizations, and they all had to adapt their armies to the introduction of firearms. Over time, they became strongly linked culturally, as merchants, poets, philosophers, artists, and military advisers moved relatively easily across their political boundaries. Before the end of this period, Europeans were also active in trade in these empires, especially in India.

CHAPTER PREVIEW

THE TURKISH RULING HOUSES: THE OTTOMANS, SAFAVIDS, AND MUGHALS

How were the three Islamic empires established, and what sorts of governments did they set up?

CULTURAL FLOWERING

What cultural advances occurred under the rule of the Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal Empires?

NON-MUSLIMS UNDER MUSLIM RULE

How did Christians, Jews, Hindus, and other non-Muslims fare under these Islamic states?

SHIFTING TRADE ROUTES AND EUROPEAN PENETRATION

How were the Islamic empires affected by the gradual shift toward trade routes that bypassed their lands?

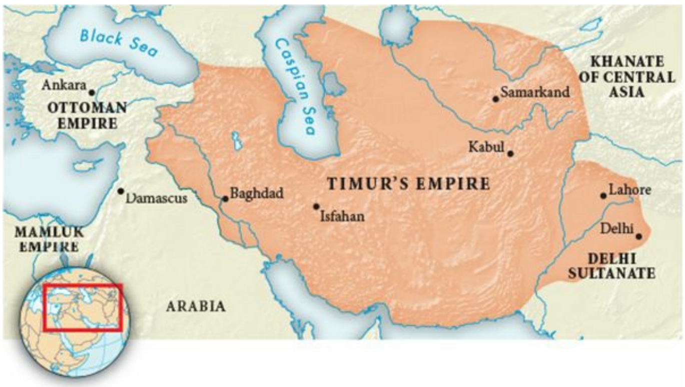
POLITICAL DECLINE

What common factors led to the decline of central power in the Islamic empires in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries?

The Turkish Ruling Houses: The Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals

How were the three Islamic empires established, and what sorts of governments did they set up?

Before the Mongols arrived in Central Asia and Persia, another nomadic people from the region of modern Mongolia, the Turks, had moved west, gained control over key territories from Anatolia to Delhi in north India, and contributed to the decline of the Abbasid caliphate in the thirteenth century. As Mongol strength in Persia and Central Asia deteriorated in the late thirteenth to mid-fourteenth centuries, the Turks resumed their expansion. In the late fourteenth century the Turkish leader Timur (1336–1405), also called Tamerlane, built a Central Asian empire from his base in Samarkand that reached into India and through Persia to the Black Sea. After his death, his sons and grandson fought each other for succession, and by 1450 his empire was in rapid decline. Meanwhile, Sufi orders (groups of Islamic mystics) thrived, and Islam became the most important force integrating the region. It was from the many small Turkish chiefs that the founders of the three main empires emerged.

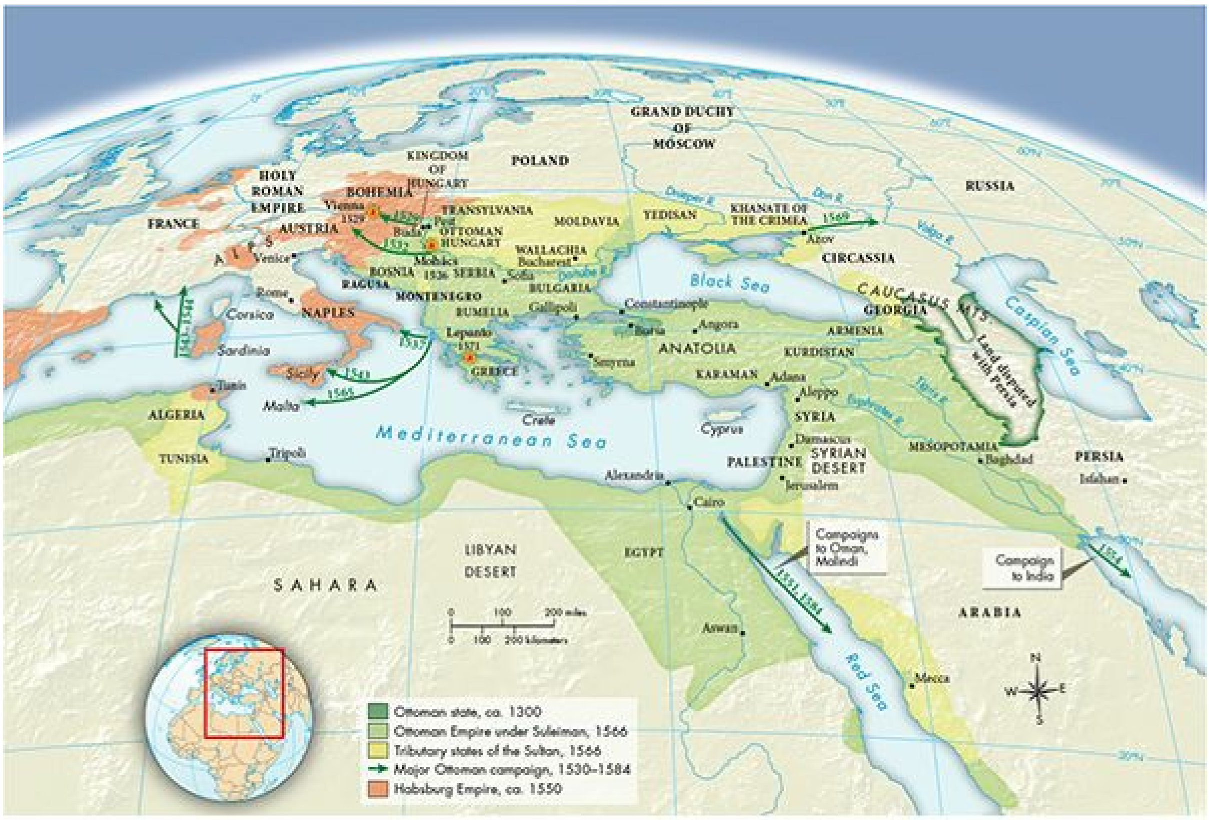


Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Empire of Timur, ca. 1405

The Expansion of the Ottoman Empire

The **Ottomans** took their name from Osman (r. 1299–1326), the chief of a band of seminomadic Turks that had migrated into western Anatolia while the Mongols still held Persia. The Ottomans gradually expanded at the expense of other small Turkish states and the Byzantine Empire (Map 17.1). Although temporarily slowed by defeat at the hands of Timur in 1402, the Ottomans quickly reasserted themselves after Timur's death in 1405.


GRAND DUCHY OF MOSCOW
KINGDOM OF HUNGARY
POLAND
RUSSIA
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
BOHEMIA
Vienna 1529
1529
TRANSYLVANIA
MOLDAVIA
YEDISAN
KHANATE OF THE CRIMEA
1569
Azov
Dnieper R.
Don R.
Volga R.
FRANCE
AUSTRIA
Pest
Buda
OTTOMAN HUNGARY
1532
ALPS
Venice
Mohács 1526
WALLACHIA
Bucharest
Danube R.
CIRCASSIA
BOSNIA
SERBIA
Sofia
RAGUSA
BULGARIA
Black Sea
Rome
MONTENEGRO
CAUCASUS MTS.
Corsica
NAPLES
RUMELIA
Gallipoli
Constantinople
GEORGIA
Caspian Sea
1541–1544
Sardinia
Lepanto 1571
1537
Bursa
Angora
ARMENIA
ANATOLIA
KURDISTAN
Land disputed with Persia
GREECE
Smyrna
Sicily
1543
KARAMAN
Adana
Tunis
1565
Aleppo
Tigris R.
Euphrates R.
Malta
ALGERIA
Crete
SYRIA
Cyprus
Mediterranean Sea
Damascus
MESOPOTAMIA
TUNISIA
Tripoli
PALESTINE
SYRIAN DESERT
Baghdad
PERSIA
Isfahan
Alexandria
Jerusalem
Cairo
Campaigns to Oman, Malindi
LIBYAN DESERT
EGYPT
Campaign to India
1554
1551, 1584
SAHARA
0 100 200 miles
0 100 200 kilometers
ARABIA
Aswan
Red Sea
Mecca
N
W
E
S
🟩 Ottoman state, ca. 1300
🟩 Ottoman Empire under Suleiman, 1566
🟨 Tributary states of the Sultan, 1566
→ Major Ottoman campaign, 1530–1584
🟧 Habsburg Empire, ca. 1550

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Mapping the Past

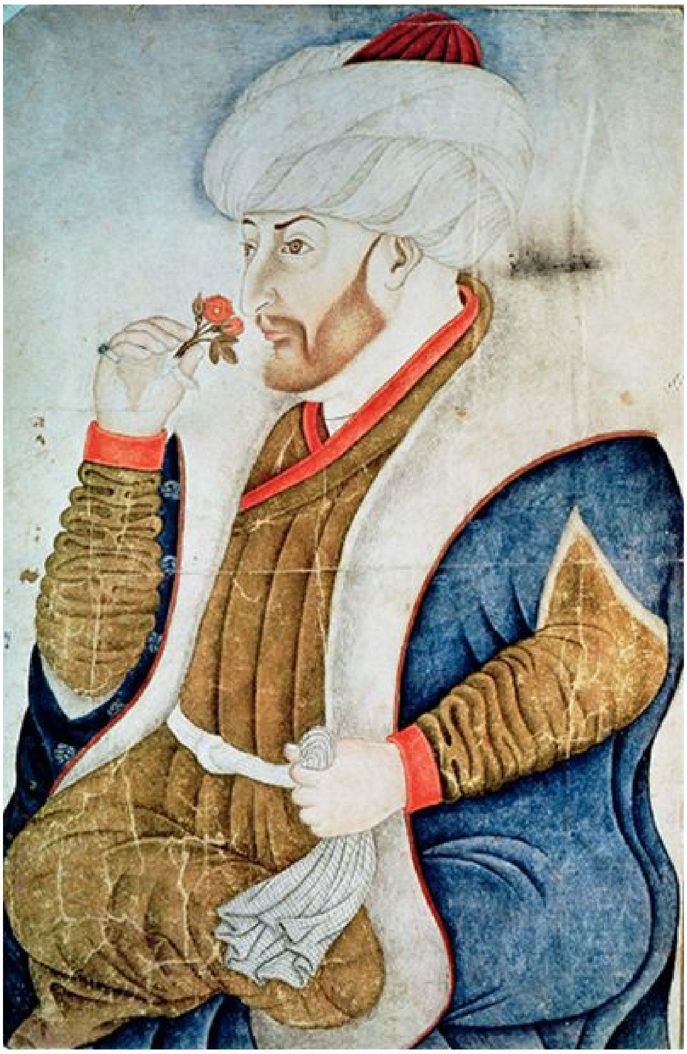
MAP 17.1 The Ottoman Empire at Its Height, 1566 The Ottomans, like their great rivals the Habsburgs, rose to rule a vast dynastic empire encompassing many different peoples and ethnic groups. The army and the bureaucracy served to unite the disparate territories into a single state.

ANALYZING THE MAP Trace the coastlines of the Ottoman Empire. What were the major port cities of the empire? Which regions were encompassed within the empire at its height?

CONNECTIONS If the Ottoman Empire is compared to Europe of the same period (see Map 18.2), which had more of its territory near the sea? How did proximity to the Mediterranean shape the politics of Ottoman-European relations in this period?

Ottomans Ruling house of the Turkish empire that lasted from 1299 to 1922.

Osman's campaigns were intended to subdue, not to destroy. The Ottomans built their empire by absorbing the Muslims of Anatolia and by becoming the protector of the Orthodox Church and of the millions of Greek Christians in Anatolia and the Balkans. A series of victories between 1326 and 1352 made the Ottomans masters of the Balkans. After these victories, the Ottomans made slaves of many captives and trained them as soldiers. These troops were outfitted with guns and artillery and trained to use them effectively.



Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul, Turkey/
Bridgeman Images

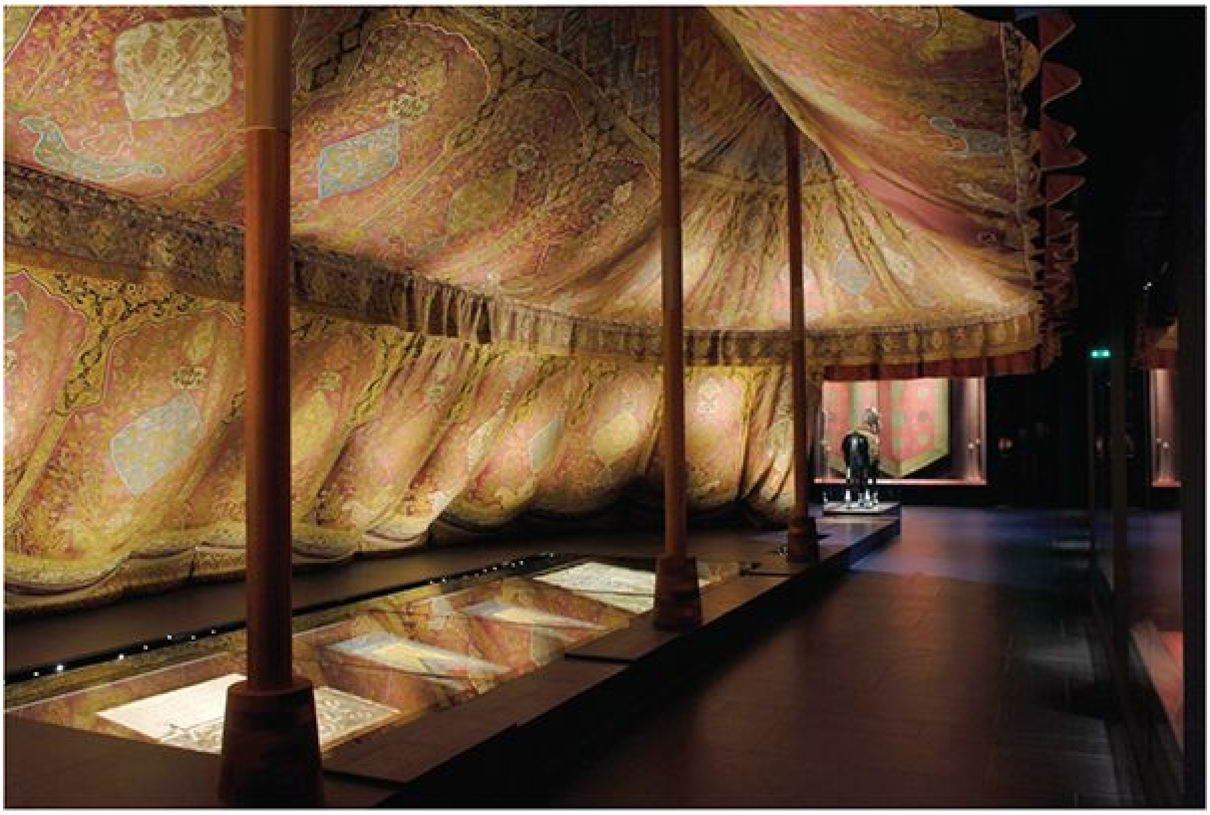
Sultan Mehmet II Mehmet was called “the Conqueror” because at age twenty-one he captured Constantinople and ended the Byzantine Empire, but he is also known for his patronage of the arts and appreciation of beauty.

In 1453, during the reign of Sultan Mehmet II (r. 1451–1481), the Ottomans conquered Constantinople, capital of the Byzantine Empire, which had lasted a thousand years. Once Constantinople was theirs, the Ottoman **sultans** (supreme political and military rulers) considered themselves successors to both the Byzantine and Seljuk Turk emperors, and they quickly absorbed the rest of the Byzantine Empire. In the sixteenth century they continued to expand through the Middle East and into North Africa.

sultan An Arabic word used by the Ottomans to describe a supreme political and military ruler.

To begin the transformation of Constantinople (renamed Istanbul) into an imperial Ottoman capital, Mehmet ordered wealthy residents to build mosques, markets, fountains, baths, and other public facilities. To make up for the loss of population through war, Mehmet transplanted inhabitants of other territories to the city, granting them tax remissions and possession of empty houses. He wanted them to start businesses, make Istanbul prosperous, and transform it into a microcosm of the empire.

Gunpowder, which was invented by the Chinese and adapted to artillery use by the Europeans, played an influential role in the expansion of the Ottoman state. Mastering this technology, the Ottomans used it to gain control of shipping in the eastern Mediterranean and eliminate the Portuguese from the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. In 1514, under the superb military leadership of Selim (r. 1512–1520), the Ottomans turned the Safavids back from Anatolia. When the Ottomans acquired Syria and Palestine (1516) and Egypt (1517), they gained control of the holy cities of Islam. Before long the Ottomans had extended their rule across North Africa to Tunisia and Algeria. For the next four centuries a majority of Arabs lived under Ottoman rule.



bpk Bildagentur/Ruestkammer, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden, Germany/
photo by Elke Estel/Hans-Peter Kuhl/Art Resource, NY

The Interior of an Ottoman Tent Made of leather, linen, cotton, silk, and wool, this magnificent tent would have been used by the Ottoman emperor on campaigns. Nearly 60 feet long, it was acquired by the ruler of Saxony (in Germany) in 1729 and used by him for official events, including royal weddings and military parades. (bpk Bildagentur/Ruestkammer, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden, Germany/photo by Elke Estel/Hans-Peter Kuhl/Art Resource, NY)

Suleiman I (r. 1520–1566) extended Ottoman dominion to its widest geographical extent (see Map 17.1). Suleiman's army crushed the Hungarians at Mohács in 1526, killing the king and thousands of his nobles. Three years later the Turks unsuccessfully besieged the Habsburg capital of Vienna. From the late fourteenth to the early seventeenth centuries, the Ottoman Empire was a key player in European politics. In 1525 Francis I of France and Suleiman struck an alliance; both believed that only their collaboration could prevent Habsburg domination of Europe. The Habsburg emperor Charles V retaliated by seeking an alliance with Safavid Persia. Suleiman renewed the French agreement with Francis's son, Henry II (r. 1547–1559), and this accord became the cornerstone of Ottoman policy in western Europe. Ottoman pressure contributed to the official recognition of Lutheran Protestants at the Peace of Augsburg in 1555 and the consolidation of the national monarchy in France.

Though usually victorious on land, the Ottomans did not enjoy complete dominion on the seas. Competition with the Habsburgs and pirates for control of the Mediterranean led the Ottomans to conquer Cyprus in 1570 and settle thousands of Turks from Anatolia there. In response, Pope Pius V organized a Holy League against the Turks, which won a victory in 1571 at Lepanto off the west coast of Greece with a squadron of more than two hundred Spanish, Venetian, and papal galleys. Still, the Turks remained supreme on land and quickly rebuilt their entire fleet.

To the east, war with Safavid Persia occupied the sultans' attention throughout the sixteenth and well into the seventeenth century. Several issues lay at the root of the long and exhausting conflict: religious antagonism between the Sunni Ottomans and the Shi'a Persians, competition to expand at each other's expense in Mesopotamia, desire to control trade routes, and European alliances. (For more on the Shi'a faith, see "The Safavid Empire in Persia.") Finally, in 1638 the Ottomans captured Baghdad, and the treaty of Kasr-I-Shirim established a permanent border between the two powers.

The Ottoman political system reached its classic form under Suleiman I. All authority flowed from the sultan to his public servants: provincial governors, police officers, military generals, heads of treasuries, and **viziers** (chief assistants to caliphs). Suleiman ordered Lütfi Paşa (d. 1562), a poet and juridical scholar of slave origin, to draw up a new general code of laws that prescribed penalties for routine criminal acts such as robbery, adultery, and murder. It also sought to reform bureaucratic and financial corruption, such as foreign merchants' payment of bribes to avoid customs duties, imprisonment without trial, and promotion in the provincial administration because of favoritism rather than ability. The legal code also introduced the idea of balanced government budgets. The head of the religious establishment was given the task of reconciling sultanic law with Islamic law.

viziers Chief assistants to caliphs.

The Ottomans ruled their more distant lands, such as those in North Africa, relatively lightly. Governors of distant provinces collected taxes and maintained trade routes, but their control did not penetrate deeply into the countryside.

The Ottoman Empire’s Use of Slaves

The power of the Ottoman central government was sustained through the training of slaves. Slaves were captured in battle; purchased from Spain, North Africa, and Venice; or drafted through the system known as **devshirme**, by which the sultan’s agents compelled Christian families in the Balkans to sell their boys. The slave boys were converted to Islam and trained for the imperial civil service and the standing army. The brightest 10 percent entered the palace school, where they learned to read and write Arabic, Ottoman Turkish, and Persian in preparation for administrative jobs. Other boys were sent to Turkish farms, where they acquired physical toughness in preparation for military service. Known as **janissaries** (Turkish for “recruits”), they formed the elite army corps. Thoroughly indoctrinated and absolutely loyal to the sultan, the janissary corps adapted easily to the use of firearms. The devshirme system enabled the Ottomans to apply merit-based recruitment to military and administrative offices at little cost and provided a means of assimilating Christians living in Ottoman lands.

devshirme A process whereby the sultan’s agents swept the provinces for Christian youths to be trained as soldiers or civil servants.

janissaries Turkish for “recruits”; they formed the elite army corps.

The Ottoman ruling class included people of varied ethnic origins who rose through the bureaucratic and military ranks, many beginning as the sultan’s slaves. In return for their services to the sultan, they held landed estates for the duration of their lives. Because all property belonged to the sultan and reverted to him on the holder’s death, Turkish nobles, unlike their European counterparts, did not have a local base independent of the ruler. The absence of a hereditary nobility and of private ownership of agricultural land differentiates the Ottoman system from European feudalism.

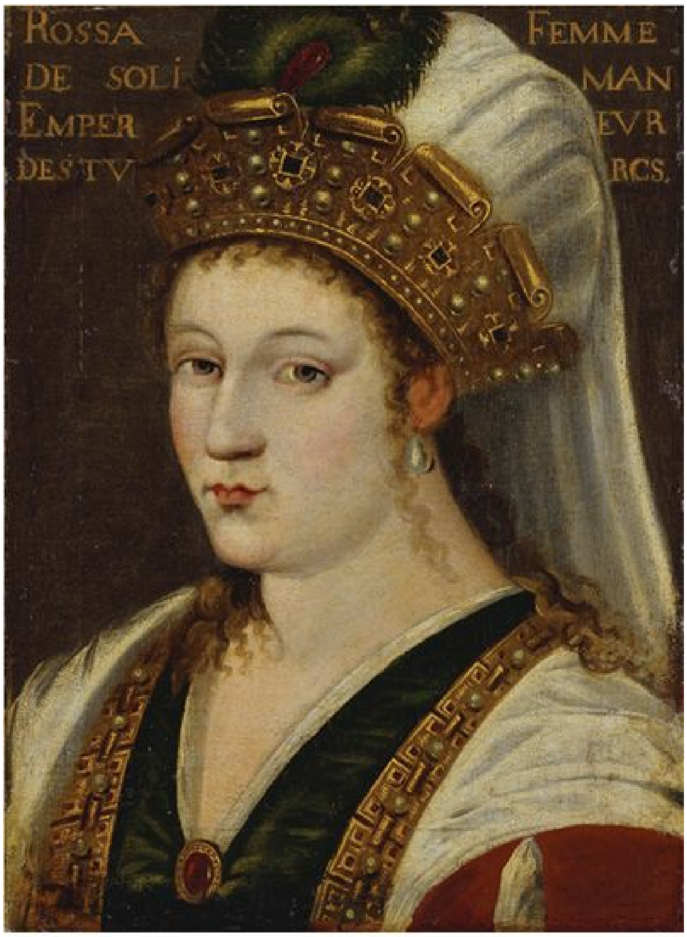
Another distinctive characteristic of the Ottomans was the sultan’s failure to marry. From about 1500 on, the sultans did not contract legal marriages but perpetuated the ruling house through concubinage. A slave **concubine** (a woman who is a recognized spouse but of lower status than a wife) could not expect to exert power the way a local or foreign noblewoman could. (For a notable exception, see “Individuals in Society: Hürrem,” page 474.) When one of the sultan’s concubines delivered a boy, she raised him until the age of ten or eleven. Then the child was given a province to govern under his mother’s supervision. Because succession to the throne was open to all the sultan’s sons, fratricide often resulted upon his death, and the losers were blinded or executed.

concubine A woman who is a recognized spouse but of lower status than a wife.

Slave concubinage paralleled the Ottoman development of slave soldiers and slave viziers. All held positions entirely at the sultan’s pleasure, owed loyalty solely to him, and were thus more reliable than a hereditary nobility. Great social prestige, as well as the opportunity to acquire power and wealth, was attached to being a slave of the imperial household.

INDIVIDUALS IN SOCIETY

Hürrem



Rosa, Consort of Suleiman, Emperor of the Turks, ca. 1600–1670 [oil on canvas], French School/Royal Collections Trust © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, 2017/Bridgeman Images

Hürrem depicted by a contemporary European artist.

HÜRREM (1505?–1558) WAS BORN IN THE WESTERN Ukraine (then part of Poland), the daughter of a Ruthenian priest, and was given the Polish name Aleksandra Lisowska. When Tartars raided, they captured and enslaved her. In 1520 she was given as a gift to Suleiman on the occasion of his accession to the throne. The Venetian ambassador (probably relying on secondhand or thirdhand information) described her as “young, graceful, petite, but not beautiful.” She was given the Turkish name Hürrem, meaning “joyful.”

Hürrem apparently brought joy to Suleiman. Their first child was born in 1521. By 1525 they had four sons and a daughter; sources note that by that year Suleiman visited no other woman. But he waited eight or nine years before breaking Ottoman dynastic tradition by making Hürrem his legal wife, the first slave concubine so honored. For the rest of her life, Hürrem played a highly influential role in the political, diplomatic, and philanthropic life of the Ottoman state. First, great power flowed from her position as mother of the prince, the future sultan Selim II (r. 1566–1574). Then, as the intimate and most trusted adviser of the sultan, she was Suleiman's closest confidant. During his frequent trips to the far-flung corners of his multiethnic empire, Hürrem wrote him long letters filled with her love and longing for him and her prayers for his safety in battle. She also shared political information about affairs in Istanbul, the activities of the grand vizier, and the attitudes of the janissaries. At a time when some people believed that the sultan's absence from the capital endangered his hold on the throne, Hürrem acted as his eyes and ears for potential threats.

Hürrem was the sultan's contact with her native Poland, which sent more embassies to Istanbul than any other power. Through her correspondence with King Sigismund I, peace between Poland and the Ottomans was maintained. When Sigismund II succeeded his father in 1548, Hürrem sent congratulations on his accession, along with two pairs of pajamas (originally a Hindu garment but commonly worn in southwestern Asia) and six handkerchiefs. Also, she sent the shah of Persia gold-embroidered sheets and shirts that she had sewn herself, seeking to display the wealth of the sultanate and to keep peace between the Ottomans and the Safavids.

The enormous stipend that Suleiman gave Hürrem permitted her to participate in his vast building program. In Jerusalem (in the Ottoman province of Palestine) she founded a hospice for fifty-five pilgrims that included a soup kitchen that fed four hundred pilgrims a day. In Istanbul Suleiman built and Hürrem endowed the Haseki (meaning "royal favorite concubine") mosque complex and a public bath for women near the Women's Market.

Perhaps Hürrem tried to fulfill two functions hitherto distinct in Ottoman political theory: those of the sultan's favorite and of mother of the prince. She also performed the conflicting roles of slave concubine and imperial wife. Many Turks resented Hürrem's interference at court. They believed she was behind the execution of Suleiman's popular son Mustafa on a charge of treason to make way for her own son to succeed as sultan.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. How does Hürrem compare to powerful women in other places, such as Empress Wu in China, Isabella of Castile, Catherine de' Medici of France, Elizabeth I of England, or any other you know about?
2. What was Hürrem's "nationality"? What role did it play in her life?

Source: Leslie P. Peirce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

The Safavid Empire in Persia

With the decline of Timur’s empire after 1450, Persia was controlled by Turkish lords, with no single one dominant until 1501, when fourteen-year-old Isma’il (1487–1524) led a Turkish army to capture Tabriz and declared himself **shah** (Persian word for “king”).

shah Persian word for “king.”

The strength of the early **Safavid** state rested on three crucial features. First, the Safavid state utilized the skills of urban bureaucrats and made them an essential part of the civil machinery of government. Second, it secured the loyalty and military support of nomadic Turkish Sufis known as **Qizilbash** (KIH-zihl-bahsh) (a Turkish word meaning “redheads” that was applied to these people because of the red hats they wore). In return for the vast grazing lands granted to them, the Qizilbash supplied the shah with troops.

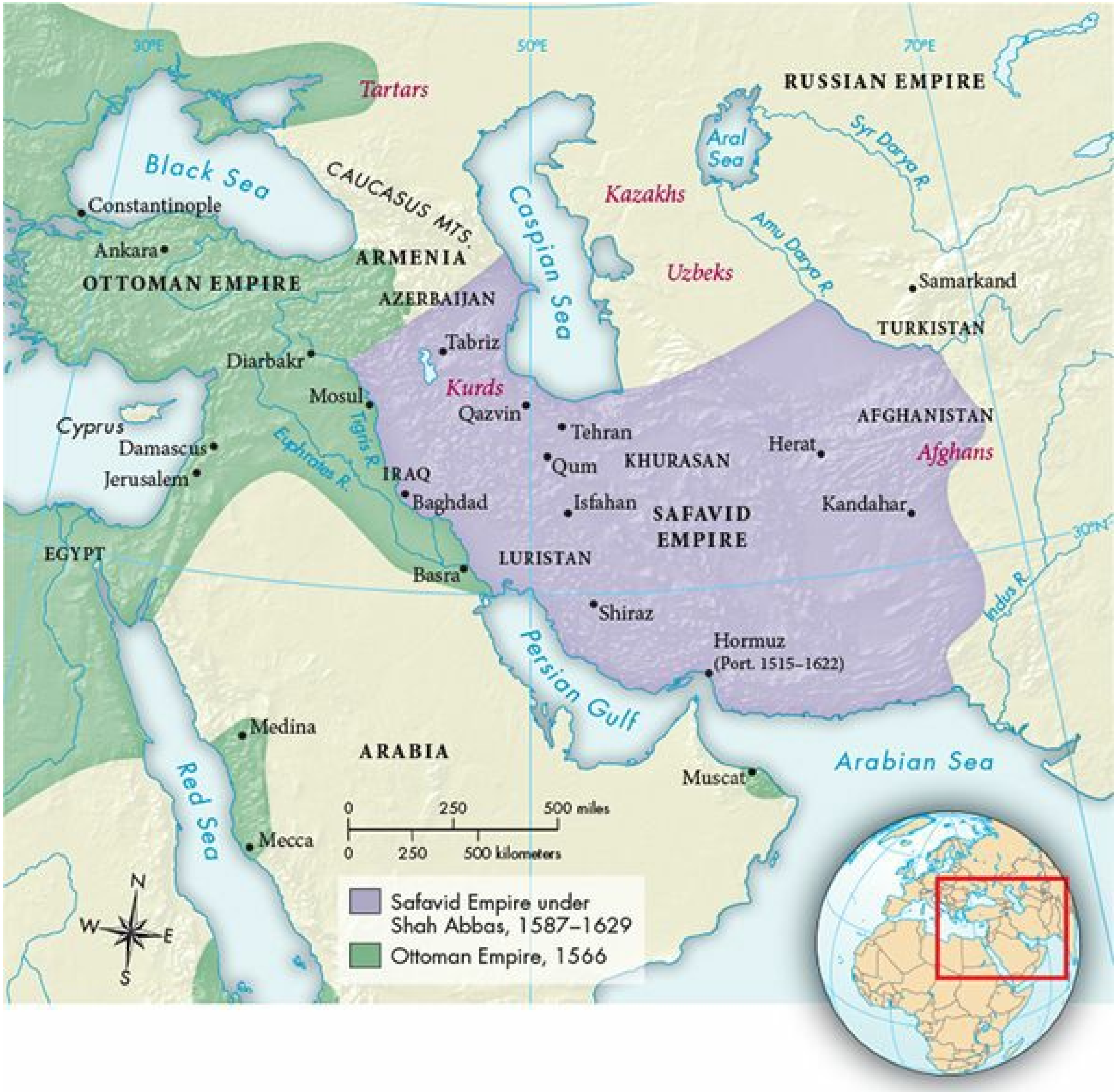
Safavid The dynasty that ruled all of Persia and other regions from 1501 to 1722; its state religion was Shi’ism.

Qizilbash Nomadic Turkish Sufis who supplied the early Safavid state with military troops in exchange for grazing rights.

The third source of Safavid strength was the Shi’a faith, which became the compulsory religion of the empire. The Shi’a believed that leadership among Muslims rightfully belonged to the Prophet Muhammad’s descendants. Because Isma’il claimed descent from a line of twelve infallible imams (leaders) beginning with Ali (Muhammad’s cousin and son-in-law), he was officially regarded as their representative on earth. Isma’il recruited Shi’a scholars to instruct and guide his people, and he persecuted and exiled Sunni **ulama** (religious scholars who interpret the Qur’an and the Sunna, the deeds and sayings of Muhammad). To this day, Iran remains the only Muslim state in which Shi’ism is the official religion.

ulama Religious scholars who interpret the Qur’an and the Sunna, the deeds and sayings of Muhammad.

Safavid power reached its height under Shah Abbas (r. 1587–1629), who moved the capital from Qazvin to Isfahan. His military achievements, support for trade and commerce, and endowment of the arts earned him the epithet “the Great.” In the military realm he adopted the Ottoman practice of building an army of slaves, primarily captives from the Caucasus, and used them as a counterweight to the Qizilbash, who had come to be considered a threat. He also increased the use of gunpowder weapons and made alliances with European powers against the Ottomans and Portuguese. In his campaigns against the Ottomans, Shah Abbas captured Baghdad, Mosul, and Diarbakr in Mesopotamia (Map 17.2).


30°E
50°E
70°E
30°N
Tartars
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
Aral Sea
Syr Darya R.
Black Sea
CAUCASUS MTS.
Caspian Sea
Kazakhs
Amu Darya R.
Constantinople
Ankara
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
ARMENIA
AZERBAIJAN
Uzbeks
Samarkand
TURKISTAN
Tabriz
Diarbakr
Mosul
Kurds
Qazvin
Tigris R.
Euphrates R.
Cyprus
Damascus
Jerusalem
Tehran
Qum
KHURASAN
Herat
AFGHANISTAN
Afghans
IRAQ
Baghdad
Isfahan
SAFAVID EMPIRE
Kandahar
EGYPT
LURISTAN
Basra
Shiraz
Indus R.
Persian Gulf
Hormuz
(Port. 1515–1622)
Medina
ARABIA
Muscat
Arabian Sea
Red Sea
Mecca
0
250
500 miles
0
250
500 kilometers
N
W
E
S
Safavid Empire under Shah Abbas, 1587–1629
Ottoman Empire, 1566

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

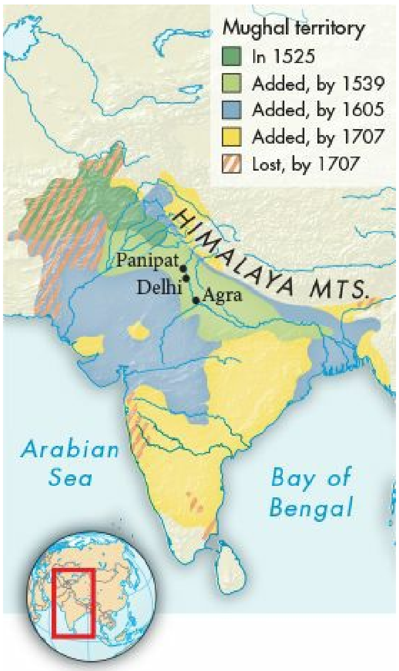
MAP 17.2 The Safavid Empire, 1587–1629 In the late sixteenth century the power of the Safavid kingdom of Persia rested on its strong military force, its Shi'a Muslim faith, and its extraordinarily rich trade in rugs and pottery. Many of the cities on the map, such as Tabriz, Qum, and Shiraz, were great rug-weaving centers.

Conflict between the Ottomans and the Safavids was not an even match. The Safavids did not have as many people or as much wealth as the Ottomans and continually had to defend against encroachments on their western border. Still, they were able to attract some of the Turks in Ottoman lands who felt that their government had shifted too far from its nomadic roots. After Shah Abbas, Safavid power was sapped by civil war between tribal factions vying for control of the court.

The Mughal Empire in India

Of the three great Islamic empires of the early modern world, the **Mughal** Empire of India was the largest, wealthiest, and most populous. Extending over 1.2 million square miles at the end of the seventeenth century, with a population between 100 and 150 million, and with fabulous wealth and resources, the Mughal Empire surpassed the other two by a wide margin. In the sixteenth century only the Ming Dynasty in China could compare.

Mughal A term used to refer to the Muslim empire of India, which was the largest, wealthiest, and most populous of the Islamic empires of the early modern world.



Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

The Mughal Empire, 1526–1857

In 1504 Babur (r. 1483–1530), a Turkish ruler forced out of a small territory in Central Asia, captured Kabul and established a kingdom in Afghanistan. An adventurer who claimed descent from Chinggis Khan and Timur, Babur moved southward in search of resources to restore his fortunes. In 1526, with a force of only twelve thousand men equipped with firearms, Babur defeated the sultan of Delhi at Panipat. Babur's capture of the cities of Agra and Delhi, key fortresses of the north, paved the way for further conquests in northern India. Although many of his soldiers wished to return north with their spoils, Babur decided to stay in India.

A gifted writer, Babur wrote an autobiography in Turkish that recounts his military campaigns, describes places and people he encountered, reports his difficulties giving up wine, and shows his wide-ranging interests in everything from fruit and swimming to a Turkish general who excelled at leapfrog. He was not particularly impressed by India, as can be inferred from this description in his memoirs:

> Hindustan is a country which has few pleasures to recommend it. The people are not handsome. They have no idea of the charms of friendly society, of frankly mixing together, or familiar discourse. They have no genius, no comprehension of mind, no politeness of manner, no kindness or fellow-feeling, no ingenuity or mechanical invention in planning or executing their handicraft works, no skill or knowledge in design or architecture; they have no horses, no good flesh, no grapes or muskmelons, no good fruits, no ice or cold water, no good food or bread in their bazaars, no baths or colleges, no candles, no torches, not a candlestick.[1]

During the reign of Babur's son Humayun (r. 1530–1540 and 1555–1556), the Mughals lost most of their territories in Afghanistan. Humayun went into temporary exile in Persia, where he developed a deep appreciation for Persian art and literature. The reign of Humayun's son Akbar (r. 1556–1605) may well have been the greatest in the history of India. A boy of thirteen when he succeeded to the throne, Akbar pursued expansionist policies. Under his dynamic leadership, the Mughal state took definitive form and encompassed most of the subcontinent north of the Godavari River. No kingdom or coalition of kingdoms could long resist Akbar's armies. The once-independent states of northern India were forced into a centralized political system under the sole authority of the Mughal emperor.

Akbar replaced Turkish with Persian as the official language of the Mughal Empire, and Persian remained the official language until the British replaced it with English in 1835. To govern this vast region, Akbar developed an administrative bureaucracy centered on four co-equal ministers: finance; the army and intelligence; the judiciary and religious patronage; and the imperial household, whose jurisdiction included roads, bridges, and infrastructure throughout the empire. Under Akbar's Hindu finance minister, Raja Todar Mal, a uniform system of taxes was put in place. In the provinces imperial governors were appointed by and responsible solely to the emperor. Whereas the Ottoman sultans and Safavid shahs made extensive use of slaves acquired from non-Muslim lands for military and administrative positions, Akbar used the services of royal princes, nobles, and warrior-aristocrats. Initially these men were

Muslims from Central Asia, but to reduce their influence, Akbar vigorously recruited Persians and Hindus. No single ethnic or religious faction could challenge the emperor.

Akbar’s descendants extended the Mughal Empire further. His son Jahangir (r. 1605–1628) consolidated Mughal rule in Bengal. (See “Global Viewpoints: Mughal and French Views on Priorities for Monarchs,” at right.) Jahangir’s son Shah Jahan (r. 1628–1658) launched fresh territorial expansion. Faced with dangerous revolts by the Muslims in Ahmadnagar and the resistance of the newly arrived Portuguese in Bengal, Shah Jahan not only crushed this opposition but also strengthened his northwestern frontier. Shah Jahan’s son Aurangzeb (r. 1658–1707), unwilling to wait for his father to die, deposed him and confined him for years in a small cell. A puritanically devout and strictly orthodox Muslim, as well as a skillful general and a clever diplomat, Aurangzeb ruled more of India than did any previous Mughal emperor, having extended the realm deeper into south India. His reign, however, also marked the beginning of the empire’s decline. His non-Muslim subjects were not pleased with his religious zealotry, and his military campaigns were costly. In the south resistance to Mughal rule led to major uprisings. (For more on Aurangzeb’s rule, see “Non-Muslims Under Muslim Rule.”)

GLOBAL VIEWPOINTS

Mughal and French Views on Priorities for Monarchs

Jahangir, the fourth Mughal emperor, was as much a patron of the arts as a military commander. Like his great-grandfather Babur, he wrote a memoir. Jahangir's representation of himself and his actions in the memoir can be compared to that of the French king Louis XIV, less than a century later, whose advice to his heir has been preserved.

Jahangir's *Memoirs*

■ At that period when I took my departure from Lahore for Agra, on the occasion recently described, it happily occurred to me to direct that the different landholders on that route should plant at every town and village, and every stage and halting place, all the way from Lahore to Agra, mulberry and other large and lofty trees affording shade, but particularly those with broad leaves and wide-spreading branches, in order that to all time to come the way-worn and weary traveler might find under their shadow repose and shelter from the scorching rays of the sun during the summer heats. . . . And, lastly, at the passage of every river, whether large or small, convenient bridges were erected, so that the industrious traveler might be able to pursue his objects without obstruction or delay. . . .

With regard to the maxims which should govern the policy of sovereign princes, it has been said, that to resolve without the concurrence of men of experience is the most fallacious of proceedings; but I contend, nevertheless, that there is no safety in council, unless founded in rectitude of mind. I maintain, that if we entrust the concerns of the state to the opinions of another, we give to the Almighty an associate in the secrets of the heart. . . . He that conducts the destinies of his country by the judgment of another, must not forget that he will nevertheless be himself responsible, at the awful day of account, for all the exactions, the tyranny, the unjust decisions, violence, and oppression to which the people may have been exposed, through such imprudent delegation. It is from the reigning sovereign that the awful reckoning will be required, not from those who have been his advisers.

Louis XIV's *Memoirs*

■ The cleverest private individuals take advice from other clever people about their little concerns. What should be the rule for kings who have in their hands the public weal, and whose resolutions harm or benefit the whole earth? Decisions of such importance should never be formed, if possible, without calling upon all the most enlightened, reasonable and wise among our subjects. . . . Besides, our lofty position in some way separates us from our people to whom our ministers are closer, and are consequently able to see a thousand things of which we know nothing, but on which nevertheless we must make up our minds and take measures. Add to this their age, experience, deliberations, and their greater liberty to obtain information and suggestions from their inferiors, who in their turn gather them from others, step by step down to the lowest.

But when on important occasions they have reported to us all the aspects and all the opposing reasons, all that is done elsewhere in similar cases, all that has been done formerly, and all that might be done today, it is incumbent upon us, my son, to choose what must be actually done. And in regard to that choice I will make bold to tell you that if we do not lack good sense or courage there is no other who can make a better one than us.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

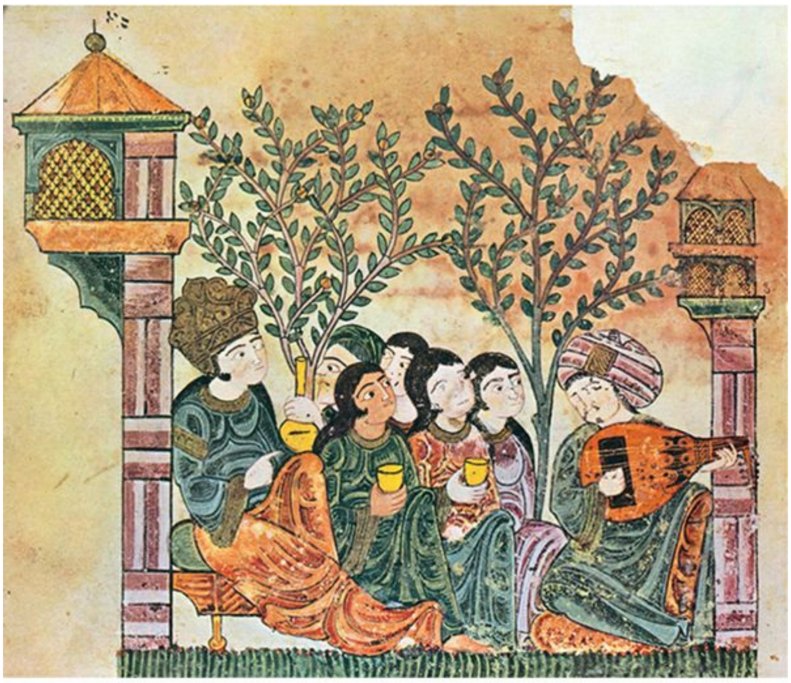
1. Are you more impressed by the similarities between these two monarchs' comments on consultation with advisers or by the differences? What might account for the similarities and the differences?
2. What can you infer about the personalities of these two monarchs from their remarks?
3. Jahangir describes in great detail the improvements to the roads in his empire. Why would a ruler take pride in the improvement of roads?

Sources: David Price, trans., *Memoirs of the Emperor Jahangueir* (London: The Oriental Translation Committee, 1929), pp. 90–91, slightly modified; Herbert Wilson, trans., *A King's Lessons in Statecraft: Louis XIV: Letters to His Heirs* (New York: Albert and Charles Boni, 1925), pp. 63–64.

Cultural Flowering

What cultural advances occurred under the rule of the Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal Empires?

All three Islamic empires presided over extraordinary artistic and intellectual flowering in everything from carpetmaking to architecture and gardening, from geography and astronomy to medicine. At the same time, new religious practices (and conflicts) emerged, and people found new outlets for socializing and exchanging ideas. Artistic and intellectual advances spread from culture to culture, probably because of the common Persian influence on the Turks since the tenth century. This exchange was also aided by shared languages, especially Arabic, Turkish, and Persian. Persian was used as the administrative language by the Mughals in India, and Arabic was a lingua franca of the entire region because of its centrality in Islam. In Ottoman lands both Persian and Arabic were literary languages, but Turkish slowly became the lingua franca of the realm.



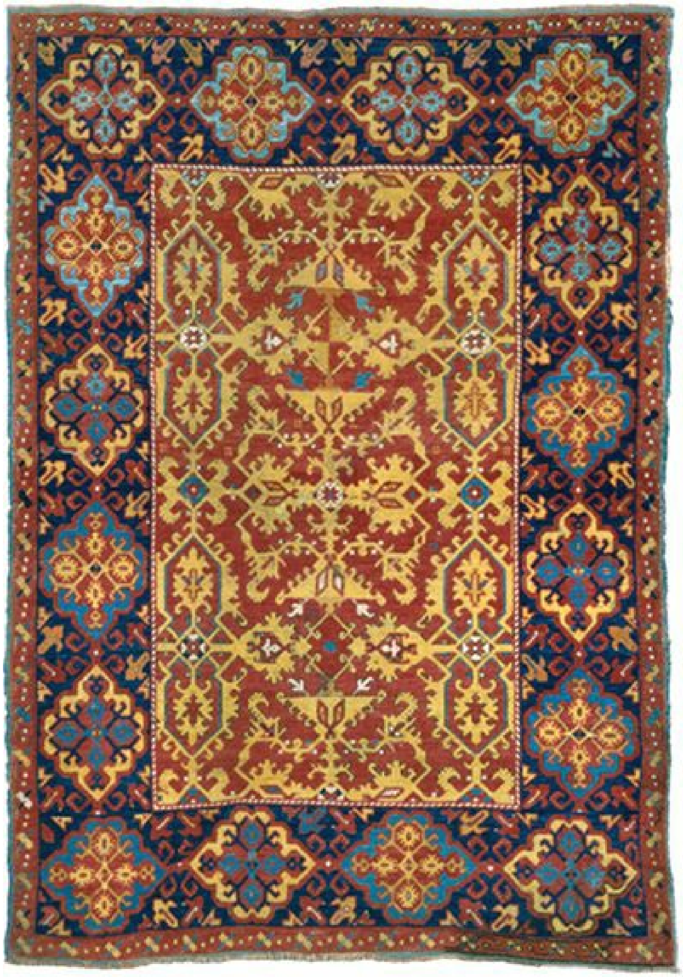
Granger, NYC — All rights reserved.

Music in a Garden This illustration of a courtly romance depicts several women in a garden intently listening to a musician, with cups of a beverage in their hands.

The Arts

One of the arts all three empires shared was carpetmaking. Carpet designs and weaving techniques demonstrate both cultural integration and local distinctiveness. Turkic migrants carried their weaving traditions with them as they moved but also readily adopted new motifs, especially from Persia. In Safavid Persia, Shah Abbas was determined to improve his country's export trade and built the small cottage business of carpet weaving into a national industry. In the capital city of Isfahan alone, factories employed more than twenty-five thousand weavers who produced woolen carpets, brocades, and silks of brilliant color, design, and quality. Women and children were often employed as weavers, especially of the most expensive rugs, because their smaller hands could tie tinier knots.

Another art that spread from Persia to both Ottoman and Mughal lands was miniature painting, especially for book illustration. There was an interplay between carpets and miniature painting. Naturalistic depictions of lotus blossoms, peonies, chrysanthemums, tulips, carnations, birds, and even dragons appear in both book illustrations and carpets.



Lotto type carpet, Ottoman Turkey, 17th-century C.E. Wool [warp, weft and pile]. The James F. Ballard Collection, Gift of James F. Ballard, 1922 [22.100.112]/The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New York, USA/Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Image source: Art Resource, NY

Turkish Rug This small carpet (approximately 5½ by 4 feet) was made in seventeenth-century Turkey. Like most other rugs of the region, it is made of hand-knotted wool and features symmetrical geometric designs.

In Mughal India, as throughout the Muslim world, books were regarded as precious objects. Time, talent, and expensive materials went into their production, and they were highly coveted because they reflected wealth, learning, and power. Akbar reportedly possessed twenty-four thousand books when he died. The historian Abu'l-Fazl described Akbar's library and love of books:

> His Majesty's library is divided into several parts. . . . Prose works, poetical works, Hindi, Persian, Greek, Kashmirian, Arabic, are all separately placed. In this order they are also inspected. Experienced people bring them daily and read them before His Majesty, who hears every book from beginning to end . . . and rewards the readers with presents of cash either in gold or silver, according to the number of leaves read out by them. . . . There are no historical facts of past ages, or curiosities of science, or interesting points of philosophy, with which His Majesty, a leader of impartial sages, is unacquainted.[2]

City and Palace Building

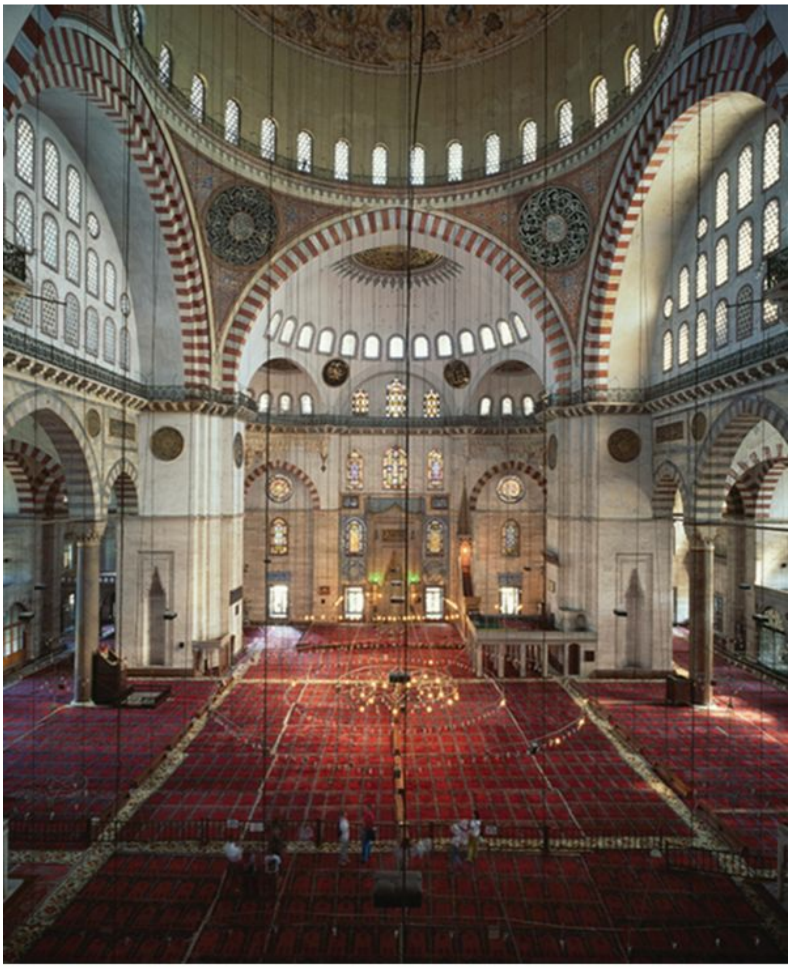
In all three empires strong rulers built capital cities and imperial palaces as visible expressions of dynastic majesty. Suleiman "the Magnificent" used his fabulous wealth and thousands of servants to adorn Istanbul with palaces, mosques, schools, and libraries. The building of hospitals, roads, and bridges and the reconstruction of the water systems of the great pilgrimage sites at Mecca and Jerusalem benefited his subjects. Safavid Persia and Mughal India produced rulers with similar ambitions.

The greatest builder under the Ottomans was Mimar Sinan (1491–1588), a Greek-born devshirme recruit who rose to become imperial architect under Suleiman. A contemporary of Michelangelo, Sinan designed 312 public buildings, including mosques, schools, hospitals, public baths, palaces, and burial chapels. His masterpieces, the Shehzade and Suleimaniye Mosques in Istanbul, were designed to maximize the space under the dome.

Shah Abbas made his capital, Isfahan, the jewel of the Safavid Empire. He had his architects place a polo ground in the center and surrounded it with palaces, mosques, and bazaars. In the bazaar one could find splendid rugs, pottery and fine china, metalwork of exceptionally high quality, and silks and velvets of stunning weave and design. A city of perhaps 750,000 people, Isfahan also contained 162 mosques, 48 schools where future members of the ulama learned the sacred Muslim sciences, 273 public baths, and the vast imperial palace. Mosques were richly decorated with blue tile. Private houses had their own garden courts, and public gardens, pools, and parks adorned the wide streets.

Among the Mughal emperors, Shah Jahan had the most sophisticated interest in architecture. Because his capital at Agra was cramped, in 1639 he decided to found a new capital city at Delhi. In the design and layout of the buildings, Persian ideas predominated. The walled palace-fortress alone extended over 125 acres. Built partly of red sandstone, partly of marble, it included private chambers for the emperor; mansions for the wives, widows, and concubines of the imperial household; huge audience rooms for the conduct of public business; baths; and vast gardens filled with flowers, trees, and thirty silver fountains spraying water. In 1650, with living quarters for guards, military officials, merchants, dancing girls, scholars, and hordes of cooks and servants, the palace-fortress housed fifty-seven thousand people. It also boasted a covered public bazaar.

Dinodia/Bridgeman Images



Murat Tander/Lithium Collection/age-fotostock

Two Masterpieces of Islamic Architecture Istanbul’s Suleimaniye Mosque, designed by Sinan and commissioned by Suleiman I, was finished in 1557. Its interior (bottom) is especially spacious. The Taj Mahal, built about a century later in Agra in northern India, is perhaps the finest example of Mughal architecture. Its white marble exterior is decorated with Arabic inscriptions and floral designs.

For his palace, Shah Jahan ordered the construction of the Peacock Throne. This famous piece, encrusted with emeralds, diamonds, pearls, and rubies, took seven years to fashion and cost the equivalent of $5 million. It served as the imperial throne of India until 1739, when the Persian warrior Nadir Shah seized it as plunder and carried it to Persia.

Shah Jahan’s most enduring monument is the Taj Mahal. Between 1631 and 1648 twenty thousand workers toiled over the construction of this memorial in Agra to Shah Jahan’s favorite wife, who died giving birth to their fifteenth child. One of the most beautiful structures in the world, the Taj Mahal is both an expression of love and a superb architectural blending of Islamic and Indian culture.

Gardens

Many of the architectural masterpieces of this age had splendid gardens attached to them. Gardens represent a distinctive and highly developed feature of Persian culture. They commonly were walled, with a pool in the center and geometrically laid-out flowering plants, especially roses. Identified with paradise in Arab tradition, gardens served not only as centers of prayer and meditation but also as places of leisure and revelry. After the incorporation of Persia into the caliphate in the seventh century, formal gardening spread west and east through the Islamic world, as illustrated by the magnificent gardens of Muslim Spain, southern Italy, and, later, southeastern Europe. When Babur established the Mughal Dynasty in India, he adapted the Persian garden to the warmer southern climate. Gardens were laid out near palaces, mosques, shrines, and mausoleums, including the Taj Mahal, which had four water channels symbolizing the four rivers of paradise.

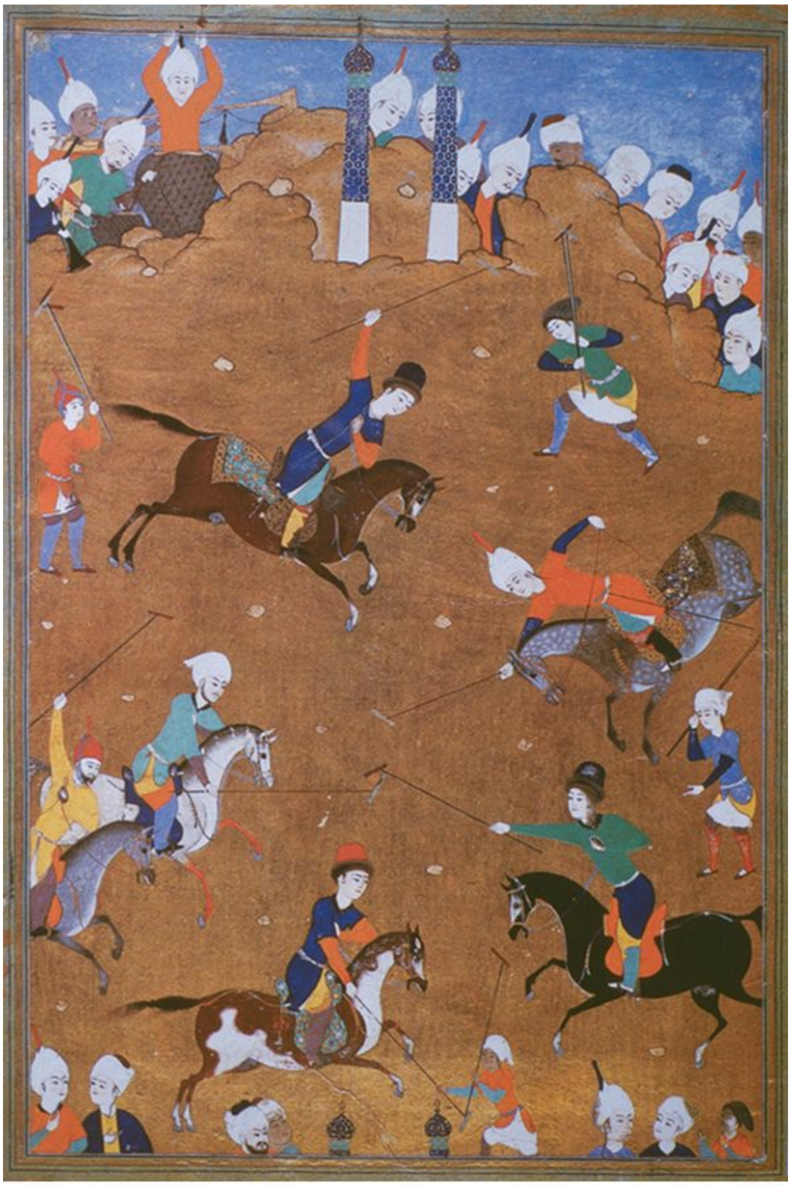


Photo by Roland and Sabrina Michaud/akg-images

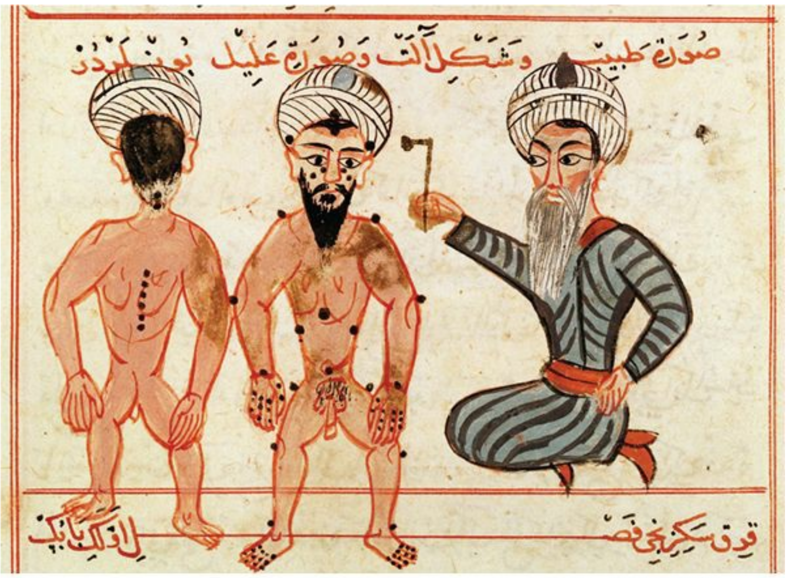
Polo Two teams of four on horseback ride back and forth on a field measuring 200 by 400 yards, trying to hit a 4½-ounce wooden ball with a 4-foot mallet through the opponent's goal. Because a typical match involves many high-speed collisions among the horses, each player has to maintain a string of expensive ponies in order to change mounts several times during the game. Students of the history of sports believe the game originated in Persia, as shown in this sixteenth-century miniature, and then spread to India, China, and Japan. Brought from India to England, where it became very popular among the aristocracy in the nineteenth century, polo is a fine example of cross-cultural influences.

Gardens, of course, are seasonal. To remind themselves of paradise during the cold winter months, rulers, city people, and nomads ordered Persian carpets, most of which feature floral patterns and have formal garden designs.

Intellectual Advances and Religious Trends

Between 1400 and 1800 the culture of the Islamic empires developed in many directions. Particularly notable were new movements within Islam as well as advances in mathematics, geography, astronomy, and medicine. Building on the knowledge of earlier Islamic writers and stimulated by Ottoman naval power, the geographer and cartographer Piri Reis created the *Book of the Sea* (1521), which contained 129 chapters, each with a map incorporating all Islamic (and Western) knowledge of the seas and navigation and describing harbors, tides, dangerous rocks and shores, and storm areas. In the field of astronomy, Takiyuddin Mehmet (1521–1585) built an observatory at Istanbul. His *Instruments of the Observatory* catalogued astronomical instruments and described an astronomical clock that fixed the location of heavenly bodies with greater precision than ever before.

There were also advances in medicine. Under Suleiman the imperial palace itself became a center of medical science, and the large number of hospitals established in Istanbul and throughout the empire testifies to his support for medical research and his concern for the sick. Abi Ahmet Celebi (1436–1523), the chief physician of the empire, produced a study on kidney and bladder stones. Recurrent outbreaks of the plague posed a challenge for physicians in Muslim lands. Muhammad had once said not to go to a country where an epidemic existed but also not to leave a place because an epidemic broke out. As a consequence, when European cities began enforcing quarantines to control the spread of the plague, early Muslim rulers dismissed such efforts. By the sixteenth century, however, a better understanding of contagion led to a redefinition of the proper response to a plague epidemic and allowed for leaving the city in search of clean air.



Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, France/Archives Charmet/Bridgeman Images

Illustrated Medical Manual The Turkish physician Serafeddin Sabuncuoglu (1385–1470) wrote a treatise of surgery in Turkish, with illustrations, in 1465. This page shows a physician cauterizing leprosy lesions.

In the realm of religion, the rulers of all three empires drew legitimacy from their support for Islam. The Sunni-Shi’a split between the Ottomans and Safavids led to efforts to define and enforce religious orthodoxy on both sides. For the Safavids this entailed suppressing Sufi movements and Sunnis, even marginalizing — sometimes massacring — the original Qizilbash warriors, who had come to be seen as politically disruptive. Sectarian conflicts within Islam were not as pronounced in Mughal lands, perhaps because Muslims were greatly outnumbered by non-Muslims, mostly Hindus.

Sufi fraternities thrived throughout the Muslim world in this era, even when the states tried to limit them. In India Sufi orders also influenced non-Muslims. The mystical Bhakti movement among Hindus involved dances, poems, and songs reminiscent of Sufi practice. The development of the new religion of the Sikhs (SEEKS) was also influenced by Sufis. The Sikhs traced themselves back to a teacher in the sixteenth century who argued that God did not distinguish between Muslims and Hindus but saw everyone as his children. Sikhs rejected the caste system (division of society into hereditary groups) and forbade alcohol and tobacco, and men did not cut their hair, covering it instead with a turban. The Sikh movement was most successful in northwest India, where Sikh men armed themselves to defend their communities.

Despite all the signs of cultural vitality in the three Islamic empires, none of them adopted the printing press or went through the sorts of cultural expansion associated with it in China and Europe. Until 1729 the Ottoman authorities prohibited printing books in Turkish or Arabic (Jews, Armenians, and Greeks could establish presses and print in their own languages). Printing was not banned in Mughal India, but neither did the technology spread, even after Jesuit missionaries printed Bibles in Indian languages beginning in the 1550s. The copying of manuscripts was a well-established practice, and those who made their living this way sometimes organized to keep competition at bay. It also needs to be noted that by the end of this period, scientific knowledge was not keeping up with advances made in Europe (see “The Scientific Revolution” in Chapter 19).

Coffeehouses and Their Social Impact

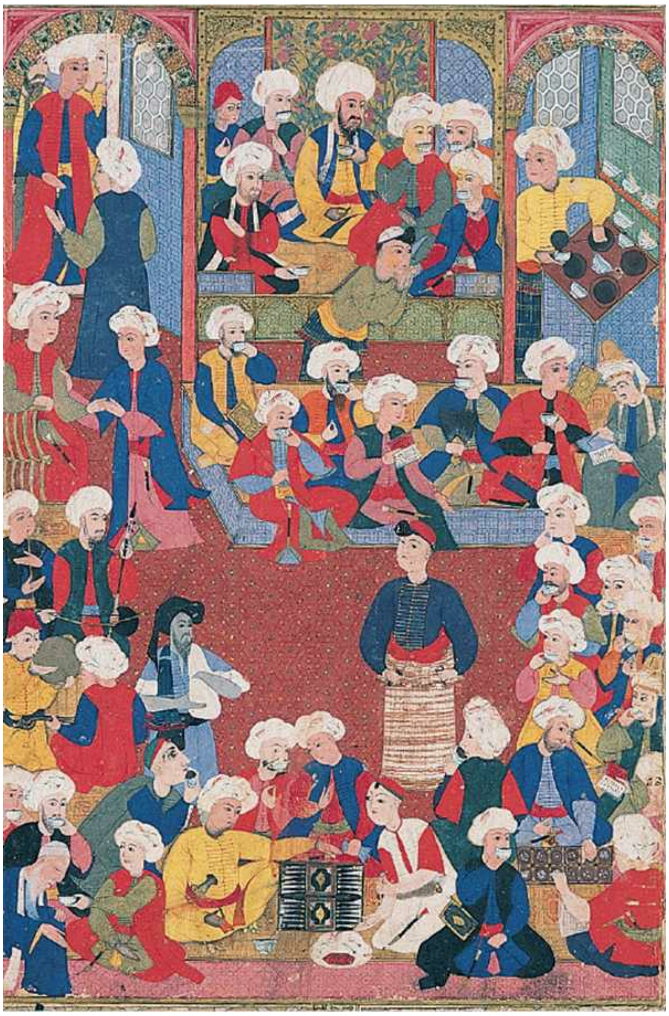
In the mid-fifteenth century a new social convention spread throughout the Islamic world — drinking coffee. Arab writers trace the origins of coffee drinking to Yemen Sufis, who sought a trancelike concentration on God to the exclusion of everything else and found that coffee helped them stay awake. Before long, coffee was being used as a business lubricant — an extension of hospitality to a potential buyer in a shop. Merchants carried the Yemenite practice to Mecca in about 1490. From Mecca, where pilgrims were introduced to it, coffee drinking spread to Egypt and Syria. In 1555 two Syrians opened a coffeehouse in Istanbul. (See “Analyzing the Evidence: Coffee Drinking,” above.)

Coffeehouses provided a place for conversation and male sociability; there a man could entertain his friends cheaply and more informally than at home. But coffeehouses encountered religious and governmental opposition: some people argued that coffee was intoxicating, making it analogous to wine, which was prohibited to Muslims, and others asserted that political discussion in coffeehouses could lead to sedition. On the other hand, the coffee trade was a major source of profit that local notables sought to control.

Although debate over the morality of coffeehouses continued through the sixteenth century, their eventual acceptance represented a revolution in Islamic life: socializing was no longer confined to the home. In the seventeenth century coffee and coffeehouses spread to Europe. (For reaction to another new product that spread quickly despite opposition, see “Analyzing the Evidence: Katib Chelebi on Tobacco,” above.)

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

Coffee Drinking



© The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Ireland/Bridgeman Images

Coffee beans are native to east Africa and were first grown in Ethiopia. They were brought to Yemen by Sufis in the fifteenth century. There the red beans were boiled in water to produce a hot beverage, which was appreciated for its ability to help participants stay awake during long rituals. By the sixteenth century coffee drinking had spread to other Islamic lands. By then people had learned to roast the beans and grind them finely before adding hot water.

In 1511 some conservative imams in Mecca ruled that coffee should be banned because of its stimulating effects, but the Ottoman sultan Suleiman I overturned their ruling in 1524, helping spread the custom of coffee drinking. As a caffeinated drink, coffee was much like tea. Both proved very popular even though they provided no calories. Because alcohol was forbidden to Muslims, coffee in some ways took its place, providing occasions for socializing either in coffeehouses or in homes or palaces.

This painting by an unknown Ottoman artist is in the Persian miniature style, which is noted for its bright colors and finely drawn details. Part of an album of painting and calligraphy on vellum (fine parchment), the image depicts a banquet where coffee drinking is part of the entertainment. The guests of honor are sitting in a recessed alcove, entertained by three musicians. An attendant in the upper right has a set of cups, and elsewhere in the picture men are shown sipping from cups.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. How many individuals are shown sipping coffee? What other activities are depicted?
2. How does the artist convey differences in the ages of those drinking coffee?
3. Are there any women in the picture, or are the figures all men? How do you know?
4. Does this picture suggest any reasons why coffee became a popular drink?

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

Katib Chelebi on Tobacco

Katib Chelebi (1609–1657) was an Ottoman civil servant who spent much of his time as an accountant for the Turkish army, accompanying it on several important campaigns. Over time, he became passionate about learning and pursued not only Islamic law but also ancient Greek philosophy, geography, and modern European sciences. He wrote several important books, including a bibliographical encyclopedia. The book of essays from which the following extract comes also discusses such contemporary issues as coffee, singing, opium, shaking hands, bowing, and bribery.

Sometime in the latter half of the ninth century of the Hijra [in the fifteen century], after some Spanish ships had discovered the New World, the Portuguese and English were exploring its shores to find a passage from the Eastern to the Western Ocean. They came to an island* close to the mainland, called in the Atlas “Gineya.” Due to the negative impact of the humidity of the sea air on his nature, a doctor from the crew of the ship suffered from what appeared to be a lymphatic disorder. While he was looking for a cure, employing hot and dry things in accordance with the dictum “Cure is in the opposite,” his ship arrived at the aforementioned island, and he saw that some sort of a leaf was burning. Smelling its scent, he understood that it was a hot scent, and he started sucking the smoke through a pipe-like instrument. As he benefited from this, he collected a large quantity of that leaf and used it while he stayed there. The people on the ship, saying “This is a beneficial cure” and following his example, collected a lot of the leaf. They start smoking this way one after another. After the ship arrived in England, smoking spread to France and other places; without knowing about its origin and thinking that it can be used leisurely, people started smoking tobacco. Most of them became addicted and considered it a stimulating drug. As it became a common phenomena in the East and the West, it remained unhindered by prohibition.

It appeared around 1010 A.H. [1601 C.E.]. Since then various preachers mentioned it, and many learned men wrote treatises; some argued that it is religiously prohibited, and others disapproved. Those who were addicted, on the other hand, replied to these with their own treatises. After a while, in the court of the sultan [that is, in Istanbul], Şeyhi Ibrahim Efendi, the surgeon of the Palace, showed extreme care for the topic and talked about it at length and preached in the public seminar of Sultan Mehemmed Mosque and hung on the wall copies of the counsel and religious opinion [*fatwa*] in vain. As he talked about it, people smoked more and became more obstinate. Seeing it doesn't help, he gave in.

Later, towards the end of his reign, Sultan Murad IV [1612–1640] banned coffee houses in order to close down the door of evil acts and tobacco because it caused some fires [in the city]. When people disregarded the prohibition, the power of the Sultan necessitated reprimanding those who by smoking performed the sin of acting against the imperial order. Occasionally, [due to] the sultan's ruthlessness in suppression and in accordance with the dictum "Mankind craves what is forbidden," people's desire and craving to smoke equally increased. Many men were sent to the realm of nothingness due to this crime. At the encampments on the way to the Baghdad campaign, while fifteen to twenty leading soldiers were being executed in the presence of the sultan with extreme torment with the accusation of smoking tobacco, they still carried little pipes, some under their shirts, and some in their pockets and smoked at every opportunity. In Istanbul, there was no end to those who smoked in the barracks and public latrines. Even under such harsh suppression, those who smoked were more than those who didn't. After he [Sultan Murad IV] passed away, at times it was prohibited, and at times it was permitted, and finally, during the time of the late grand mufti Bahai Effendi issued a fatwa ruling that tobacco was permissible; among the people smoking became prevalent and popular once more. Yet, thanks to the fact that the high imperial order chastised the addicts from time to time, some quit. However, in all of the fourth of the world that is inhabited it was being smoked. Such is the story of tobacco. Now, let's consider the contexts for and characteristics of smoking in the form of a few arguments:

The first argument is that people can be prevented through prohibition and can quit tobacco. Since habit is second nature, we need to push aside this possibility. Addicts cannot be made to quit this way. . . .

The second discussion concerns the question of whether tobacco is good or bad with respect to reason. We can neglect the approval of it by addicts, and the intelligent accepted it as bad; either the judgment of good or bad have to be determined by both reason and religious law. . . .

The third argument is about its benefits and harmful effects. There is no doubt that it is financially harmful. However, since it becomes one of the most essential items for the addict, he doesn't mind its financial harm. Its harm on the body is well attested. Since tobacco pollutes the essence of air breathed by people, it is physically harmful.

The fourth argument is whether or not it is an innovation according to religion. It is an innovation according to the religious law, since it appeared in recent times. Moreover, it cannot be argued that it is an acceptable innovation. It is also rationally an innovation, because smoking hasn't been seen or heard of by the intelligent since the time of Adam. . . .

The fifth argument concerns if it is religiously abominable or not. There is no way to deny that it is abominable in reason and in religion; everyone has accepted this argument. Since the scent of tobacco smoke and the scent of its leaves are not abominable in themselves, for it to be accepted as abominable, its excessive use is a condition.[†] . . .

The sixth argument is about its being unlawful or not. To produce a judgment on a topic through independent reasoning is accepted as a method in books of religious law. There are sufficient conditions collected to proscribe tobacco through an analysis of available proof. Yet it is preferable not to proclaim it forbidden. It is recommended to accept it as religiously permissible in order to protect people from insisting on sin by doing forbidden acts through the application of a legal principle.

The seventh argument is whether or not it is religiously permissible. Since tobacco appeared in recent times, it is not clearly considered and mentioned in books of religious law. Consequently, following the dictum, "In things permissibility is inherent," smoking is considered as permissible and legitimate.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What do you learn about social life in the Ottoman Empire from this essay?
2. What can you infer about the sorts of arguments that were made by Islamic jurists in Katib Chelebi's day?
3. How open-minded was Katib Chelebi? What evidence from the text led you to your conclusion?

Source: *Mecmu'a-i Ulum* [Journal of Sciences] 1.2 (November 30, 1879): 79–125, trans. Selim S. Kuru.

[*] Some learned people argue that since the name of the island meant "sheet [*tabaka*]," a sheet of tobacco is named after that. However, this claim couldn't be verified.

[†] For example, as long as one doesn't drink boza [a slightly intoxicating drink made from millet] to the level that he gets drunk it is not religiously prohibited.

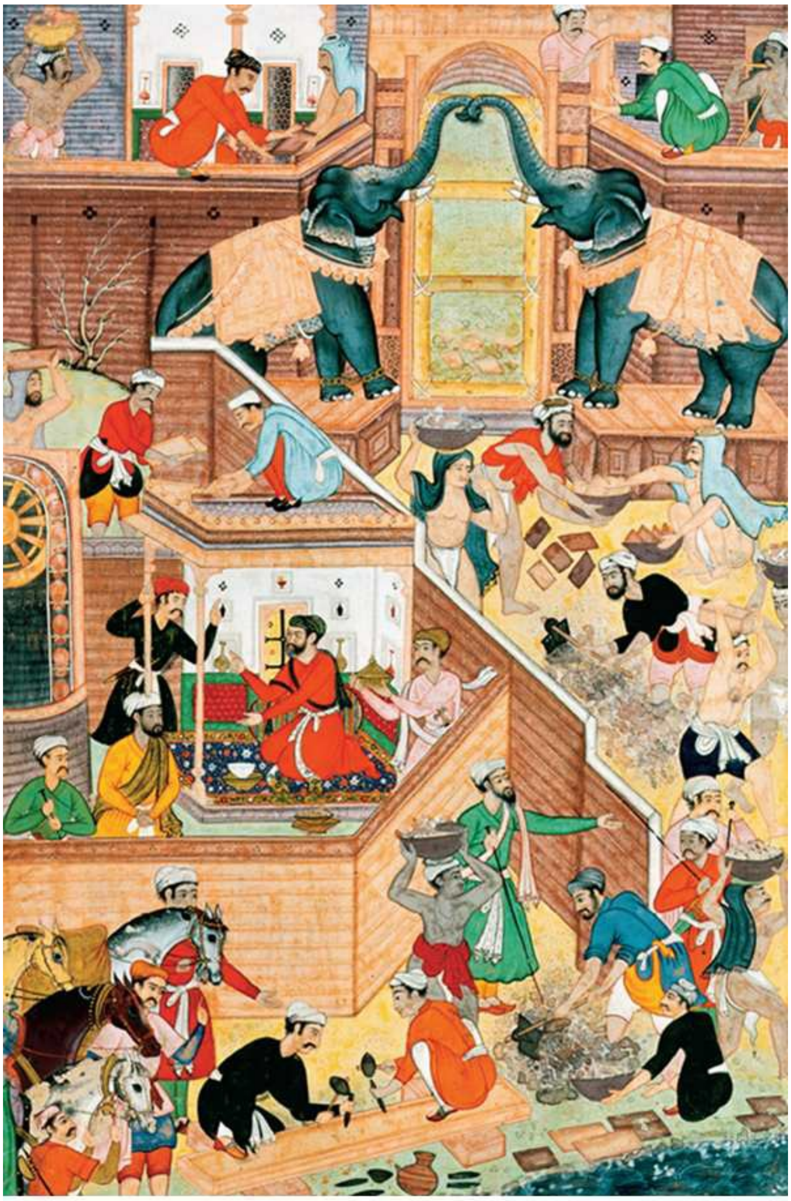
Non-Muslims Under Muslim Rule

How did Christians, Jews, Hindus, and other non-Muslims fare under these Islamic states?

Drawing on Qur’anic teachings, Muslims had long practiced a religious tolerance unknown in Christian Europe. Muslim rulers for the most part guaranteed the lives and property of Christians and Jews in exchange for their promise of obedience and the payment of a poll tax. In the case of the Ottomans, this tolerance was extended not only to the Christians and Jews who had been living under Muslim rule for centuries but also to the Serbs, Bosnians, Croats, and other Orthodox Christians in the newly conquered Balkans. In 1454 Rabbi Isaac Sarfati sent a letter to the Jews in the Rhineland, Swabia, Moravia, and Hungary, urging them to move to Turkey because of the favorable treatment there. A massive migration to Ottoman lands followed. When Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain expelled the Jews in 1492 and later, many migrated to the Ottoman Empire.

The Safavid authorities made efforts to convert Armenian Christians in the Caucasus, and many seem to have embraced Islam, some more voluntarily than others. Nevertheless, the Armenian Christian Church retained its vitality, and under the Safavids Armenian Christians were prominent merchants in long-distance trade. (See “Thinking Like a Historian: Forced Relocation of Armenians to Persia,” page 486.)

Babur and his successors acquired even more non-Muslim subjects with their conquests in India, which included not only Hindus but also substantial numbers of Jains, Zoroastrians, Christians, and Sikhs. Over time, the number of Indians who converted to Islam increased, but the Mughal rulers did not force conversion. Akbar went the furthest in promoting Muslim-Hindu accommodation. He celebrated important Hindu festivals, such as Diwali, the festival of lights, and he wore his uncut hair in a turban as a concession to Indian practice. Also, Akbar twice married Hindu princesses, one of whom became the mother of his heir, Jahangir, and he appointed the Spanish Jesuit Antonio Monserrate (1536–1600) as tutor to one of his sons. Eventually, Hindus totaled 30 percent of the imperial bureaucracy.



Victoria & Albert Museum, London, UK/Bridgeman Images

Emperor Akbar in the City of Fatehpur Sikri In 1569 Akbar founded the city of Fatehpur Sikri (the City of Victory) to honor the Muslim holy man Sheik Salim Chishti, who had foretold the birth of Akbar's son and heir Jahangir. Akbar is shown here seated on the cushion in the center overseeing the construction of the city. The image is contained in the *Akbarnama*, a book of illustrations Akbar commissioned to officially chronicle his reign. (Victoria & Albert Museum, London, UK/Bridgeman Images)

Some of Akbar's successors, above all Aurangzeb, were less tolerant. Aurangzeb appointed censors of public morals in important cities to enforce Islamic laws against gambling, prostitution, drinking, and the use of narcotics. He forbade sati — the self-immolation of widows on their husbands' funeral pyres — and the castration of boys to be sold as eunuchs. He also abolished all taxes not authorized by Islamic law.

Aurangzeb’s reversal of Akbar’s religious tolerance and cultural cosmopolitanism extended further. He ordered the destruction of some Hindu temples and tried to curb Sikhism. He also required Hindus to pay higher customs duties than Muslims. Out of fidelity to Islamic law, he even criticized his mother’s tomb, the Taj Mahal: “The lawfulness of a solid construction over a grave is doubtful, and there can be no doubt about the extravagance involved.”[3] Aurangzeb’s attempts to enforce rigid Islamic norms proved highly unpopular and aroused resistance that weakened Mughal rule.

THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN

Forced Relocation of Armenians to Persia

Many times over the course of history, people have been forced to move, often by new conquerors. Such was the fate of the Christian Armenian population when in 1603 Shah Abbas of Persia captured much of Armenia from the Ottomans. One group of Armenian merchants, moved from the town of Julfa to a new suburb of Isfahan, named New Julfa, fared relatively well, in part because Shah Abbas employed them as royal merchants and financiers.

1 **Iskandar Munshi, a Persian account of the Armenian deportation, 1616.** The court historian Iskandar Munshi (ca. 1560–ca. 1652) not surprisingly put a positive spin on Shah Abbas's deportation of the Armenians.

■ When [the Ottoman commander] Jegal-oglu reached Erivan, the Shah was camped near the . . . River. From there he dispatched Maqsud Sultan Kangarluy, . . . to transfer the civilian population of . . . Julfa to Isfahan. . . . There they were allotted land along the banks of the Zayanda, and houses with small gardens gradually grew up there; the properties were exempt from extraordinary taxes. Today, there are three thousand families living there, safe from the vicissitudes of fortune; the beauty of their new home had caused them to forget their former one.

2 **Arakel of Tabriz, an Armenian account of the deportation, 1658.** The Armenian historian Arakel of Tabriz (d. ca. 1670) presents the forced migration of perhaps a half million Armenians as a tragedy.

■ On the way, when they reached the small town of Julfa, the large and diverse population of the town, who had prepared themselves earlier, came out to greet the shah, as befitting a king. Old and young dressed and equipped, robed in magnificent garments of golden cloth, walked in a procession to greet the shah. Young lads carried sweet and precious wine in golden cups. With lit candles, frankincense and incense, and singing fine hymns, Armenian priests walked in front and sang with beautiful voices. . . .

After accomplishing all the tasks and undertakings that he had begun, the shah, together with his entire army, left Erevan and advanced toward Kars. . . . There, he informed his confidants about a plan that he had had in mind for a long time: to deport the Christian population and to destroy the land of Armenia. . . . Not one soul was to be left behind, be he a Christian or a Muslim, willing to leave or not. . . .

The Persian troops dispatched to drive the people forced them out and drove them from villages and towns; they set the places on fire, burning all the houses and dwellings without pity. The hay and straw, the wheat and barley, and other supplies stored by the people were all destroyed and burned as well. . . . For the Persians looked at the throng of people and their own army and saw that it was huge in numbers. It would take many days to transfer such a large mass across the river. . . . The numbers of people were great and there were not enough boats and rafts. . . .

The pitiless Persian soldiers drove the people and forced them to enter the water. When they waded into the river, fear made them wail and scream louder and louder. They began to cross, some grabbing a corner of a boat, others holding to rafts, others to the tails of horses, bulls, and oxen, and yet others by swimming. . . . Although some managed to swim across, many others perished by drowning.

[After being asked why he conferred favors on the Armenian merchants of New Julfa, Shah Abbas responded as follows.]

"Do not be angry over my fleeting and empty love toward them. Do not blame me, for I have brought them by force to our land. I have spent much money, effort, and tricks, not for their benefit, but for ours. They shall benefit our land and shall increase our population. If you kill the Christians who were driven from their land into ours, none will accept our faith. It would only make them fear us and secretly escape, one by one, to their own land."

3 **Jean Chardin, a French merchant's account of his travels, 1686.** The French jewelry merchant Jean Chardin (1643–1713) spent several years in Persia between 1669 and 1677. His account of his travels proved popular and was quickly translated into English.

■ [Shah Abbas] was a just and equitable prince, and all his endeavors had this one tendency, to render the kingdom flourishing and his people happy. He found his empire all torn to pieces and usurped, and the greatest part of it impoverished and pillaged. But it is scarce to be believed, what effect his good government had, throughout his dominions. To give the reader but barely one single instance of it; he brought into the capital city a colony of Armenians, who were a laborious and industrious people, and had nothing in the world when they came there; but in the space of thirty years they grew so exceeding rich, that there were above threescore merchants among them, who, one with another, were worth from an hundred thousand crowns, to two millions, in money and merchandize.

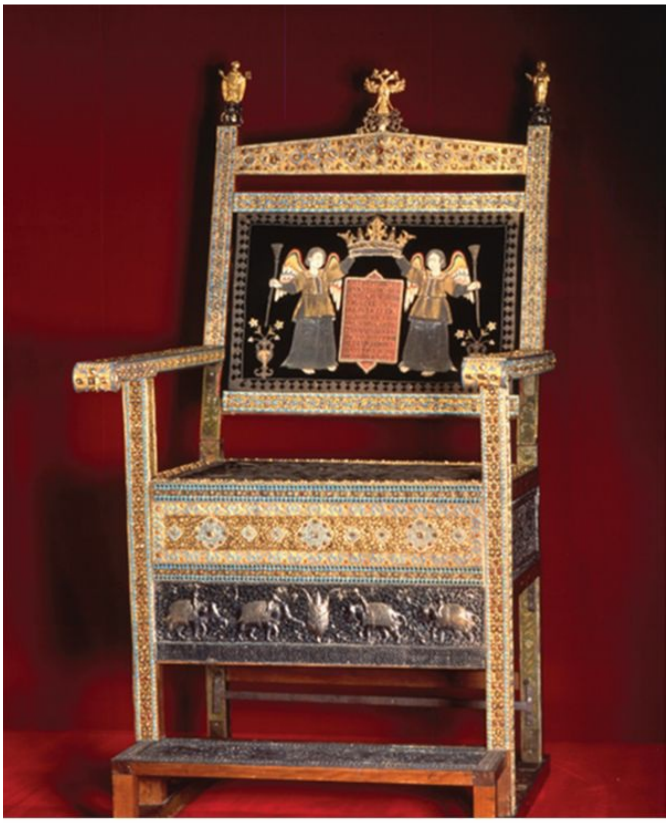
4 **John Fryer, an English physician's travels in Persia and India, 1681.** John Fryer (ca. 1650–1733) was a surgeon for the British East India Company. His account of his travels included information on natural history as well as social customs.

■ The Armenians being skilled in all the intricacies and subtleties of trade at home, and travelling with these into the remotest kingdoms, become by their own industry, and by being factors of their own kindred's honesty, the wealthiest men, being expert at bargains wherever they come, evading thereby brokerage; and studying all the arts of thrift, will travel for fifty shillings, where we cannot for fifty thomands. . . . From such beginnings do they raise sometimes great fortunes for themselves and masters. . . .

For so it was provided by Shah Abbas when he deprived them of their own princes, and redeemed them from the Turkish slavery; between whose arms and the Persians, they hung miserably harassed, according to the successes of either's forces, for a long time; removing them from Erevan, Tabriz, and Syria, their native soil, . . . by which they became not only safe from their enemies, but they improved the glory of Isfahan by their unwearied industry, there being many of them credible merchants at this time, accounted worth an hundred thousand thomand (each thomand being three pound and a noble); so mightily do they increase under this umbrage, in riches and freedom; for whilst they sit lazily at home, their factors abroad in all parts of the earth return to their hives laden with honey. . . .

They have sumptuous houses, enriched either by being merchants, or interpreters to foreign ministers, they being addicted to learn languages; few care for manual arts, or mechanic trades, though some apply themselves to husbandry.

5 **A throne given to the Russian tsar.** When merchants in the Armenian Trading Company petitioned the Russian tsar for tax-exempt status in 1659, they presented this heavily bejeweled throne as a gift.



Armory of the Kremlin, Moscow, Russia/Scala/Art Resource, NY

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. Based on Sources 1 and 2, do you think it is plausible that Persian merchants complained to Shah Abbas that he was treating the Armenians too well?
2. Based on Sources 1–4, how well did the Armenian merchants adjust to their new circumstances? Do these texts give evidence of any continuing grievances?
3. Chardin (Source 3) and Fryer (Source 4) were in Persia in much the same period.

What might account for their rather different understandings of the relations between the Safavid rulers and the Armenian merchants?

4. Why would Armenian merchants give the Russian tsar a gift as expensive as the throne in Source 5?

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

Using the sources above, along with what you have learned in class and in this chapter, write a short essay that examines the experiences of the deported Armenians, perhaps comparing their experiences to those of other communities forced to leave their homes in earlier or later times (such as the Israelites in the ancient Middle East or the Cherokees and other Native Americans in North America).

Sources: (1) Iskandar Munshi, *History of Shah Abbas the Great*, trans. Roger Savory, Persian Heritage Series 28, 2 vols. (Boulder: Westview, 1979), pp. 859–860; (2) *The History of Vardapet Arak'el of Tabriz*, trans. George A. Bournoutian (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 2005), pp. 25, 36–40, 55–56. Used by permission of George A. Bournoutian; (3) *Sir John Chardin's Travels in Persia* (New York: Cosimo Classics, 2010), p. 139; (4) John Fryer, *A New Account of East-India and Persia, in Eight Letters, Being Nine Years Travels, Begun 1672 and Finished 1681* (London: Chiswell, 1698), pp. 263–264, 268–269.

Shifting Trade Routes and European Penetration

How were the Islamic empires affected by the gradual shift toward trade routes that bypassed their lands?

It has widely been thought that a decline in the wealth and international importance of the Muslim empires could be directly attributed to the long-term shift in trading patterns that resulted from the discoveries of Columbus, Magellan, and other European explorers. The argument is that new sea routes enabled Europeans to acquire goods from the East without using Muslim intermediaries, so that the creation of European colonial powers beginning in the sixteenth century led directly and indirectly to the eclipse of the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals. Recent scholars have challenged these ideas as too simplistic. First, it was not until the eighteenth century that political decline became evident in the three Islamic empires. Second, Turkish, Persian, and Indian merchants remained very active as long-distance traders into the eighteenth century and opened up many new routes themselves. It is true that in the Islamic empires New World crops like potatoes and sweet potatoes fueled population increases less rapidly than in western Europe and East Asia. By 1800 the population of India was about 190 million, that of Safavid lands about 8 million, and that of Ottoman lands about 24 million. (By comparison, China's population stood at about 300 million in 1800 and Russia's about 35 million.)

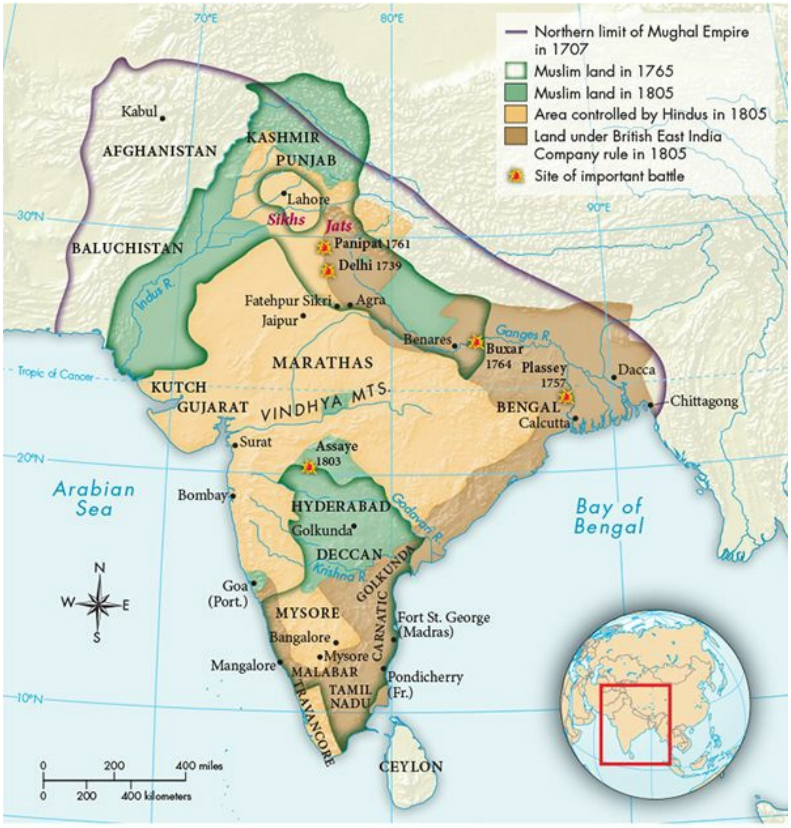
European Rivalry for Trade in the Indian Ocean

Shortly before Babur's invasion of India, the Portuguese had opened the subcontinent to Portuguese trade. In 1510 they established the port of Goa on the west coast of India as their headquarters and through an aggressive policy took control of Muslim shipping in the Indian Ocean and Arabian Sea, charging high fees to let ships through. The Portuguese historian Barrões attempted to justify Portugal's seizure of commercial traffic that the Muslims had long dominated:

> It is true that there does exist a common right to all to navigate the seas and in Europe we recognize the rights which others hold against us; but the right does not extend beyond Europe and therefore the Portuguese as Lords of the Sea are justified in confiscating the goods of all those who navigate the seas without their permission.[4]

In short, the Portuguese decided that Western principles of international law should not restrict them in Asia. As a result, they controlled the spice trade over the Indian Ocean for almost a century.

In 1602 the Dutch formed the Dutch East India Company with the stated goal of wresting the enormously lucrative spice trade from the Portuguese. In 1685 they supplanted the Portuguese in Ceylon (Sri Lanka). The scent of fabulous profits also attracted the English. With a charter signed by Queen Elizabeth, eighty London merchants organized the British East India Company. In 1619 Emperor Jahangir granted a British mission important commercial concessions. Soon, by offering gifts, medical services, and bribes to Indian rulers, the British East India Company was able to set up twenty-eight coastal forts/trading posts. By 1700 the company had founded the cities that became Madras and Calcutta (today called Chennai and Kolkata) and had taken over Bombay (today Mumbai), which had been a Portuguese possession (Map 17.3).


Northern limit of Mughal Empire in 1707
Muslim land in 1765
Muslim land in 1805
Area controlled by Hindus in 1805
Land under British East India Company rule in 1805
Site of important battle
70°E
80°E
90°E
30°N
20°N
10°N
Tropic of Cancer
Kabul
AFGHANISTAN
KASHMIR
PUNJAB
Lahore
Sikhs
Jats
BALUCHISTAN
Indus R.
Panipat 1761
Delhi 1739
Fatehpur Sikri
Agra
Jaipur
Benares
Buxar 1764
Ganges R.
Plassey 1757
Dacca
Chittagong
MARATHAS
KUTCH
GUJARAT
VINDHYA MTS.
BENGAL
Calcutta
Surat
Assaye 1803
Arabian Sea
Bombay
HYDERABAD
Godavari R.
Golkunda
DECCAN
Krishna R.
GOLKUNDA
Bay of Bengal
N
W
E
S
Goa (Port.)
MYSORE
Bangalore
Mysore
CARNATIC
Fort St. George (Madras)
Mangalore
MALABAR
Pondicherry (Fr.)
TAMIL NADU
TRAVANCORE
CEYLON
0
200
400 miles
0
200
400 kilometers

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 17.3 **India, 1707–1805** In the eighteenth century Mughal power gradually yielded to the Hindu Marathas and to the British East India Company.

The British called their trading posts factory-forts. The term *factory* did not signify manufacturing; it designated the walled compound containing the residences, gardens, and offices of British East India

Company officials and the warehouses where goods were stored before being shipped to Europe. The company president exercised political authority over all residents.

Factory-forts existed to make profits from Asian-European trade, which was robust due to the popularity of Indian and Chinese wares in Europe in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The European middle classes wanted Indian textiles, which were colorful, durable, cheap, and washable. The upper classes desired Chinese wallpaper and porcelains and Indian silks and cottons. Other Indian goods in demand included pepper and other spices, sugar, and opium. To pay for these goods, the British East India Company sold silver, copper, zinc, lead, and fabrics to the Indians. Profits grew even larger after 1700, when the company began to trade with China.

Merchant Networks in the Islamic Empires

The shifting trade patterns associated with European colonial expansion brought no direct benefit to the Ottomans and the Safavids, whose merchants could now be bypassed by Europeans seeking goods from India, Southeast Asia, or China. Yet merchants from these Islamic empires often proved adaptable, finding ways to benefit from the new trade networks.

In the case of India, the appearance of European traders led to a rapid increase in overall trade, helping Indian merchants and the Indian economy. Some Indian merchants in Calcutta and Bombay, for instance, made gigantic fortunes from trade within Asia carried on European ships. Block-printed cotton cloth, produced by artisans working at home, was India’s chief export.

Victoria and Albert Museum, London, UK/V & A Images/Art Resource, NY

English Dress Made of Indian Printed Cotton Cloth Early British traders in India were impressed with the quality of the textiles made there and began ordering designs that would be popular with the English. This dress, created around 1770–1780 in England, is made of printed cotton (chintz) from the southeastern part of India. Chintz became so popular in England that it was eventually banned because it was threatening local textile industries.

Within India the demand for cotton cloth, as well as for food crops, was so great that Akbar had to launch a wide-scale road-building campaign. From the Indian region of Gujarat, Indian merchant bankers shipped their cloth worldwide: across the Indian Ocean to Aden and the Muslim-controlled cities on the east coast of Africa; across the Arabian Sea to Muscat and Hormuz and up the Persian Gulf to the cities of Persia; up the Red Sea to the Mediterranean; by sea also to Malacca, Indonesia, China, and Japan; by land across Africa to Ghana on the west coast; and to

Astrakhan, Poland, Moscow, and even the Russian cities on the distant Volga River. Indian businessmen had branch offices in many of these places, and all this activity produced fabulous wealth for some Indian merchants. Indian merchants were often devout Hindus, Muslims, Buddhists, or Jains, evidence that undermines the argument of some Western writers, notably Karl Marx (see “The Birth of Socialism” in Chapter 24), that religion retarded Asia’s economic development.

Throughout Muslim lands both Jews and Christians were active in commerce. A particularly interesting case involves the Armenian Christians in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. Armenian merchants had been trading from their base in Armenia for centuries and were especially known for their trade in Persian silk. When the Portuguese first appeared on the western coast of India in 1498 and began to settle in south India, they found many Armenian merchant communities already there. A few decades later Akbar invited Armenians to settle in his new capital, Agra. In 1603 Shah Abbas captured much of Armenia, taking it from the Ottomans, and forcing the Armenians to move more deeply into Persia. (See “Thinking Like a Historian: Forced Relocation of Armenians to Persia,” page 486.)

Armenian merchant networks stretched from Venice and Amsterdam in western Europe, Moscow in Russia, and Ottoman-controlled Aleppo and Smyrna to all the major trading cities of India and even regions farther east, including Guangzhou in southern China and Manila in the Philippines. Many Armenian communities in these cities became quite substantial, built churches, and recruited priests. The merchant about to take a journey would borrow a sum of money to purchase goods and would contract to pay it back with interest on his return. Using couriers, these Armenian merchants sent long letters describing the trade environment and the prices that could be realized for given goods.

From the British East India Company to the British Empire in India

Britain’s presence in India began with the British East India Company and its desire to profit from trade. Managers of the company in London discouraged all unnecessary expenses and financial risks and thus opposed missionary activities or interference in local Indian politics. Nevertheless, the company responded to political instability in India in the early eighteenth century by extending political control. When warlords appeared or an uprising occurred, people from the surrounding countryside flocked into the company’s factory-forts, which gradually came to exercise political authority over the territories around them. The company’s factories evolved into defensive installations manned by small garrisons of native troops — known as **sepoys** — trained in Western military weapons and tactics.

sepoys The native Indian troops who were trained as infantrymen.

Britain eventually became the dominant foreign presence in India, despite challenges from the French. From 1740 to 1763 Britain and France were engaged in a tremendous global struggle, and India, like North America in the Seven Years' War (see Chapter 22), became a battlefield and a prize. The French won land battles, but English sea power proved decisive by preventing the landing of French reinforcements. The Treaty of Paris of 1763 recognized British control of much of India, marking the beginning of the British Empire in India.

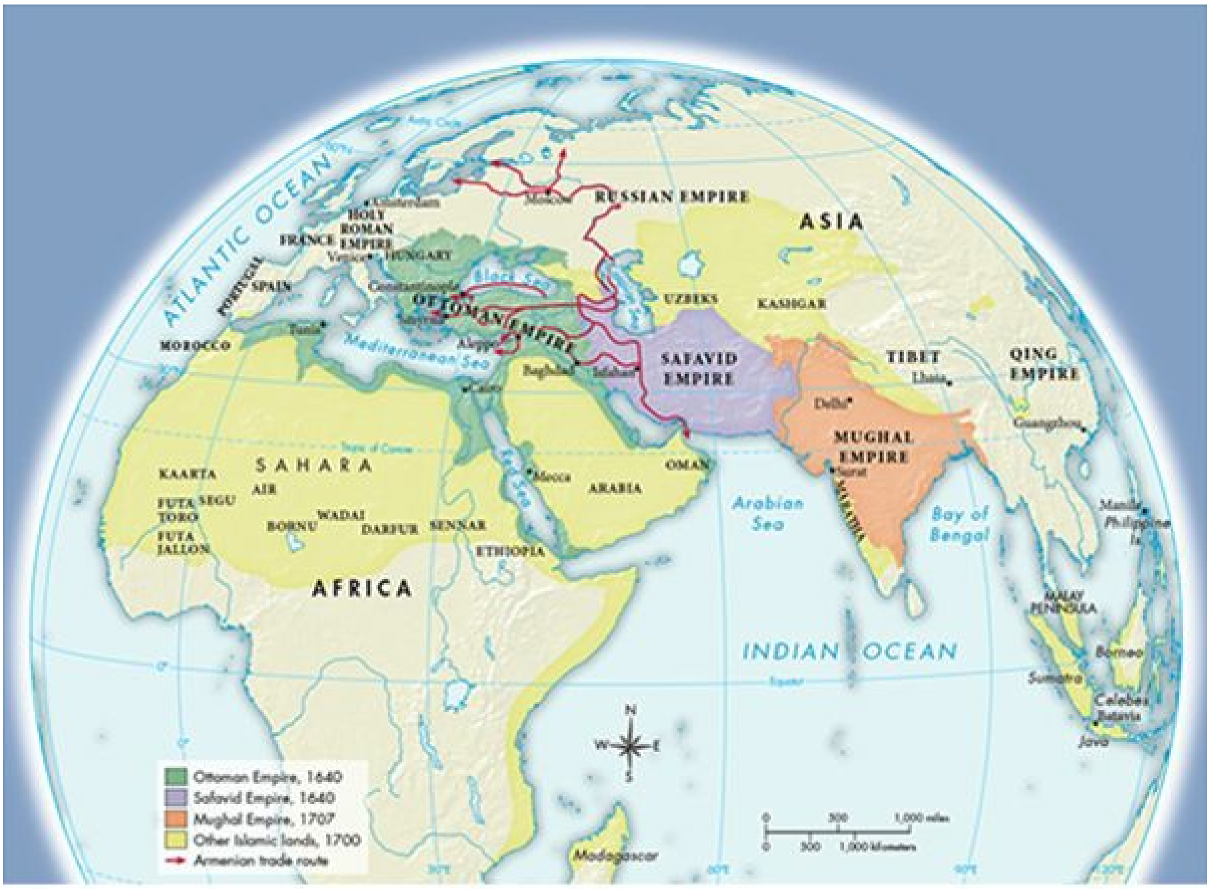
How was Britain to govern so large a territory? Eventually, the East India Company was pushed out of its governing role because the English Parliament distrusted the company, believing it was corrupt. The Regulating Act of 1773 created the office of governor general to exercise political authority over the territory controlled by the company. The East India Company Act of 1784 required that the governor general be chosen from outside the company, and it made company directors subject to parliamentary supervision.

Implementation of these reforms fell to three successive governors: Warren Hastings (r. 1774–1785), Lord Charles Cornwallis (r. 1786–1794), and the marquess Richard Wellesley (r. 1797–1805). Hastings sought allies among Indian princes, laid the foundations for the first Indian civil service, abolished tolls to facilitate internal trade, placed the salt and opium trades under government control, and planned a codification of Muslim and Hindu laws. Cornwallis introduced the British style of property relations, in which the rents of tenant farmers supported the landlords. Wellesley was victorious over local rulers who resisted British rule, vastly extending British influence in India. Like most nineteenth-century British governors of India, Wellesley believed that British rule strongly benefited the Indians. With supreme condescension, he wrote that British power should be established over the Indian princes in order "to deprive them of the means of prosecuting any measure or of forming any confederacy hazardous to the security of the British empire, and to enable us to preserve the tranquility of India by exercising a general control over the restless spirit of ambition and violence which is characteristic of every Asiatic government."[5]

Political Decline

What common factors led to the decline of central power in the Islamic empires in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries?

By the end of the eighteenth century all three of the major Islamic empires were on the defensive and losing territory (Map 17.4). They faced some common problems — succession difficulties, financial strain, and loss of military superiority — but their circumstances differed in significant ways as well.


ATLANTIC OCEAN
Amsterdam
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
FRANCE
Venice
HUNGARY
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
Constantinople
Black Sea
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Tunis
MOROCCO
Mediterranean Sea
Aleppo
Baghdad
Isfahan
Cairo
Moscow
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
ASIA
UZBEKS
KASHGAR
SAFAVID EMPIRE
TIBET
Lhasa
QING EMPIRE
Delhi
MUGHAL EMPIRE
Surat
Guangzhou
OMAN
Mecca
ARABIA
Red Sea
SAHARA
KAARTA
AIR
SEGU
FUTA TORO
FUTA JALLON
WADAI
BORNU
DARFUR
SENNAR
ETHIOPIA
AFRICA
Arabian Sea
Bay of Bengal
Manila
Philippine Is.
MALAY PENINSULA
INDIAN OCEAN
Borneo
Sumatra
Celebes
Batavia
Java
Madagascar
N
W
E
S
0
500
1,000 miles
0
500
1,000 kilometers
🟩 Ottoman Empire, 1640
🟪 Safavid Empire, 1640
🟧 Mughal Empire, 1707
🟨 Other Islamic lands, 1700
→ Armenian trade route

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 17.4 The Muslim World, ca. 1700 The three great Islamic empires were adjacent to each other and of similar physical size. Many of their other neighbors were Muslim as well.

The first to fall was the Safavid Empire. Persia did not have the revenue base to maintain the sort of standing armies that the Ottomans and the Mughals had. Decline in the strength of the army encouraged increased foreign aggression. In 1722 the Afghans invaded from the east, seized Isfahan, and were able to repulse an Ottoman invasion from the west. In Isfahan thousands of officials and members of the shah's family were executed. In the following century no leaders emerged capable of reuniting all of Persia. In this political vacuum, Shi'a religious institutions grew stronger.

The Ottoman Empire also suffered from poor leadership. Early Ottoman practice had guaranteed that the sultans would be forceful men. The sultan's sons gained administrative experience as governors of provinces and military experience on the battlefield as part of their education. After the sultan died, any son who wanted to succeed had to contest his brothers to claim the throne, after which the new sultan would have his defeated brothers executed. Although bloody, this system led to the succession of capable, determined men. After Suleiman's reign, however, the tradition was abandoned. To prevent threats of usurpation, sons of the sultan were brought up in the harem, confined there as adults, and denied roles in government. The result was a series of rulers who were minor children or incompetent adults, leaving power in the hands of high officials and the mothers of the heirs. Political factions formed around viziers, military leaders, and palace women. In the contest for political favor, the devshirme was abandoned, and political and military ranks were filled by Muslims.

The Ottoman Empire's military strength also declined. The defeat of the Turkish fleet by the Spanish off the coast of Greece at Lepanto in 1571 marked the loss of Ottoman dominance in the Mediterranean. By the terms of a peace treaty with Austria signed at Karlowitz (1699), the Ottomans lost the major European provinces of Hungary and Transylvania, along with the tax revenues they had provided. Also, the Ottoman armies were depending more on mercenaries, and they did not keep up with the innovations in drill, command, and control that were then transforming European armies. From the late seventeenth century Ottoman armies began losing wars and territory along both northern and eastern borders. In 1774 the empire lost the lands on the northern bank of the Black Sea to Russia. In North Africa the local governors came to act more independently, sometimes starting hereditary dynasties.

In Mughal India the old Turkish practice of letting heirs fight for the throne persisted, leading to frequent struggles over succession, but also to strong rulers. Yet military challenges proved daunting there as well. After defeating his father and brothers, Aurangzeb made it his goal to conquer the south. The stiffest opposition came from the Marathas, a militant Hindu group centered in the western Deccan. From 1681 until his death in 1707, Aurangzeb led repeated sorties through the Deccan. He took many forts and won several battles, but total destruction of the Maratha guerrilla bands eluded him.

Aurangzeb’s death led to thirteen years of succession struggles, shattering the empire. His eighteenth-century successors were less successful than the Ottomans in making the dynasty the focus of loyalty. Mughal provincial governors began to rule independently, giving only minimal allegiance to the throne at Delhi. Meanwhile, the Marathas pressed steadily northward, constituting the gravest threat to Mughal authority. Threats also came from the west. In 1739 the Persian adventurer Nadir Shah invaded India, defeated the Mughal army, looted Delhi, and, after a savage massacre, carried off a huge amount of treasure, including the Peacock Throne. Constant skirmishes between the Afghans and the Marathas for control of the Punjab and northern India ended in 1761 at Panipat, where the Marathas were crushed by the Afghans. At that point, India no longer had a state strong enough to impose order on the subcontinent or check the penetration of the Europeans. Not until 1857, however, did the Mughal Dynasty come to a formal end.

In all three empires fiscal difficulties contributed to strain on the state. A long period of peace in the late sixteenth century and again in the mid-eighteenth century, as well as a decline in the frequency of visits of the plague, led to a doubling of the population. Increased population, coupled with the “little ice age” of the mid-seventeenth century, meant that the land could not sustain so many people, nor could the towns provide jobs for the thousands of agricultural workers who fled to them. The return of demobilized soldiers aggravated the problem. Inflation, famine, and widespread uprisings resulted. Power was seized by local notables and military strongmen at the expense of central government officials.

Chapter Summary

After the decline of the Mongols in Central Asia and Persia, many small Turkic-ruled states emerged in the region from Anatolia through Afghanistan. Three of them went on to establish large empires: the Ottomans in Anatolia, the Safavids in Persia, and the Mughals in India. The Ottoman Empire's political system reached its classic form under Suleiman I. All authority flowed from the sultan to his public servants: provincial governors, police officers, military generals, heads of treasuries, and viziers. In Persia for some time Turkish lords competed for power, with no single one dominant until 1501, when a fourteen-year-old military leader declared himself shah. The strength of this Safavid state rested in part on the skills of urban bureaucrats, who were vital to the civil machinery of government. Babur, from his base in Afghanistan, founded the Mughal Empire in India. His grandson Akbar extended Mughal rule far into India. Whereas the Ottoman sultans and Safavid shahs used slaves acquired from non-Muslim lands for military and administrative positions, Akbar relied on the services of royal princes, nobles, and warrior-aristocrats. All three empires quickly adapted to new gunpowder technologies.

Each of the three Islamic empires presided over an extraordinary artistic and intellectual flowering in everything from carpetmaking and book illustration to architecture and gardening, from geography and astronomy to medicine. Each of these empires drew legitimacy from its support for Islam. There were, however, key differences: the Ottomans and Mughals supported the Sunni tradition, the Safavids the Shi'a tradition.

The three Islamic empires all had a substantial number of non-Muslim subjects. The Ottomans ruled over the Balkans, where most of the people were Christian, and Muslims in India were greatly outnumbered by Hindus.

European exploration opened new trade routes and enabled Europeans to trade directly with India and China, bypassing Muslim intermediaries in the Middle East. Within India British merchants increased their political control in politically unstable areas, leading before the end of the eighteenth century to a vast colonial empire in India.

By the end of the eighteenth century all three of the major Islamic empires were losing territory. The first to fall was the Safavid Empire. From the late seventeenth century Ottoman armies began losing wars along the northern and eastern borders, resulting in substantial loss of territory. Military challenges proved daunting in Mughal India as well. In all three empires, as central power declined, local notables and military strongmen seized power.

CONNECTIONS

From 1300 to 1800 and from North Africa to India, Islamic civilization thrived under three dynastic houses: the Ottomans, the Safavids, and the Mughals. All three empires had a period of expansion when territory was enlarged, followed by a high point politically and culturally, and later a period of contraction, when territories broke away. Two of the empires had large non-Muslim populations. India, even under Mughal rule, remained a predominantly Hindu land, and the Ottomans, in the process of conquering the Balkans, acquired a population that was largely Greek Orthodox Christians. Though all three states supported Islam, the Safavids took Shi'a teachings as orthodox, while the other two favored Sunni teachings. At the cultural level, the borders of these three states were porous, and people, ideas, art motifs, languages, and trade flowed back and forth.

In East Asia the fifteenth through eighteenth centuries also saw the creation of strong, prosperous, and expanding states, though in the case of China (under the Qing Dynasty) and Japan (under the Tokugawa Shogunate) the eighteenth century was a cultural high point, not a period of decline. The Qing emperors were Manchus, from the region northeast of China proper, reminiscent of the Mughals, who began in Afghanistan. As in the Islamic lands, during these centuries the presence of European powers became an issue in East Asia, though the details were quite different. Although one of the commodities that the British most wanted was the tea produced in China, Britain did not extend political control in China the way it did in India. Japan managed to refuse entry to most European traders after finding their presence and their support for missionary activity disturbing. Chapter 21 takes up these developments in East Asia.

In the next three chapters the focus is on two other regions of the world, Europe and Africa. To fully understand what Britain was doing in India requires more background on what was happening in Europe from 1500 to 1800, a period when religious differences were causing strife between European states that were at the same time beginning to build overseas empires. By the eighteenth century the Scientific Revolution and the Enlightenment were having a major impact on people's lives in Europe, and the slave trade was tying Europe to both Africa and the Americas.

CHAPTER 17 Review and Explore

Identify Key Terms

Identify and explain the significance of each item below.

Ottomans (p. 470)
sultan (p. 470)
viziers (p. 473)
devshirme (p. 473)
janissaries (p. 473)
concubine (p. 473)
shah (p. 473)
Safavid (p. 473)
Qizilbash (p. 475)
ulama (p. 475)
Mughal (p. 476)
sepoys (p. 491)

Review the Main Ideas

Answer the focus questions from each section of the chapter.

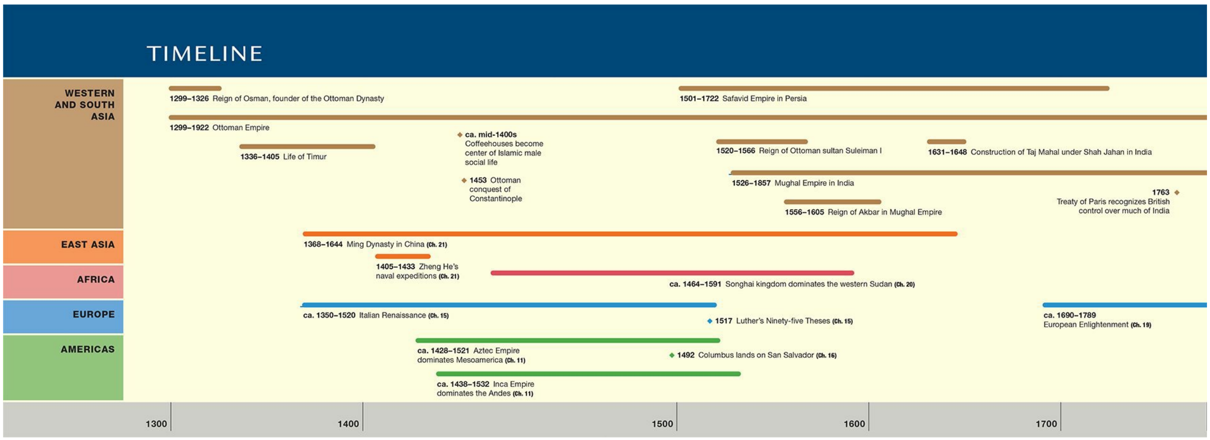
1. How were the three Islamic empires established, and what sorts of governments did they set up? (p. 470)
2. What cultural advances occurred under the rule of the Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal Empires? (p. 478)
3. How did Christians, Jews, Hindus, and other non-Muslims fare under these Islamic states? (p. 484)
4. How were the Islamic empires affected by the gradual shift toward trade routes that bypassed their lands? (p. 488)
5. What common factors led to the decline of central power in the Islamic empires in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries? (p. 492)

Make Comparisons and Connections

Analyze the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters.

1. In what sense were the states of the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals empires rather than large states? Do all three equally deserve the term “empire”? Why or why not?
2. How did the expansion of European presence in the Indian Ocean after 1450 impinge on the societies and economies of each of the Islamic empires?

3. What made it possible for Islamic rulers to tolerate more religious difference than European Christian rulers of the same period did (Chapters 14 and 15)?



Suggested Resources

Books

Barkey, Karen. *Empire of Difference*. 2008. Places the history of the Ottomans in comparative perspective.

Casale, Giancarlo. *The Ottoman Age of Exploration.* 2011. Lively account of Ottoman rivalry with the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean in the sixteenth century.

Dale, Stephen Frederic. *The Garden of the Eight Paradises: Babur and the Culture of Empire in Central Asia, Afghanistan and India, 1483–1750*. 2004. A scholarly biography that draws on and analyzes Babur's autobiography.

Dale, Stephen Frederic. *The Muslim Empires of the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals*. 2010. A comparative study of the three empires, with much on religion and culture.

Findley, Carter Vaughn. *The Turks in World History*. 2005. Takes a macro look at the three Islamic empires as part of the history of the Turks.

Finkel, Caroline. *Osman's Dream: A History of the Ottoman Empire*. 2006. A new interpretation that views the Ottomans from their own perspective.

Inalcik, Halil, and Günsel Renda. *Ottoman Civilization*. 2002. A huge, beautifully illustrated, government-sponsored overview, with an emphasis on the arts and culture.

Jackson, Peter, and Lawrence Lockhart, eds. *The Cambridge History of Iran*. Vol. 6: *The Timurid and Safavid Periods*. 1986. A set of essays by leading scholars on the social and cultural, as well as the political and economic, history of Iran.

Lapidus, Ira M. *A History of Islamic Societies*, 2d ed. 2002. A comprehensive yet lucid survey.

Mukhia, Harbans. *The Mughals of India: A Framework for Understanding*. 2004. A short but thoughtful analysis of the Mughal society and state.

Parker, Charles H. *Global Interactions in the Early Modern Age, 1400–1800*.

2010. Places the Islamic empires in a global context.

Parthasarathi, Prasannan. *Why Europe Grew Rich and Asia Did Not: Global Economic Divergence, 1600–1850*. 2011. Focuses on India and how it compared to Britain in producing cotton and coal and making scientific advances.

Peirce, Leslie P. *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire*. 1993. A fresh look at the role of elite women under the Ottomans.

Richards, John F. *The Mughal Empire*. 1993. A coherent narrative history of the period 1526–1720.

Ruthven, Malise, and Azim Nanji. *Historical Atlas of Islam*. 2004. Provides numerous maps illustrating the shifting political history of Islamic states.

Documentaries

The Great Moghuls (Ecosse Films, 1990). A British documentary (with six episodes) that tells the story of the Mughal Empire.

Ottoman Empire: The War Machine (History Channel, 2006). An overview of the Ottoman Empire, with lots of dramatizations.

Sufi Soul: The Mystic Music of Islam (MWTV/Riverboat, 2005). An introduction to the music to which the whirling dervishes whirl, with footage of many musicians.

Warrior Empire: The Mughals of India (History Channel, 2006). Covers the period from the founder Babar through the death of Aurangzeb in 1707.

Feature Films

The Day of the Siege: September Eleven 1683 (Renzo Martinelli, 2012). A Polish and Italian film (in English) on the Ottoman attack on Vienna, full of battle scenes.

Jodhaa Akbar (Ashutosh Gowariker, 2008). The story of Mughal emperor Akbar and Rajput princess Jodhaa, who married in the sixteenth century for political reasons and fell in love.

Websites

Archnet. A rich collection of photos and videos on the architecture of Islamic societies, with a useful timeline. **archnet.org**

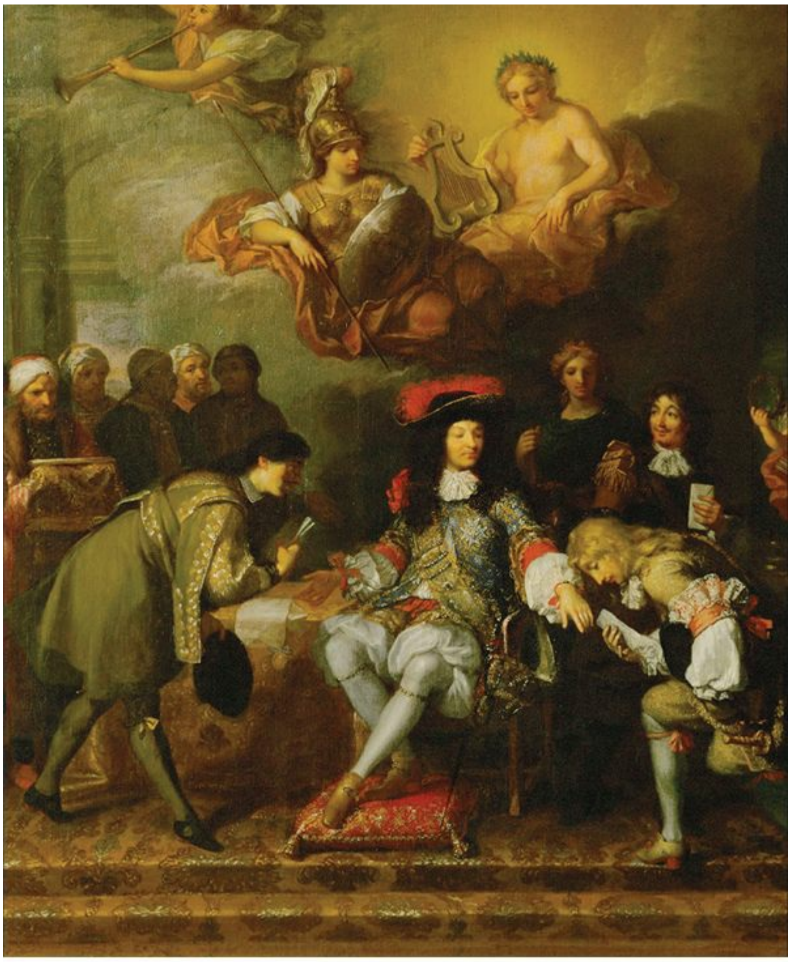
Gardens of the Mughal Empire. Sites and sounds of many of the major gardens dating to the Mughal period. **www.mughalgardens.org**

The Ottomans. This site on the Ottomans pays special attention to the military and wars, but also covers art and culture. **www.theottomans.org/english/history/index.asp**

18

European Power and Expansion

1500–1750



Peace Treaty of Nijmegen, 1678/Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, Hungary/Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY

Louis XIV

In this painting, King Louis XIV receives foreign ambassadors to celebrate a peace treaty. The king grandly occupied the center of his court, which in

turn served as the pinnacle for the French people and, at the height of his glory, for all of Europe.

The two centuries that opened the early modern era witnessed crisis and transformation in Europe. What one historian has described as the long European "struggle for stability" originated with conflicts sparked by the Protestant and Catholic Reformations in the early sixteenth century and continued with economic and social breakdown into the late seventeenth century.[1] To consolidate their authority and expand their territories, European rulers increased the size of their armies, imposed higher taxes, and implemented bureaucratic forms of government. By the end of the seventeenth century they had largely succeeded in restoring order and securing increased power for the state.

The growth of state power within Europe raised a series of questions: Who held supreme power? What made it legitimate? Conflicts over these questions led to rebellions and at times outright civil war. Between roughly 1589 and 1715 two basic patterns of government emerged from these conflicts: absolute monarchy and the constitutional state. Almost all subsequent European governments were modeled on one of these patterns, which have also greatly influenced the rest of the world.

Whether a government was constitutional or absolutist, an important foundation of state power was empire and colonialism. Jealous of the riches and prestige the Iberian powers gained from their overseas holdings, England, France, and the Netherlands vied for territory in Asia and the Americas, while Russia pushed its borders east to the Pacific and west into central Europe. This was a distinctive moment in world history when exchange within and among empires produced constant movement of people, goods, and culture, with no one region or empire able to dominate the others entirely.

CHAPTER PREVIEW

THE PROTESTANT AND CATHOLIC REFORMATIONS
How did the Protestant and Catholic Reformations change power structures in Europe and shape European colonial expansion?

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY CRISIS AND REBUILDING
How did seventeenth-century European rulers overcome social and economic crisis to build strong states?

ABSOLUTIST STATES IN WESTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPE
What was absolutism, and how did it evolve in seventeenth-century Spain, France, and Austria?

CONSTITUTIONALISM AND EMPIRE IN ENGLAND AND

THE DUTCH REPUBLIC
Why and how did the constitutional state triumph in England and the Dutch Republic?

COLONIAL EXPANSION AND EMPIRE
How did European nations compete for global trade and empire in the Americas and Asia?

THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE
How did Russian rulers build a distinctive absolutist monarchy and expand into a vast and powerful empire?

The Protestant and Catholic Reformations

How did the Protestant and Catholic Reformations change power structures in Europe and shape European colonial expansion?

As a result of a movement of religious reform known as the **Protestant Reformation**, Western Christendom broke into many divisions in the sixteenth century. This splintering happened not only for religious reasons but also because of political and social factors. Religious transformation provided a source of power for many rulers and shaped European colonial expansion.

Protestant Reformation A religious reform movement that began in the early sixteenth century and split the Western Christian Church.

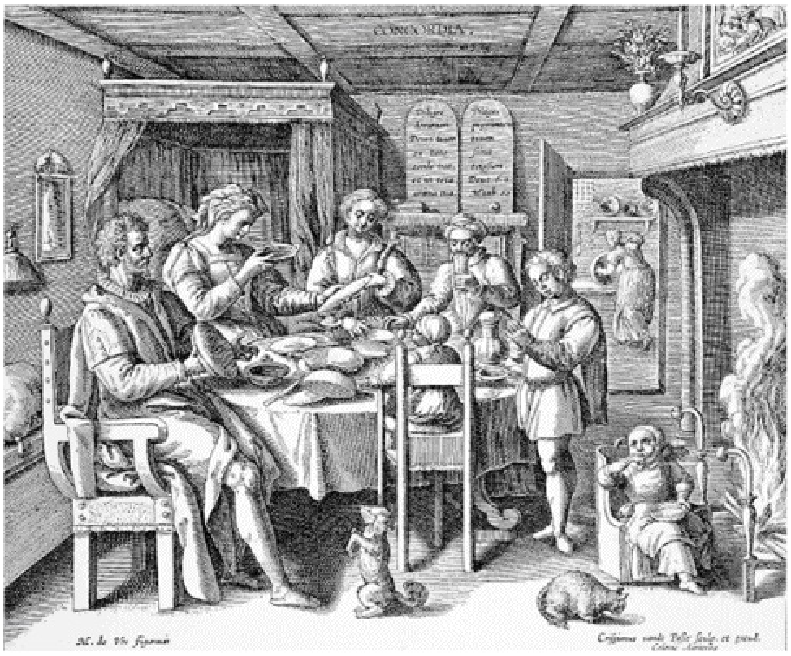
The Protestant Reformation

In early-sixteenth-century western Europe, calls for reform in the church came from many quarters, both within and outside the church. Critics of the church concentrated their attacks on clerical immorality, ignorance, and absenteeism. Charges of immorality were aimed at a number of priests who were drunkards, neglected the rule of celibacy, gambled, or indulged in fancy dress. Charges of ignorance applied to barely literate priests who delivered poor-quality sermons.

In regard to absenteeism, many clerics, especially higher ecclesiastics, held several benefices (offices) simultaneously. However, they seldom visited the communities served by the benefices. Instead they collected revenues from all the benefices assigned to them and hired a poor priest to fulfill their spiritual duties.

There was also local resentment of clerical privileges and immunities. Priests, monks, and nuns were exempt from civic responsibilities, such as defending the city and paying taxes. Yet religious orders frequently held large amounts of urban property. City governments were increasingly determined to integrate the clergy into civic life. This brought city leaders into opposition with bishops and the papacy, which for centuries had stressed the independence of the church from lay control.

This range of complaints helps explain why the ideas of Martin Luther (1483–1546), a priest and professor of theology from the German University of Wittenberg, found a ready audience. Luther and other Protestants — the word comes from a “protest” drawn up by a group of reforming princes in 1529 — developed a new understanding of Christian doctrine in which salvation came through God’s grace by faith alone and religious authority rested solely in the Bible. These ideas directly contradicted the teachings of the Catholic Church, but they were attractive to educated people and urban residents, and they spread rapidly through preaching, hymns, and the printing press.



© Mary Evans Picture Library/The Image Works

Domestic Scene The Protestant notion that the best form of Christian life was marriage and a family helps explain the appeal of Protestantism to middle-class urban men and women, such as those shown in this domestic scene. The large covered bed at the back was both a standard piece of furniture in urban homes and a symbol of proper marital sexual relations.

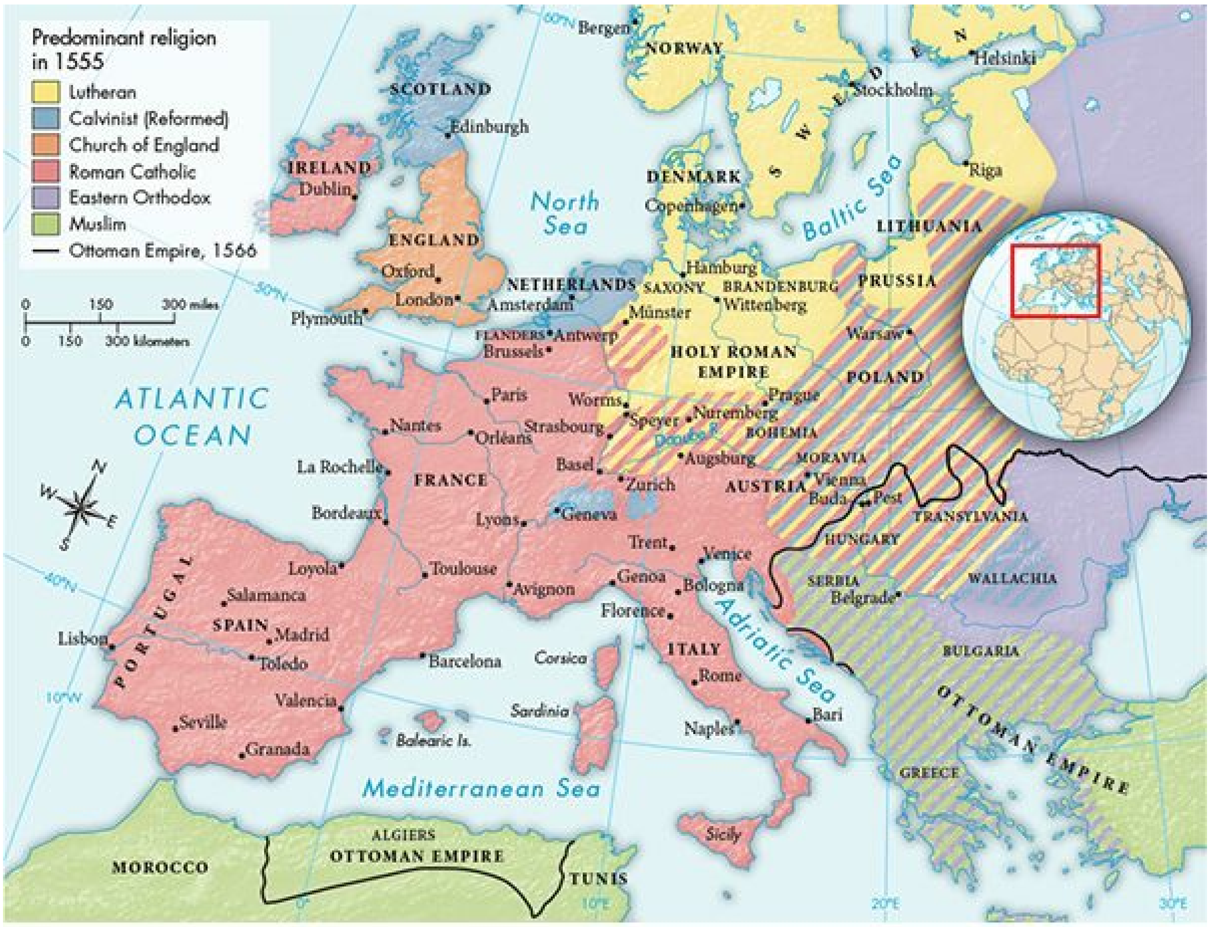
Luther lived in the Holy Roman Empire, a loose collection of largely independent states in which the emperor had far less authority than did the monarchs of western Europe. The Habsburg emperor, Charles V, was a staunch supporter of Catholicism, but the ruler of the territory in which Luther lived protected the reformer. Although Luther appeared before Charles V when he was summoned, he was not arrested and continued to preach and write.

Luther’s ideas appealed to the local rulers of the empire for a variety of reasons. Though Germany was not a nation, people did have an understanding of being German because of their language and traditions. Luther frequently used the phrase “we Germans” in his attacks on the papacy, and his appeal to national feeling influenced many rulers. Also, while some German rulers were sincerely attracted to Lutheran ideas, material considerations swayed many others. The adoption of Protestantism would mean the legal confiscation of church properties. Thus many political authorities in the empire used the religious issue to extend their power and to enhance their independence from the emperor. Luther worked closely with political authorities, viewing them as fully justified in reforming the church in their territories. Thus, just as in the Ottoman and Safavid Empires, rulers drew their legitimacy in part from their support for religion. By 1530 many parts of the Holy Roman Empire and Scandinavia had broken with the Catholic Church.

In England the issue of the royal succession triggered that country's break with Rome, and a Protestant Church was established during the 1530s under King Henry VIII (r. 1509–1547) and reaffirmed under his daughter Elizabeth I (r. 1558–1603). Church officials were required to sign an oath of loyalty to the monarch, and people were required to attend services at the state church, which became known as the Anglican Church.

Protestant ideas also spread into France, the Netherlands, Scotland, and eastern Europe. In all these areas, a second generation of reformers built on earlier ideas to develop their own theology and plans for institutional change. The most important of the second-generation reformers was the Frenchman John Calvin (1509–1564), who reformed the city of Geneva, Switzerland. Calvin believed that God was absolutely sovereign and omnipotent and that humans had no free will. Thus men and women could not actively work to achieve salvation, because God had decided at the beginning of time who would be saved and who damned, a theological principle called predestination.

The church in Geneva served as the model for the Presbyterian Church in Scotland, the Huguenot (HYOO-guh-naht) Church in France, and the Puritan Churches in England and New England. Calvinism became the compelling force in international Protestantism, first in Europe and then in many Dutch and English colonies around the world. Calvinism was also the dominant form of Protestantism in France (Map 18.1).



Predominant religion in 1555
Lutheran
Calvinist (Reformed)
Church of England
Roman Catholic
Eastern Orthodox
Muslim
Ottoman Empire, 1566
0 150 300 miles
0 150 300 kilometers
ATLANTIC OCEAN
North Sea
Baltic Sea
Mediterranean Sea
Adriatic Sea
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
ENGLAND
NORWAY
SWEDEN
DENMARK
LITHUANIA
PRUSSIA
POLAND
NETHERLANDS
FLANDERS
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
SAXONY
BRANDENBURG
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
TRANSYLVANIA
WALLACHIA
SERBIA
BULGARIA
GREECE
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
FRANCE
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
ITALY
MOROCCO
ALGIERS
TUNIS
Bergen
Helsinki
Stockholm
Riga
Edinburgh
Dublin
Copenhagen
Hamburg
Wittenberg
Münster
Amsterdam
Oxford
London
Plymouth
Antwerp
Brussels
Warsaw
Paris
Worms
Speyer
Nuremberg
Prague
Strasbourg
Nantes
Orléans
Augsburg
La Rochelle
Basel
Zurich
Vienna
Buda
Pest
Bordeaux
Lyons
Geneva
Trent
Venice
Loyola
Toulouse
Genoa
Bologna
Avignon
Belgrade
Salamanca
Florence
Lisbon
Madrid
Toledo
Barcelona
Corsica
Rome
Valencia
Sardinia
Bari
Naples
Seville
Granada
Balearic Is.
Sicily
Danube
60°N
50°N
40°N
10°W
0°
10°E
20°E
30°E

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 18.1 Religious Divisions, ca. 1555 In the mid-sixteenth century, much of Europe remained Catholic. The Peace of Augsburg (1555) allowed the ruler of each territory in the Holy Roman Empire to determine the religion of its people. The northern territories of the empire became Lutheran, as did Scandinavia, while much of the southern empire remained Catholic. Sizable Calvinist populations existed in Scotland, the Netherlands, and central Europe. Eastern Europe was dominated by Orthodox Christianity, and the Ottoman Empire to the south and southeast was Muslim.

The Catholic Reformation

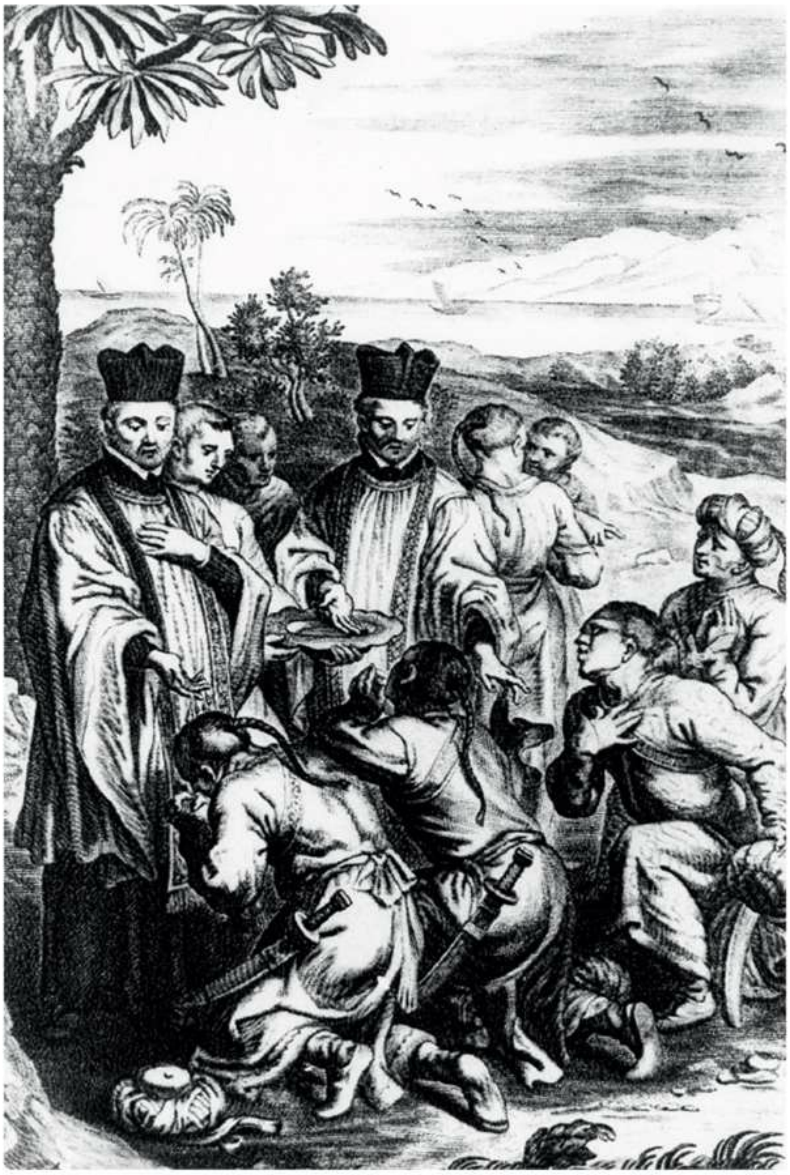
In response to the Protestant Reformation, by the 1530s the papacy was leading a movement for reform within the Roman Catholic Church. Many historians see the developments within the Catholic Church after the Protestant Reformation as two interrelated movements, one a drive for internal reform linked to earlier reform efforts and the other a Counter-Reformation that opposed Protestantism spiritually, politically, and militarily.

Pope Paul III (pontificate 1534–1549) established the Supreme Sacred Congregation of the Roman and Universal Inquisition, often called the Holy Office, with judicial authority over all Catholics and the power to imprison and execute. He also called a general council of the church, which met intermittently from 1545 to 1563 at the city of Trent. The Council of Trent laid a solid basis for the spiritual renewal of the Catholic Church. It gave equal validity to the Scriptures and to tradition as sources of religious truth and tackled problems that had disillusioned many Christians. Bishops were required to live in their dioceses and to establish a seminary for educating and training clergy. Finally, it placed great emphasis on preaching to and instructing the laity. For four centuries the Council of Trent served as the basis for Roman Catholic faith, organization, and practice.

Just as seminaries provided education, so did new religious orders, which aimed to raise the moral and intellectual level of the clergy and people. The Ursuline (UHR-suh-luhn) order of nuns, founded by Angela Merici (1474–1540), attained enormous prestige for its education of women.

Another important new order was the Society of Jesus, or **Jesuits**. Founded by Ignatius Loyola (1491–1556) in 1540, this order played a powerful international role in strengthening Catholicism in Europe and spreading the faith around the world. Recruited primarily from wealthy merchant and professional families, the Society of Jesus developed into a highly centralized organization. It established well-run schools to educate the sons of the nobility as well as the poor. The Jesuits achieved phenomenal success for the papacy and the reformed Catholic Church, carrying Christianity to South and Central America, India, and Japan before 1550 and to Brazil, North America, and the Congo in the seventeenth century. Also, as confessors and spiritual directors to kings, Jesuits exerted great political influence.

Jesuits Members of the Society of Jesus, founded by Ignatius Loyola in 1540, whose goal was the spread of the Roman Catholic faith through schools and missionary activity.



Archiv Gerstenberg — ullstein bild/Granger, NYC — All rights reserved.

Jesuits in China This European image depicts early Jesuit missionaries baptizing converts in south China.

Religious Violence

Religious differences led to riots, civil wars, and international conflicts in Europe during the sixteenth century. In the Holy Roman Empire fighting began in 1546. The empire was a confederation of hundreds of principalities, independent cities, duchies, and other polities loosely united under an elected emperor. The initial success of Emperor Charles V led to French intervention on the side of the Protestants, lest the emperor acquire even more power. In 1555 Charles agreed to the Peace of Augsburg, which officially recognized Lutheranism and ended religious war in Germany for many decades. Under this treaty, the political authority in each territory of the Holy Roman Empire was permitted to decide whether the territory would be Catholic or Lutheran. His hope of uniting his empire under a single church dashed, Charles V abdicated in 1556, transferring power over his Spanish and Dutch holdings to his son Philip II and his imperial power to his brother Ferdinand.

In France armed clashes between Catholic royalists and Calvinist antiroyalists occurred in many parts of the country. A savage Catholic attack on Calvinists in Paris on August 24, 1572 — Saint Bartholomew's Day — occurred at the marriage of the king's sister Margaret of Valois to the Protestant Henry of Navarre. The Saint Bartholomew's Day massacre initiated a civil war that dragged on for fifteen years, destroying agriculture and commercial life in many areas.

In the Netherlands the movement for church reform developed into a struggle for Dutch independence. In the 1560s Spanish authorities attempted to suppress Calvinist worship and raised taxes. Civil war broke out from 1568 to 1578 between Catholics and Protestants in the Netherlands and between the provinces of the Netherlands and Spain. Eventually the ten southern provinces came under the control of the Spanish Habsburg forces. The seven northern provinces, led by Holland, formed the Union of Utrecht (United Provinces of the Netherlands) and in 1581 declared their independence from Spain. The north was Protestant, and the south remained Catholic. Hostilities continued until 1609, when Spain agreed to a truce that recognized the independence of the northern provinces.

The era of religious wars was also the time of the most extensive witch persecutions in European history, with between 100,000 and 200,000 people officially tried for witchcraft in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Both Protestants and Catholics persecuted accused witches, with church officials and secular authorities acting together. The heightened sense of God's power and divine wrath in the Reformation era was an important factor in the witch-hunts, as were new demonological ideas, legal procedures involving torture, and neighborhood tensions. Though the gender balance of the accused varied widely in different parts of Europe, between 75 and 85 percent of those tried and executed were women, whom some demonologists viewed as weaker and so more likely to give in to the Devil.

Seventeenth-Century Crisis and Rebuilding

How did seventeenth-century European rulers overcome social and economic crisis to build strong states?

Historians often refer to the seventeenth century as an "age of crisis" because Europe was challenged by population losses, economic decline, and social and political unrest. These difficulties were partially due to climate changes that reduced agricultural productivity. But they also resulted from military competition among European powers, the religious divides of the Reformations, increased taxation, and war. Peasants and the urban poor were especially hard hit by the economic problems, and they frequently rioted against high food prices.

The atmosphere of crisis encouraged governments to take emergency measures to restore order, measures that they successfully turned into long-term reforms that strengthened the power of the state. In the long run, European states proved increasingly able to impose their will on the populace.

The Social Order and Peasant Life

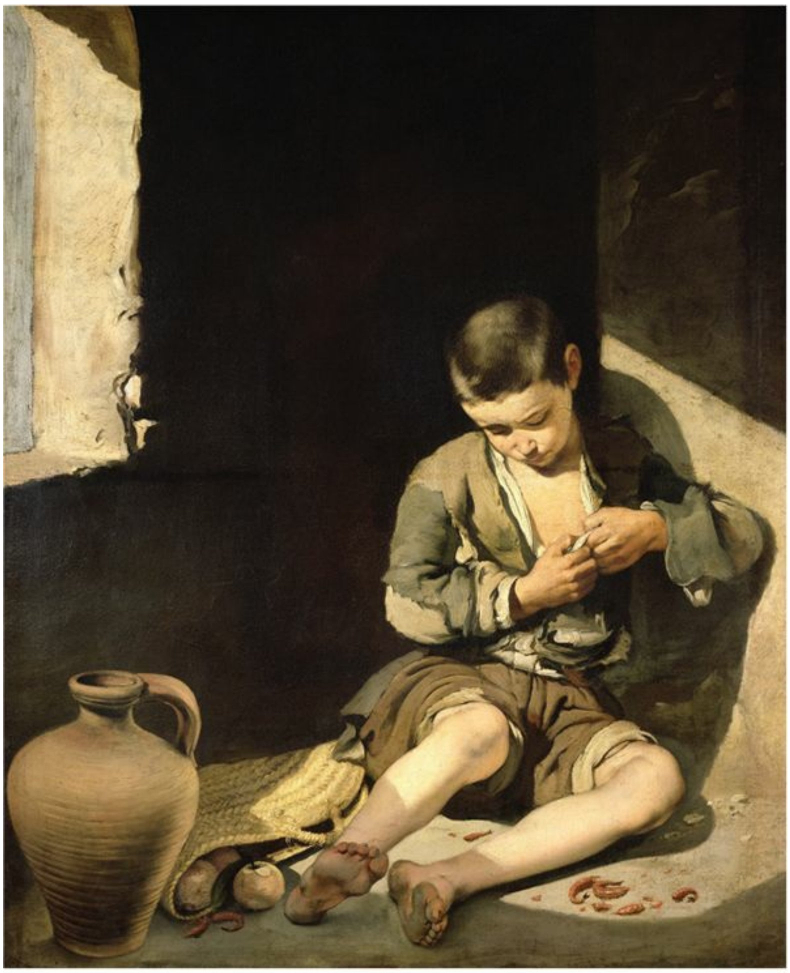
Peasants occupied the lower tiers of a society organized in hierarchical levels. In much of Europe, the monarch occupied the summit and was celebrated as a semidivine being chosen by God to embody the state. The clergy generally constituted the first order of society, due to its sacred role interceding with God on behalf of its flocks. Next came nobles, whose privileged status derived from their ancient bloodlines and leadership in battle. Many prosperous mercantile families had bought their way into the nobility through service to the monarchy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and they constituted a second tier of nobles. Those lower on the social scale, the peasants and artisans who formed the vast majority of the population, were expected to show deference to their betters. This was the "Great Chain of Being" that linked God to his creation in a series of ranked social groups.

In addition to being rigidly hierarchical, European societies were patriarchal. Religious and secular law commanded a man's wife, children, servants, and apprentices to respect and obey him. Fathers were entitled to use physical violence, imprisonment, and other forceful measures to impose their authority. These powers were balanced by expectations that a good father would care benevolently for his dependents.

In the seventeenth century the vast majority of Europeans lived in the countryside, as was the case in most parts of the world. In western Europe a small number of peasants owned enough land to feed themselves and possessed the livestock and plows necessary to work their land. Independent farmers were leaders of the peasant village. Below them were small landowners and tenant farmers who did not have enough land to be self-sufficient. At the bottom were villagers who worked as dependent laborers and servants. Private landowning among peasants was a distinguishing feature of western Europe. In central and eastern Europe the vast majority of peasants toiled as serfs for noble landowners, while in the Ottoman Empire all land belonged to the sultan.

Economic Crisis and Popular Revolts

In the seventeenth century a period of colder and more variable climate afflicted much of the globe. Dubbed the “little ice age” by historians, this period of cold weather accompanied by both too much rain and episodes of severe drought resulted in shorter growing seasons with lower yields. A bad harvest created food shortages; a series of bad harvests could lead to famine. Recurrent famines significantly diminished the population of Europe and Asia in this period, through reduced fertility, increased susceptibility to disease, and outright starvation.



Louvre, Paris, France/Bridgeman Images

The Young Beggar The mid-seventeenth century was a harsh period for many Europeans, who faced meager harvests, unemployment, high taxation, and social unrest.

Industry also suffered. In Europe the output of woolen textiles, the most important industrial sector, declined sharply. Food prices were high, wages stagnated, and unemployment soared. This economic crisis was not universal: it struck various regions at different times and to different degrees. In the middle decades of the century, for example, Spain, France, Germany, and the British Isles all experienced great economic difficulties, as did China, but these years were the golden age of the Netherlands (see "The Dutch Republic"). Japan also emerged relatively unscathed, as did South Asia and the Americas.

The urban poor and peasants were the hardest hit. When the price of bread rose beyond their capacity to pay, they frequently expressed their anger by rioting. Women often led these actions, since their role as mothers gave them some impunity in authorities' eyes. Historians have used the term **moral economy** for this vision of a world in which community needs predominate over competition and profit and in which necessary goods should thus be sold at a fair price.

moral economy The early modern European view that community needs predominated over competition and profit and that necessary goods should thus be sold at a fair price.

During the middle years of the seventeenth century, harsh conditions transformed neighborhood bread riots into armed uprisings across much of Europe. Popular revolts were common in England, France, and throughout the Spanish Empire, particularly during the 1640s. At the same time that he struggled to put down an uprising in Catalonia, the economic center of the realm, Spanish king Philip IV faced revolt in Portugal, the northern provinces of the Netherlands, and Spanish-occupied Sicily. France suffered an uprising in the same period that won enthusiastic support from both nobles and peasants, while the English monarch was tried and executed by his subjects and Russia experienced an explosive rebellion. In China a series of popular revolts culminated in the fall of the Ming empire in 1644, demonstrating the global reach of the seventeenth-century crisis.

Municipal and royal authorities struggled to overcome popular revolt in the mid-seventeenth century. They feared that stern repressive measures, such as sending in troops to fire on crowds, would create martyrs and further inflame the situation, while full-scale occupation of a city would be very expensive and detract from military efforts elsewhere. The limitations of royal authority gave some leverage to rebels. To quell riots, royal edicts were sometimes suspended, prisoners released, and discussions initiated. By the beginning of the eighteenth century rulers had gained much greater control over their populations, as a result of the achievements in state-building discussed below (see “European Achievements in State-Building”).

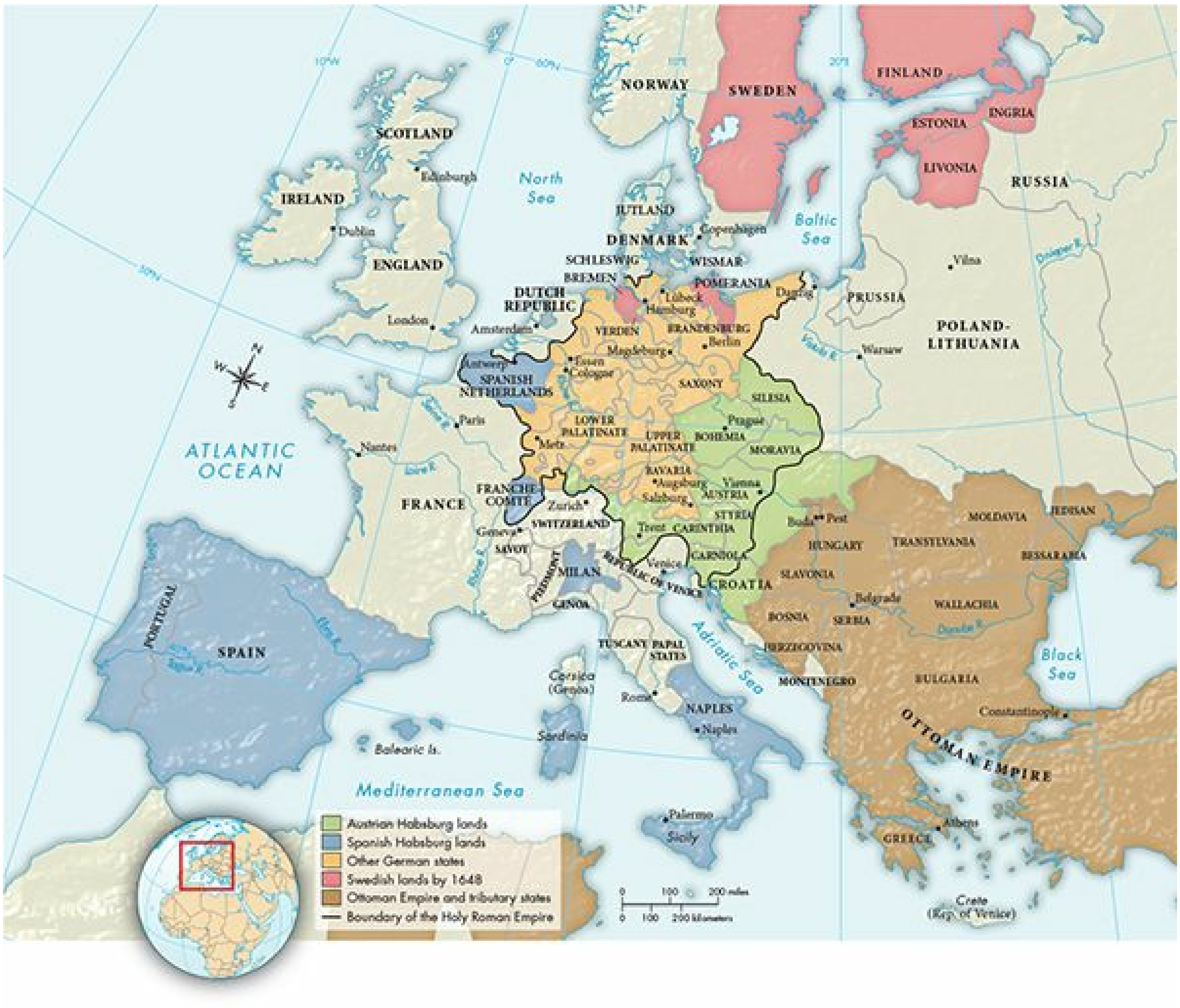
The Thirty Years’ War

In addition to harsh economic conditions, popular unrest was greatly exacerbated by the impact of the decades-long conflict known as the **Thirty Years’ War** (1618–1648), a war that drew in almost every European state. The background to the war was a shift in the balance between the population of Protestants and Catholics in the Holy Roman Empire that led to the deterioration of the Peace of Augsburg. Lutheran princes felt compelled to form the Protestant Union (1608), and Catholics retaliated with the Catholic League (1609). Dynastic interests were also involved; the Spanish Habsburgs strongly supported the goals of their Austrian relatives: the unity of the empire and the preservation of Catholicism within it.

Thirty Years' War A large-scale conflict extending from 1618 to 1648 that pitted Protestants against Catholics in central Europe, but also involved dynastic interests, notably of Spain and France.

The war began with a conflict in Bohemia (part of the present-day Czech Republic) between the Catholic League and the Protestant Union but soon spread through the Holy Roman Empire, drawing in combatants from across Europe. After a series of initial Catholic victories, the tide of the conflict turned due to the intervention of Sweden, under its king Gustavus Adolphus (r. 1594–1632), and then France, whose prime minister, Cardinal Richelieu (REESH-uh-lyuh), intervened on the side of the Protestants to undermine Habsburg power.

The 1648 Peace of Westphalia that ended the Thirty Years' War marked a turning point in European history. The treaties that established the peace not only ended conflicts fought over religious faith but also recognized the independent authority of more than three hundred German princes (Map 18.2), reconfirming the emperor's severely limited authority. The Augsburg agreement of 1555 became permanent, adding Calvinism to Catholicism and Lutheranism as legally permissible creeds. The United Provinces of the Netherlands, known as the Dutch Republic, won official freedom from Spain.


NORWAY
SWEDEN
FINLAND
INGRIA
ESTONIA
LIVONIA
RUSSIA
SCOTLAND
Edinburgh
North Sea
IRELAND
Dublin
ENGLAND
London
JUTLAND
DENMARK
Copenhagen
Baltic Sea
SCHLESWIG
WISMAR
BREMEN
POMERANIA
Lübeck
Hamburg
Danzig
PRUSSIA
Vilna
DUTCH REPUBLIC
Amsterdam
VERDEN
BRANDENBURG
Berlin
Magdeburg
Warsaw
POLAND-LITHUANIA
Antwerp
SPANISH NETHERLANDS
Essen
Cologne
SAXONY
SILESIA
Paris
LOWER PALATINATE
Prague
Metz
UPPER PALATINATE
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Nantes
BAVARIA
Augsburg
Vienna
FRANCHE-COMTÉ
Salzburg
AUSTRIA
FRANCE
Zurich
SWITZERLAND
STYRIA
Buda
Pest
Geneva
Tirol
CARINTHIA
SAVOY
CARNIOLA
HUNGARY
TRANSYLVANIA
MOLDAVIA
JEDISAN
BESSARABIA
MILAN
Venice
REPUBLIC OF VENICE
CROATIA
SLAVONIA
PIEDMONT
GENOA
Belgrade
WALLACHIA
BOSNIA
SERBIA
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
TUSCANY
PAPAL STATES
HERZEGOVINA
Adriatic Sea
Black Sea
Corsica (Genoa)
Rome
MONTENEGRO
BULGARIA
NAPLES
Naples
Constantinople
Sardinia
Balearic Is.
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Mediterranean Sea
Palermo
Sicily
Athens
GREECE
Crete (Rep. of Venice)
Loire R.
Rhine R.
Rhône R.
Elbe R.
Vistula R.
Danube R.
Dnieper R.
Tagus R.
Ebro R.
Seine R.
10°W
0°
10°E
20°E
30°E
60°N
50°N
N
S
E
W
🟩 Austrian Habsburg lands
🟦 Spanish Habsburg lands
🟨 Other German states
🟥 Swedish lands by 1648
🟫 Ottoman Empire and tributary states
— Boundary of the Holy Roman Empire
0 100 200 miles
0 100 200 kilometers

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 18.2 Europe After the Thirty Years' War Which country emerged from the Thirty Years' War as the strongest European power? What dynastic house was that country's major rival in the early modern period?

The Thirty Years' War was probably the most destructive event in central Europe prior to the world wars of the twentieth century. Perhaps one-third of urban residents and two-fifths of the rural population died, and agriculture and industry withered. Across Europe, states increased taxes to meet the cost of war, further increasing the suffering of a traumatized population.

European Achievements in State-Building

In this context of warfare, economic crisis, popular revolt, and demographic decline, rulers took urgent measures to restore order and rebuild their states. In some states, absolutist models of government prevailed. In others, constitutionalist forces dominated. Despite their political differences, all these states sought to protect and expand their frontiers, raise taxes, consolidate central control, establish social welfare programs, and compete for colonies and trade in the New and Old Worlds. In so doing, they followed a broad pattern of state-building and consolidation of power found across Eurasia in this period.

Rulers who wished to increase their authority encountered formidable obstacles, including poor communications, entrenched local power structures, and ethnic and linguistic diversity. Nonetheless, over the course of the seventeenth century both absolutist and constitutional governments achieved new levels of power and national unity. They did so by transforming emergency measures of wartime into permanent structures of government and by subduing privileged groups through the combined use of force and economic and social incentives. Increased state authority may be seen in four areas in particular: a tremendous growth in the size and professionalism of armies; much higher taxes; larger and more efficient bureaucracies; and territorial expansion both within Europe and overseas. A fifth important area of European state growth — government sponsorship of scientific inquiry — will be discussed in Chapter 19.

Over time, centralized power added up to something close to **sovereignty**. A state may be termed sovereign when it possesses a monopoly over the instruments of justice and the use of force within clearly defined boundaries. In a sovereign state, no nongovernmental system of courts competes with state courts in the dispensation of justice. Also, private armies present no threat to central authority. While seventeenth-century states did not acquire full sovereignty, they made important strides toward that goal.

sovereignty Authority of states that possess a monopoly over the instruments of justice and the use of force within clearly defined boundaries and in which private armies present no threat to central control; seventeenth-century European states made important advances toward sovereignty.

Absolutist States in Western and Central Europe

What was absolutism, and how did it evolve in seventeenth-century Spain, France, and Austria?

Rulers in absolutist states asserted that, because they were chosen by God, they were responsible to God alone. Under the rule of **absolutism**, monarchs claimed exclusive power to make and enforce laws, denying any other institution or group the authority to check their power. This system was limited in practice by the need to maintain legitimacy and compromise with elites. Spain, France, and Austria provide three key examples of the development of the absolutist state.

absolutism A political system common to early modern Europe in which monarchs claimed exclusive power to make and enforce laws, without checks by other institutions; this system was limited in practice by the need to maintain legitimacy and compromise with elites.

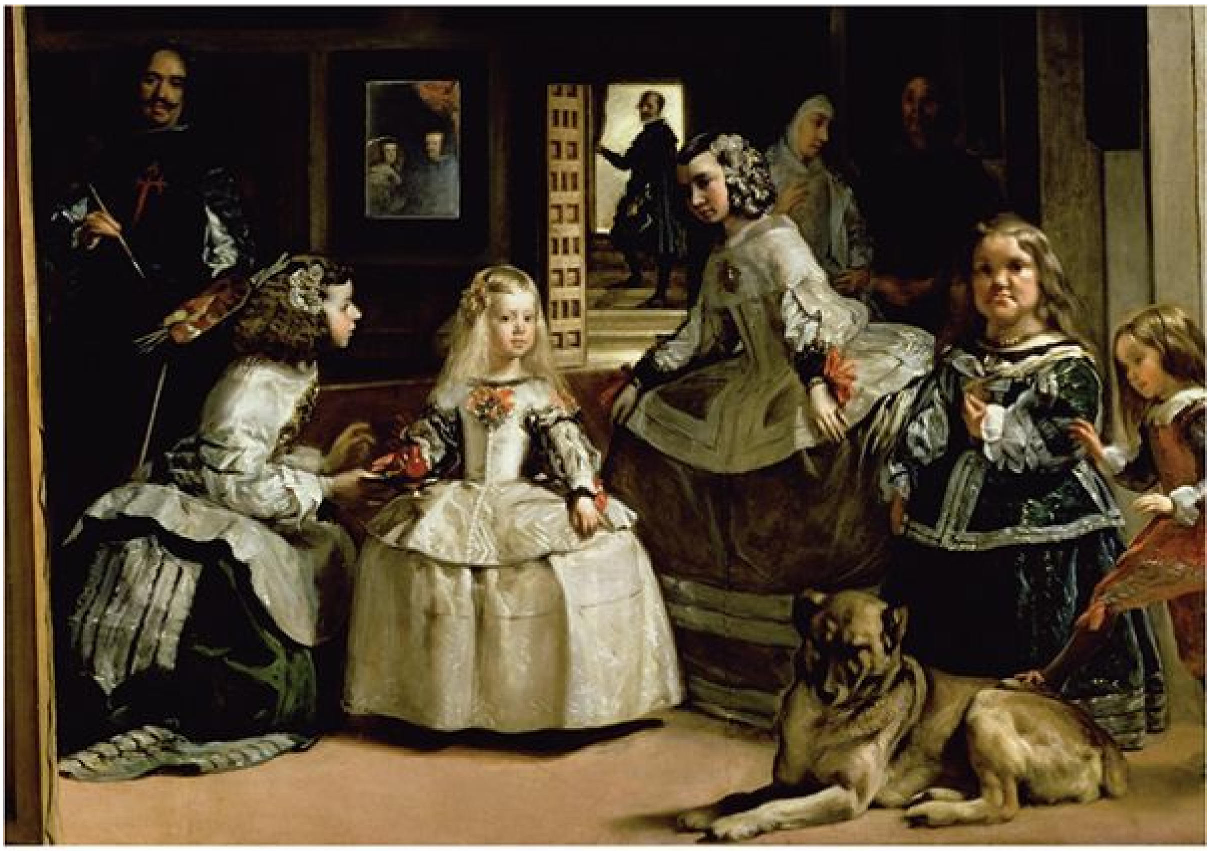
Spain

The discovery of silver at Potosí in 1545 had produced momentous wealth for Spain, allowing it to dominate Europe militarily (see “Spanish Silver and Its Economic Effects” in Chapter 16). Yet Spain had inherent weaknesses that the wealth of empire had hidden. When Philip IV took the throne in 1621, he inherited a vast and overstretched empire, which combined different kingdoms with their own traditions and loyalties. Spanish silver had created great wealth but also dependency. While Creoles undertook new industries in the colonies and European nations targeted Spanish colonial trade, industry and finance in Spain itself remained undeveloped.

Spain’s limitations became apparent during the first half of the seventeenth century. Between 1610 and 1650 Spanish trade with the colonies in the New World fell 60 percent due to competition from colonial industries and from Dutch and English traders. To make matters worse, in 1609 the Crown expelled some three hundred thousand Moriscos, or former Muslims, significantly reducing the pool of skilled workers and merchants. At the same time, disease decimated the enslaved workers who toiled in South American silver mines. Moreover, the mines started to run dry, and the quantity of metal produced steadily declined after 1620 and Dutch privateers seized the entire silver fleet in 1628.

In Madrid the expenses of war and imperial rule constantly exceeded income. Despite the efforts of Philip’s able chief minister, Gaspar de Guzmán, Count-Duke of Olivares, it proved impossible to force the kingdoms of the empire to shoulder the cost of its defense. To meet state debt, the Spanish crown repeatedly devalued the coinage and declared bankruptcy, which resulted in the collapse of national credit and steep inflation.

Spanish aristocrats, attempting to maintain an extravagant lifestyle they could no longer afford, increased the rents on their estates. High rents and heavy taxes drove the peasants from the land, leading to a decline in agricultural productivity. In cities wages and production stagnated. Spain also ignored new scientific methods that might have improved agricultural or manufacturing techniques because they came from the heretical nations of Holland and England.



Museo del Prado, Madrid, Spain/Bridgeman Images

Diego Rodriguez de Silva y Velázquez, *Las Meninas*, 1656 The royal princess Margaret Theresa is shown here surrounded by her ladies-in-waiting. The painter Velázquez has portrayed himself working on a canvas, while her parents, the king and queen of Spain, are reflected in the mirror behind the princess.

Spain’s situation worsened with internal rebellions and fresh military defeats during the Thirty Years’ War and the remainder of the seventeenth century. The Treaty of Westphalia, which ended the Thirty Years' War, compelled Spain to recognize the independence of the Dutch Republic, and another treaty in 1659 granted extensive territories to France. Finally, in 1688 the Spanish crown reluctantly recognized the independence of Portugal. With these losses, the era of Spanish dominance in Europe ended.

The Foundations of French Absolutism

Although France was the largest and most populous state in western Europe, its position at the beginning of the seventeenth century appeared extremely weak. Struggling to recover from decades of religious civil war, France posed little threat to Spain's predominance in Europe. By the end of the century the countries' positions were reversed.

Henry IV (r. 1589–1610) inaugurated the Bourbon dynasty, defusing religious tensions and rebuilding France's economy. He issued the Edict of Nantes in 1598, allowing Huguenots (French Protestants) the right to worship in 150 traditionally Protestant towns throughout France. He invested in infrastructure and raised revenue by selling royal offices instead of charging high taxes. Despite his efforts at peace, Henry was murdered in 1610 by a Catholic zealot.

Cardinal Richelieu (1585–1642) became first minister of the French crown on behalf of Henry's young son Louis XIII (r. 1610–1643). Richelieu designed his domestic policies to strengthen royal control. He extended the use of intendants, commissioners for each of France's thirty-two districts who were appointed by and were responsible to the monarch. By using the intendants to gather information and ensure royal edicts were enforced, Richelieu reduced the power of provincial nobles. Richelieu also viewed France's Huguenots as potential rebels, and he laid seige to La Rochelle, a Protestant stronghold. Richelieu's main foreign policy goal was to destroy the Habsburgs' grip on territories that surrounded France. Consequently, Richelieu supported Habsburg enemies, including Protestants, during the Thirty Years' War (see "The Thirty Years' War").

Cardinal Jules Mazarin (1602–1661) succeeded Richelieu as chief minister for the next child-king, the four-year-old Louis XIV, who inherited the throne from his father in 1643. Mazarin's struggle to increase royal revenues to meet the costs of the Thirty Years' War led to the uprisings of 1648–1653 known as the Fronde. In Paris magistrates of the Parlement of Paris, the nation's most important law court, were outraged by the Crown's autocratic measures. These so-called robe nobles (named for the robes they wore in court) encouraged violent protest by the common people. As rebellion spread outside Paris and to the sword nobles (the traditional warrior nobility), civil order broke down completely, and young Louis XIV had to flee Paris.

Much of the rebellion faded, however, when Louis XIV was declared king in his own right in 1651, ending the regency of his mother, Anne of Austria. The French people were desperate for peace and stability after the disorders of the Fronde and were willing to accept a strong monarch who could restore order. Louis pledged to do just that, insisting that only his absolute authority stood between the French people and a renewed descent into chaos.

Louis XIV and Absolutism

During the long reign of Louis XIV (r. 1643–1715), known as the Sun King, the French monarchy overcame weakness and division to become the most powerful nation in western Europe. Louis based his authority on the **divine right of kings**: God had established kings as his rulers on earth, and they were answerable ultimately to him alone. However, Louis also recognized that kings could not simply do as they pleased. They had to obey God's laws and rule for the good of the people.

divine right of kings The belief propagated by absolutist monarchs in Europe that they derived their power from God and were only answerable to him.

Like his counterpart, the Kangxi emperor of China, who inherited his realm only two decades after the Sun King did (see "Competent and Long-Lived Emperors" in Chapter 21), Louis XIV impressed his subjects with his discipline and hard work. (See "Global Viewpoints: Descriptions of Louis XIV of France and the Kangxi Emperor of China," at right.) He ruled his realm through several councils of state and insisted on taking a personal role in many of the councils' decisions. Despite increasing financial problems, Louis never called a meeting of the Estates General, the traditional French representative assembly composed of the three estates of clergy, nobility, and commoners. The nobility, therefore, had no means of united expression or action. To further restrict their political power, he excluded them from his councils and chose instead capable men of modest origins.

Although personally tolerant, Louis hated division. He insisted that religious unity was essential to the security of the state. In 1685 Louis revoked the Edict of Nantes. Around two hundred thousand Protestants, including some of the kingdom's most highly skilled artisans, fled France.

Louis's insistence on "one king, one law, one religion" contrasts sharply with the religious tolerance exhibited by Muslim empires in the Middle East and South Asia (see "Non-Muslims Under Muslim Rule" in Chapter 17).

Despite his claims to absolute authority, there were multiple constraints on Louis's power. As a representative of divine power, he was obliged to rule in a way that seemed consistent with virtue and paternal benevolence. He had to uphold the laws issued by his royal predecessors. Moreover, he also relied on the collaboration of nobles. Without their cooperation, it would have been impossible for Louis to extend his power throughout France or wage his many foreign wars. (See "Thinking Like a Historian: What Was Absolutism?" page 510.)

GLOBAL VIEWPOINTS

Descriptions of Louis XIV of France and the Kangxi Emperor of China

King Louis XIV of France (1638–1715) and the Kangxi emperor of Qing China (1654–1722) lived remarkably parallel lives. They both inherited realms in childhood and learned to rule from powerful women, in Louis's case his mother, Queen Anne of Austria, and in Kangxi's case his grandmother, Grand Empress Dowager Xiaozhuang. Both rulers built magnificent palaces and demonstrated hard work, discipline, and a thirst for glory and power. Louis sent Jesuits to the Chinese court to spread European scientific knowledge and Catholicism. The emperor originally welcomed them and was fascinated by their learning and technology, but he eventually banned them and Christianity from his realm. The following descriptions of Louis XIV and the Kangxi emperor, written by a French courtier and a Jesuit missionary, respectively, underline the similar qualities observers noted in the two rulers.

The Duke of Saint-Simon, *Memoirs of Louis XIV, His Court, and the Regency, 1739–1749*.

■ [He was] the very figure of a hero, so impregnated with a natural but most imposing majesty that it appeared even in his most insignificant gestures and movements, without arrogance but with simple gravity. . . . He was as dignified and majestic in his dressing gown as when dressed in robes of state, or on horseback at the head of his troops.

He excelled in all sorts of exercise and liked to have every facility for it. No fatigue nor stress of weather made any impression on that heroic figure and bearing; drenched with rain or snow, pierced with cold, bathed in sweat or covered with dust, he was always the same. . . .

[He had] the ability to speak well and to listen with quick comprehension; much reserve of manner adjusted with exactness to the quality of different persons; a courtesy always grave, always dignified, always distinguished, and suited to the age, rank, and sex of each individual, and, for the ladies, always an air of natural gallantry. . . .

Nothing could be regulated with greater exactitude than were his days and hours. In spite of all his variety of places, affairs, and amusements, with an almanac and a watch one might tell, three hundred leagues away, exactly what he was doing. . . . If he administered reproof, it was rarely, in few words, and never hastily. He did not lose control of himself ten times in his whole life, and then only with inferior persons, and not more than four or five times seriously.

Father Joachim Bouvet, *The History of Cang-Hy, the Present Emperour of China, 1699*

■ His whole Deportment is very Majestick, being well proportion'd in his

Limbs, and pretty Tall, the Feature of his Face very exact, with a large and brisk Eye, beyond what is observable among others of that Nation; He is a little crooked Nosed, and pitted with the Small-pox, but not so as to be in the least disfigur'd by them.

But the rare Accomplishments of his Mind, surpass infinitely those of his Body. His Natural Genius is such as can be parallel'd but by few, being endow'd with a Quick and piercing Wit, a vast Memory, and Great Understanding; His Constancy is never to be shaken by any sinister Event, which makes him the fittest Person in the World, not only to undertake, but also to accomplish Great Designs.

To be short, his inclinations are so Noble, and in all respects so Answerable to the High Station of so Great a Prince, that his People stand in Admiration of his Person, being equally Charm'd with his Love and Justice, and the Tenderness he shews for his Subjects, and with his virtuous Inclinations; which as they are always guided by the Dictates of Reason, so, they render him an Absolute Master of his Passions.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What qualities did the Duke of Saint-Simon and Father Bouvet admire in Louis XIV and the Kangxi emperor? What similarities do you find among the qualities they describe?
2. Based on what you have read in this chapter, why was it important for an absolute ruler to possess the qualities the authors describe? What weaknesses do these excerpts suggest a would-be ruler should avoid, and why?

Sources: J. H. Robinson, ed., *Readings in European History*, vol. 2 (Boston: Ginn, 1906), pp. 285–286; Father Joachim Bouvet, *The History of Cang-Hy, the Present Emperour of China* (London: F. Coggan, 1699), p. 2.

THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN

What Was Absolutism?

Historians have long debated the nature of "absolutism" in seventeenth-century Europe. While many historians have emphasized the growth of state power in this period, especially under Louis XIV of France, others have questioned whether such a thing as "absolutism" ever existed. The following documents will allow you to draw your own conclusions about absolutism.

1 **Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, political treatise, 1709.** In 1670 Louis XIV appointed Bishop Bossuet tutor to his son and heir, known as the dauphin. In *Politics Drawn from the Very Words of Holy Scripture,* Bossuet argued that royal power was divine and absolute, but not without limits.

■ It appears from all this that the person of the king is sacred, and that to attack him in any way is sacrilege. God has the kings anointed by his prophets with the holy unction in like manner as he has bishops and altars anointed. But even without the external application in thus being anointed, they are by their very office the representatives of the divine majesty deputed by Providence for the execution of his purposes. Accordingly God calls Cyrus his anointed. "Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him." Kings should be guarded as holy things, and whosoever neglects to protect them is worthy of death. . . . There is something religious in the respect accorded to a prince. The service of God and the respect for kings are bound together. St. Peter unites these two duties when he says, "Fear God. Honour the king.". . . But kings, although their power comes from on high, as has been said, should not regard themselves as masters of that power to use it at their pleasure; . . . they must employ it with fear and self-restraint, as a thing coming from God and of which God will demand an account.

2 **Letter of the prince of Condé, royal governor of the province of Burgundy, to Controller General Jean-Baptiste Colbert, June 18, 1662.** In this letter, the king's representative in the province of Burgundy reports on his efforts to compel the leaders of the province to pay taxes levied by the royal government. The Estates of Burgundy comprised representatives of the three orders, or estates, of society: the clergy, the nobility, and the commoners.

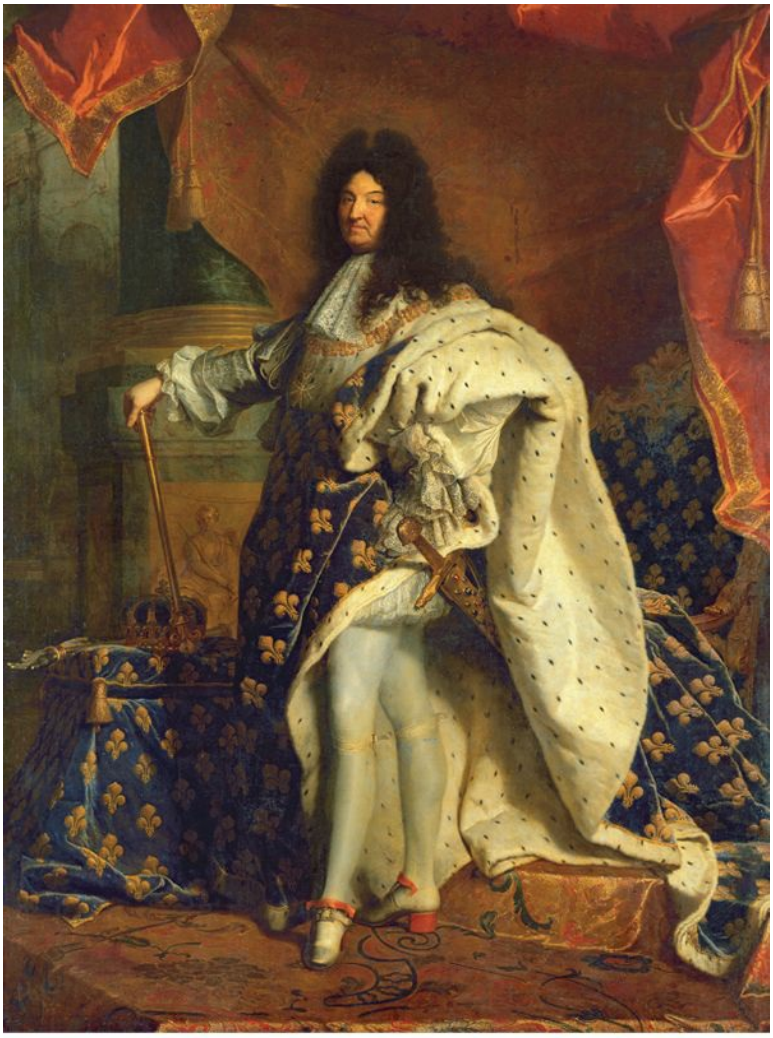
■ Since then the Estates have deliberated every day, persuaded that the extreme misery in this province — caused by the great levies it has suffered, the sterility [of the land] in recent years, and the disorders that have recently occurred — would induce the king to give them some relief. That is why they offered only 500,000 for the free gift. Then, after I had protested this in the appropriate manner, they raised it to 600,000, then 800,000, and finally 900,000 livres. Until then I had stood firm at 1.5 million, but when I saw that they were on the verge of deciding not to give any more . . . I finally came down to the 1.2 million livres contained in my instructions and invited them to deliberate again, declaring that I could not agree to present any other proposition to the king and that I believed that there was no better way to serve their interests than to obey the king blindly. They agreed with good grace and came this morning to offer me a million. They begged me to leave it at that and not to demand more from them for the free gift; and since I told them they would have to do a little better to satisfy the king completely on this occasion, they again exaggerated their poverty and begged me to inform the king of it, but said that, rather than not please him, they preferred to make a new effort, and they would leave it up to me to declare what they had to do. I told them that I believed His Majesty would have the goodness to be satisfied with 1.05 million livres for the free gift, and they agreed. . . . So Monsieur, there is the deed done.

3 **Louis XIV, *Memoir for the Instruction of the Dauphin.*** In 1670 Louis XIV finished a memoir he had compiled for the education of his son and heir. Presented in the king's voice — although cowritten with several royal aides — the memoir recounts the early years of Louis's reign and explains his approach to absolute rule.

■ For however it be held as a maxim that in every thing a Prince should employ the most mild measures and first, and that it is more to his advantage to govern his subjects by persuasive than coercive means, it is nevertheless certain that whenever he meets with impediments or rebellion, the interest of his crown and the welfare of his people demand that he should cause himself to be indispensably obeyed; for it must be acknowledged there is nothing can so securely establish the happiness and tranquility of a country as the perfect combination of all authority in the single person of the Sovereign. The least division in this respect often produces the greatest calamities; and whether it be detached into the hands of individuals or those of corporate bodies, it always is there in a state of fermentation.

. . . [B]esides the insurrections and the intestine commotions which the ambition of power infallibly produces when it is not repressed, there are still a thousand other evils created by the inactivity of the Sovereign. Those who are nearest his person are the first to observe his weakness, and are also the first who are desirous of profiting by it. Every one of those persons have necessarily others who are subservient to their avaricious views, and to whom they at the same time give the privilege of imitating them. Thus, from the highest to the lowest is a systematic corruption communicated, and it becomes general in all classes.

4 **Hyacinthe Rigaud, portrait of Louis XIV, 1701.** This was one of Louis XIV's favorite portraits of himself. He liked it so much that he had many copies of the portrait made; his successors had their own portraits painted in the same posture with the same clothing and accoutrements.



Louis XIV in Royal Costume, 1701, by Hyacinthe François Rigaud [1659–1743] [oil on canvas]/Musée du Louvre, Paris, France/Bridgeman Images

5 Growth of the French army.

Time Period	Size of Army
Middle Ages	10,000 men
1635 (Louis XIII and Richelieu enter Thirty Years' War)	125,000 men
1670s (Louis XIV wages Dutch War)	280,000 men
1690s (Louis XIV wages Nine Years' War)	340,000 men

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. What elements of royal authority does the portrait of Louis XIV in Source 4 present to viewers? How would you compare this depiction of political power with images of modern-day politicians? How would you explain the differences?

2. What justification do the sources offer for Louis's claim to exercise "absolute" political authority? Based on his own words in Source 3, how do you think Louis would have viewed the constitutional governments of England and the Dutch Republic?
3. Compare and contrast the evidence for Louis's power given in these sources with evidence for limitations on it. What resources would a king have to muster to enlarge his army drastically (Source 5)? What insight do the negotiations over taxation (Source 2) give you into the ways the royal government acquired those resources?

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

Using the sources above, along with what you have learned in class and in this chapter, what was "absolutism"? Write a brief essay explaining what contemporaries thought absolute power entailed and the extent to which Louis XIV achieved such power.

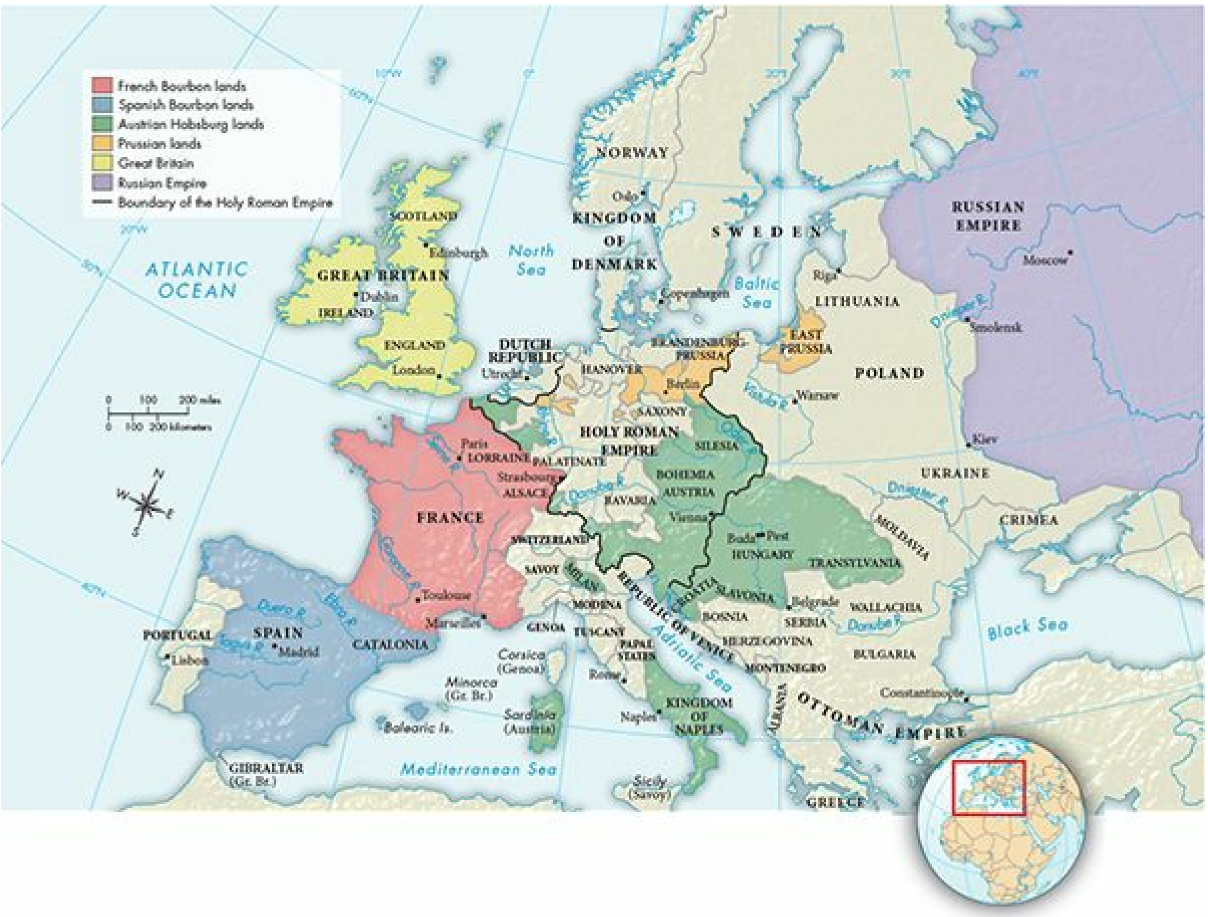
Sources: (1) J. H. Robinson, ed., *Readings in European History*, vol. 2 (Boston: Ginn, 1906), p. 274; (2) William Beik, ed., *Louis XIV and Absolutism: A Brief Study with Documents* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2000), pp. 127–128; (3) *Memoirs of Lewis the Fourteenth, Written by Himself, and Addressed to His Son*, vol. 1 (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme, 1806), pp. 13–14; (5) Based on information from John A. Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV, 1667–1714* (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 5–51.

The Wars of Louis XIV

Louis XIV kept France at war for thirty-three of the fifty-four years of his personal rule. Under the leadership of François le Tellier, marquis de Louvois, Louis's secretary of state for war, France acquired a huge professional army. The French army almost tripled in size. Uniforms and weapons were standardized, and a system of training and promotion was devised. As in so many other matters, Louis's model was emulated across Europe, resulting in a continent-wide transformation in military capability that scholars have referred to as a "military revolution."

During this long period of warfare, Louis's goal was to expand France to what he considered its natural borders and to win glory for the Bourbon dynasty. His results were mixed. During the 1660s and 1670s, French armies won a number of important victories. The wars of the 1680s and 1690s, however, brought no additional territories and placed unbearable strains on French resources.

Louis's last war, the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1713), was endured by a French people suffering high taxes, crop failure, and widespread malnutrition and death. This war was the result of Louis's unwillingness to abide by a previous agreement to divide Spanish possessions between France and the Holy Roman emperor upon the death of the childless Spanish king Charles II (r. 1665–1700). In 1701 the English, Dutch, Austrians, and Prussians formed the Grand Alliance against Louis XIV. War dragged on until 1713, when it was ended by the Peace of Utrecht (Map 18.3).


French Bourbon lands
Spanish Bourbon lands
Austrian Habsburg lands
Prussian lands
Great Britain
Russian Empire
Boundary of the Holy Roman Empire
ATLANTIC OCEAN
North Sea
Baltic Sea
NORWAY
Oslo
KINGDOM OF DENMARK
Copenhagen
SWEDEN
SCOTLAND
Edinburgh
GREAT BRITAIN
Dublin
IRELAND
ENGLAND
London
DUTCH REPUBLIC
Utrecht
HANOVER
BRANDENBURG-PRUSSIA
Berlin
EAST PRUSSIA
Riga
LITHUANIA
POLAND
Warsaw
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
Moscow
Smolensk
Kiev
UKRAINE
CRIMEA
SAXONY
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
SILESIA
BOHEMIA
AUSTRIA
Vienna
BAVARIA
PALATINATE
Paris
LORRAINE
Strasbourg
ALSACE
FRANCE
Toulouse
Marseilles
SWITZERLAND
SAVOY
MILAN
MODENA
GENOA
TUSCANY
PAPAL STATES
Rome
REPUBLIC OF VENICE
Adriatic Sea
KINGDOM OF NAPLES
Naples
Sicily (Savoy)
Corsica (Genoa)
Minorca (Gr. Br.)
Sardinia (Austria)
Balearic Is.
Mediterranean Sea
SPAIN
Madrid
CATALONIA
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
GIBRALTAR (Gr. Br.)
Buda Pest
HUNGARY
TRANSYLVANIA
MOLDAVIA
WALLACHIA
CROATIA
SLAVONIA
Belgrade
BOSNIA
SERBIA
HERZEGOVINA
MONTENEGRO
ALBANIA
BULGARIA
Constantinople
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
GREECE
Black Sea
Danube R.
Dniester R.
Dnieper R.
0 100 200 miles
0 100 200 kilometers
N
E
S
W

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Mapping the Past

MAP 18.3 Europe After the Peace of Utrecht, 1715 The series of treaties commonly called the Peace of Utrecht ended the War of the Spanish Succession and redrew the map of Europe. A French Bourbon king succeeded to the Spanish throne. France surrendered the Spanish Netherlands (later Belgium), then in French hands, to Austria and recognized the Hohenzollern rulers of Prussia. Spain ceded Gibraltar to Great Britain, for which it has been a strategic naval station ever since. Spain also granted Britain the *asiento*, the contract for supplying African slaves to America.

ANALYZING THE MAP Identify the areas on the map that changed hands as a result of the Peace of Utrecht. How did these changes affect the balance of power in Europe?

CONNECTIONS How and why did so many European countries possess scattered or discontiguous territories? What does this suggest about European politics in this period? Does this map suggest potential for future conflict?

The Peace of Utrecht marked the end of French expansion. Thirty-three years of war had given France the rights to all of Alsace and some commercial centers in the north. But at what price? At the time of Louis's death in 1715, an exhausted France hovered on the brink of bankruptcy.

The Economic Policy of Mercantilism

France’s ability to build armies and fight wars depended on a strong economy. Fortunately for Louis, Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683) brilliantly occupied the position of controller general of finance from 1665 to 1683. Colbert’s central principle was that the wealth and the economy of France should serve the state. To this end, Colbert rigorously applied mercantilist policies to France.

Mercantilism is a collection of governmental policies for the regulation of economic activities by and for the state, with the aim of increasing state power. It derives from the idea that a nation’s international power is based on its wealth, specifically its supply of gold and silver. To accumulate wealth, a country always had to sell more goods abroad than it bought from foreign countries.

mercantilism A system of economic regulations aimed at increasing the power of the state derived from the belief that a nation’s international power was based on its wealth, specifically its supply of gold and silver.

To increase exports, Colbert supported old industries and created new ones. He enacted new production regulations, created guilds to boost quality standards, and encouraged foreign craftsmen to immigrate to France. To encourage the purchase of French goods, he abolished many domestic tariffs and raised tariffs on foreign products. In 1664 Colbert founded the Company of the East Indies with hopes of competing with the Dutch for Asian trade. Colbert also sought to increase France’s control over and presence in New France (Canada) (see “Colonial Empires of England and France”).

During Colbert’s tenure as controller general, Louis was able to pursue his goals without massive tax increases and without creating a stream of new offices. The constant pressure of warfare after Colbert’s death, however, undid many of his economic achievements.

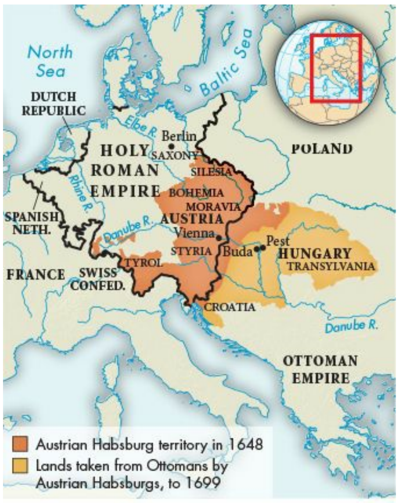
The Austrian Habsburgs

Absolutism was also the dominant form of monarchical rule among the more than one thousand states that composed the Holy Roman Empire. Prussia, a minor power with scattered holdings, emerged in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries under the Hohenzollern dynasty as a major rival to the Austrian Habsburg dynasty (see “Enlightened Absolutism and Its Limits” in Chapter 19). Like all of central Europe, the Austrian Habsburgs emerged from the Thirty Years’ War impoverished and exhausted. Their efforts to destroy Protestantism in the German lands and to turn the weak Holy Roman Empire into a real state had failed. Defeat in central Europe encouraged the Austrian Habsburgs to turn away from a quest for imperial dominance and to focus inward and eastward in an attempt to unify their diverse holdings.

Habsburg victory over Bohemia during the Thirty Years' War was an important step in this direction. Ferdinand II (r. 1619–1637) drastically reduced the power of the Bohemian Estates, the largely Protestant representative assembly. He also confiscated the landholdings of Protestant nobles and gave them to his supporters. After 1650 a large portion of the Bohemian nobility was of recent origin and owed its success to the Habsburgs.

With the support of this new nobility, the Habsburgs established direct rule over Bohemia. Under their rule, the condition of the serfs worsened substantially. The Habsburgs also successfully eliminated Protestantism in Bohemia. These changes were important steps in creating absolutist rule.

Ferdinand III (r. 1637–1657) continued to build state power. He centralized the government in the empire's German-speaking provinces, which formed the core Habsburg holdings, and established a permanent standing army. The Habsburg monarchy then turned east toward Hungary, which had been divided between the Ottomans and the Habsburgs in the early sixteenth century. Between 1683 and 1699 the Habsburgs pushed the Ottomans from most of Hungary and Transylvania. The recovery of all of the former kingdom of Hungary was completed in 1718.


North Sea
Baltic Sea
DUTCH REPUBLIC
Elbe R.
Berlin
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
SAXONY
SILESIA
POLAND
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
Rhine R.
SPANISH NETH.
Danube R.
AUSTRIA
Vienna
Pest
Buda
STYRIA
HUNGARY
TRANSYLVANIA
TYROL
FRANCE
SWISS CONFED.
CROATIA
Danube R.
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Austrian Habsburg territory in 1648
Lands taken from Ottomans by Austrian Habsburgs, to 1699

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Austrian Expansion, to 1699

Despite its reduced strength, the Hungarian nobility effectively thwarted the full development of Habsburg absolutism. Throughout the seventeenth century Hungarian nobles periodically rose in revolt against the Habsburgs. In 1703, with the Habsburgs bogged down in the War of the Spanish Succession, the Hungarians rose in one last patriotic rebellion under Prince Francis Rákóczy (RAH-coht-see). Rákóczy and his forces were eventually defeated, but the Habsburgs agreed to restore many of the traditional privileges of the Hungarian aristocracy in return for the country's acceptance of Habsburg rule.

Elsewhere, the Habsburgs made significant achievements in state-building by forging consensus with the church and the nobility. A sense of common identity and loyalty to the monarchy grew among elites in Habsburg lands. German became the language of the state, and Vienna became the political and cultural center of the empire.

The Absolutist Palace

In 1682 Louis moved his court and government to the newly renovated palace at Versailles (vayr-SIGH), in the countryside southwest of Paris. The themes of the interior paintings and the sculptures in the gardens hailed Louis's power, with images of the Roman gods Apollo (the sun god) and Neptune (the sea god) making frequent appearances. The gardens' rational orderliness and symmetry showed that Louis's force extended even to nature, while their terraces and waterworks served as showcases for the latest techniques in military and civil engineering.

The palace quickly became the center of political, social, and cultural life, and all high-ranking nobles were required to spend at least part of the year in residence. Louis established an elaborate set of etiquette rituals for courtiers that encompassed every moment of his day, from waking up and dressing in the morning to removing his clothing and retiring at night. These rituals were far from meaningless or trivial. The king controlled immense resources and privileges; access to him meant favored treatment for government offices, military and religious posts, state pensions, honorary titles, and a host of other benefits.

A system of patronage — in which a higher-ranked individual protected a lower-ranked one in return for loyalty and services — flowed from the court to the provinces. Through this mechanism Louis gained cooperation from powerful nobles. Although they were denied public offices and posts, women played a central role in the patronage system. At court the king's wife, mistresses, and other female relatives recommended individuals for honors, advocated policy decisions, and brokered alliances between noble factions.

With Versailles as the center of European politics, French culture grew in international prestige. French became the language of polite society and international diplomacy, and France inspired a cosmopolitan European culture in the late seventeenth century that looked to Versailles as its center. Moreover, Louis's rival European monarchs soon followed his example, and palace building became a Europe-wide phenomenon.

Constitutionalism and Empire in England and the Dutch Republic

Why and how did the constitutional state triumph in England and the Dutch Republic?

While most European nations emerged from the crises of the seventeenth century with absolutist forms of government, England and the Netherlands evolved toward **constitutionalism**, which is the limitation of government by law. Constitutionalism also implies a balance between the authority and power of the government, on the one hand, and the rights and liberties of the subjects, on the other.

constitutionalism A form of government in which power is limited by law and balanced between the authority and power of the government, on the one hand, and the rights and liberties of the subject or citizen, on the other; it includes constitutional monarchies and republics.

After decades of civil war, the English briefly adopted **republicanism**, a form of government in which there is no monarch and power rests in the hands of the people as exercised through elected representatives. Finally, in 1688 the English settled on a lasting political solution, constitutional monarchy. Under this system of government, England retained a monarch as the titular head of government but vested sovereignty in an elected parliament. For their part, the Dutch rejected monarchical rule in 1648, when their independence from Spain was formally recognized. Instead they adopted a republican form of government in which elected Estates (assemblies) held supreme power. Neither the English nor the Dutch were democratic by any standard, but to other Europeans, they were shining examples of the restraint of arbitrary power and the rule of law.

republicanism A form of government in which there is no monarch and power rests in the hands of the people as exercised through elected representatives.

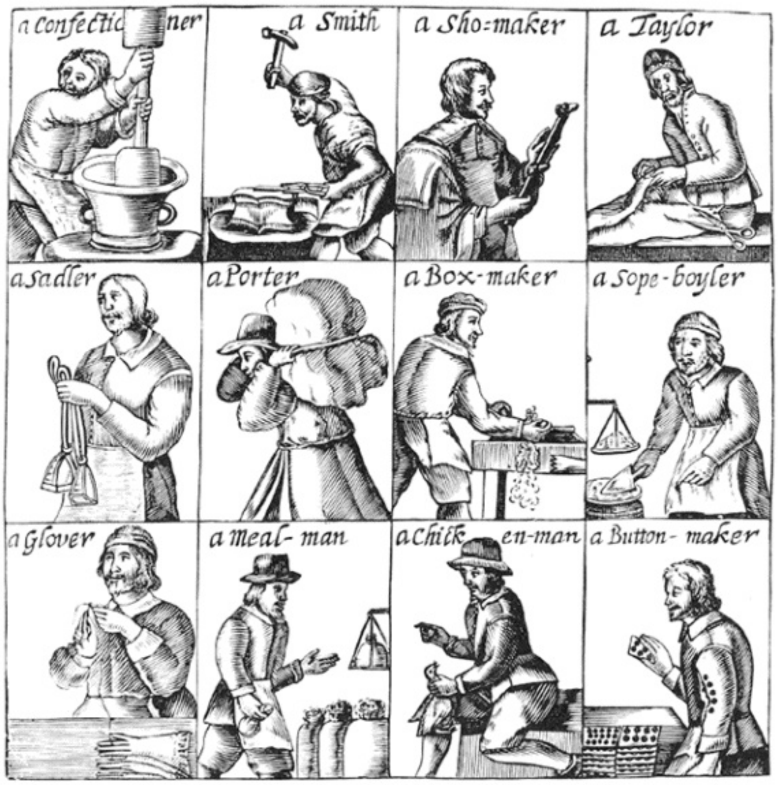
Religious Divides and Civil War

In 1603 beloved Queen Elizabeth was succeeded by her Scottish cousin James Stuart, who ruled England as James I (r. 1603–1625). Like Louis

XIV, James believed that a monarch had a divine right to his authority and was responsible only to God. James I and his son Charles I (r. 1625–1649) considered any legislative constraint on their power a threat to their divine-right prerogative. Consequently, at every meeting of Parliament between 1603 and 1640, bitter squabbles erupted between the Crown and the House of Commons.

Religious issues also embittered relations between the king and the House of Commons. In the early seventeenth century many English people felt dissatisfied with the Church of England. Calvinist **Puritans** wanted to take the Reformation further by "purifying" the Anglican Church of Roman Catholic elements, including crown-appointed bishops, elaborate ceremonials, and wedding rings. James I responded to such ideas by declaring, "No bishop, no king." His son and successor, Charles I, further antagonized subjects by marrying a French Catholic princess and supporting the high-handed policies of archbishop of Canterbury William Laud (1573–1645). Political and religious conflict in this period was exacerbated by economic distress caused by severe weather conditions and periodic bouts of plague.

Puritans Members of a sixteenth- and seventeenth-century reform movement within the Church of England that advocated purifying it of Roman Catholic elements, such as bishops, elaborate ceremonials, and wedding rings.



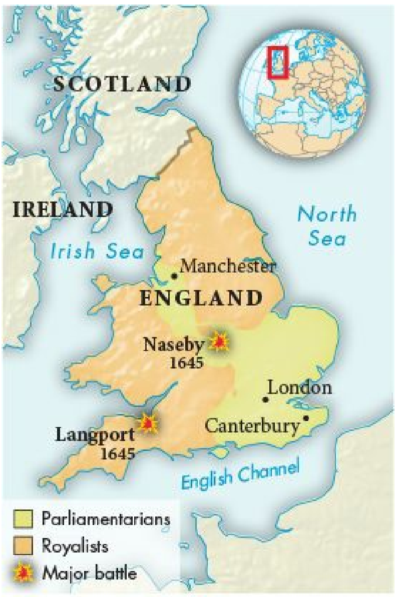
Visual Connection Archive

Puritan Occupations These twelve engravings depict typical Puritan occupations and show that the Puritans came primarily from the artisan and lower middle classes. The governing classes and peasants made up a much smaller percentage of Puritans, and most generally adhered to the traditions of the Church of England.

Charles avoided direct confrontation with his subjects by refusing to call Parliament into session from 1629 to 1640, instead financing the realm through extraordinary stopgap levies considered illegal by most English people. However, when Scottish Calvinists revolted against his religious policies, Charles was forced to summon Parliament to obtain funding for an army to put down the revolt. Angry with the king's behavior and sympathetic with the Scots' religious beliefs, the House of Commons passed the Triennial Act in 1641, which compelled the king to call Parliament every three years. The Commons also impeached Archbishop Laud and then threatened to abolish bishops. King Charles, fearful of a Scottish invasion, reluctantly accepted these measures. The next act in the conflict was precipitated by the outbreak of rebellion in Ireland. In 1641 the Catholic gentry of Ireland led an uprising in response to a feared invasion by British anti-Catholic forces.

Without an army, Charles I could neither come to terms with the Scots nor respond to the Irish rebellion. After a failed attempt to arrest parliamentary leaders, Charles left London and began to raise an army. In response, Parliament formed its own army, the New Model Army.

The English civil war (1642–1649) pitted the power of the king against that of Parliament. After three years of fighting, Parliament’s army defeated the king’s forces at the Battles of Naseby and Langport in the summer of 1645. Charles refused to concede defeat, and both sides waited for a decisive event. This arrived in the form of the army under the leadership of Oliver Cromwell, a member of the House of Commons and a devout Puritan. In 1647 Cromwell’s troops captured the king and dismissed members of the Parliament who opposed Cromwell’s actions. In 1649 the remaining representatives, known as the Rump Parliament, put Charles on trial for high treason. Charles was found guilty and beheaded on January 30, 1649.



Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e,
© 2018 Bedford/St. Martin’s

The English Civil War, 1642–1649

The Puritan Protectorate

With the execution of Charles, the monarchy was abolished and a commonwealth, or republican government, was proclaimed. Theoretically, legislative power rested in the surviving members of Parliament, and executive power was lodged in a council of state. In fact, the army that had defeated the king controlled the government, and Oliver Cromwell controlled the army. Though called the Protectorate, the rule of Cromwell (1653–1658) was a form of military dictatorship. Reflecting Puritan ideas of morality, Cromwell’s state forbade sports, kept the theaters closed, and rigorously censored the press.

On the issue of religion, Cromwell favored some degree of tolerance, and all Christians except Roman Catholics had the right to practice their faiths. Cromwell had long associated Catholicism in Ireland with sedition and heresy, and he led an army there to reconquer the country in August 1649. Following Cromwell's reconquest, the English banned Catholicism in Ireland, executed priests, and confiscated land from Catholics for English and Scottish settlers.

The Protectorate collapsed when Cromwell died in 1658 and his ineffectual son succeeded him. Fed up with military rule, the English longed for a return to civilian government. By 1660 they were ready to restore the monarchy.

Constitutional Monarchy

The Restoration of 1660 brought to the throne Charles II (r. 1660–1685), the eldest son of Charles I. Both houses of Parliament were also restored, as was the Anglican Church. However, Charles was succeeded by his Catholic brother James II, arousing fears of a return of Catholicism. A group of eminent persons in Parliament and the Church of England wrote to James's Protestant daughter Mary and her Dutch husband, Prince William of Orange, inviting them to invade and take the throne of England. In November 1688 William arrived on the English coast with five hundred ships and over twenty thousand soldiers, causing James II, his queen, and their infant son to flee for France. Early in 1689 William and Mary were jointly crowned as king and queen of England.

The English called the events of 1688 and 1689 the Glorious Revolution because they believed it replaced one king with another with barely any bloodshed. In truth, William's arrival sparked riots and violence across the British Isles and in North American cities such as Boston and New York. Uprisings by supporters of James, known as Jacobites, occurred in 1689 in Scotland. In Ireland the two sides waged outright war from 1689 to 1691. William's victory at the Battle of the Boyne (1690) and the subsequent Treaty of Limerick (1691) sealed his accession to power.

In England the revolution represented the final destruction of the idea of divine-right monarchy. The men who brought about the revolution framed their opposition to Stuart-style absolutism in the **Bill of Rights of 1689**, which was passed by Parliament and formally accepted by William and Mary. Law was to be made in Parliament; once made, it could not be suspended by the Crown. Parliament had to be called at least once every three years. The Bill of Rights also established the independence of the judiciary and mandated that there be no standing army in peacetime.

Protestants could possess arms, but the Catholic minority could not. Catholics could not inherit the throne. Additional legislation granted freedom of worship to Protestant dissenters but not to Catholics.

Bill of Rights of 1689 A bill passed by Parliament and accepted by William and Mary that limited the powers of British monarchs and affirmed those of Parliament.

The Glorious Revolution and the concept of representative government found its best defense in political philosopher John Locke's *Second Treatise of Civil Government* (1690). Locke (1632–1704) maintained that a government that oversteps its proper function — protecting the natural rights of life, liberty, and property — becomes a tyranny. Under a tyrannical government, he argued, the people have the natural right to rebellion.

Although the events of 1688 and 1689 brought England closer to Locke's ideal, they did not constitute a democratic revolution. The Glorious Revolution placed sovereignty in Parliament, and Parliament represented the upper classes.

The Dutch Republic

In the late sixteenth century the seven northern provinces of the Netherlands fought for and won their independence from Spain. The independence of the Republic of the United Provinces of the Netherlands was recognized in 1648 in the treaty that ended the Thirty Years' War. In this period, often called the "golden age of the Netherlands," Dutch ideas and attitudes played a profound role in shaping a new and modern worldview. At the same time, the United Provinces developed its own distinctive model of a constitutional state.

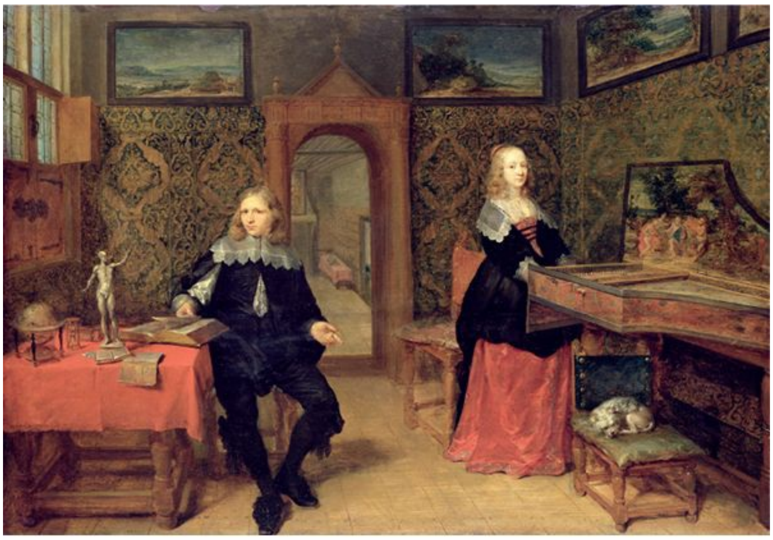
Rejecting the rule of a monarch, the Dutch established a republic, a state in which power rested in the hands of the people and was exercised through elected representatives. Other examples of republics in early modern Europe included the Swiss Confederation and several autonomous city-states of Italy and the Holy Roman Empire. Among the Dutch, an oligarchy of wealthy businessmen called regents handled domestic affairs in each province's Estates, or assemblies. The provincial Estates held virtually all the power. A federal assembly, or States General, handled foreign affairs and war, but all issues had to be referred back to the local Estates for approval, and each of the seven provinces could veto any proposed legislation. Holland, the province with the largest navy and the most wealth, usually dominated the republic and the States General.

In each province, the Estates appointed an executive officer, known as the stadholder. Although in theory the stadholder was freely chosen by the Estates, in practice the reigning prince of Orange usually held the office of stadholder in several of the seven provinces of the republic. Tensions persisted between supporters of the House of Orange and those of the staunchly republican Estates, who suspected the princes of harboring monarchical ambitions. (See “Analyzing the Evidence: Gonzales Coques, *The Young Scholar and His Wife,*” page 518.)

Global trade and commerce brought the Dutch the highest standard of living in Europe, perhaps in the world. Salaries were high, and all classes of society ate well. Consequently, the Netherlands experienced very few of the riots and popular revolts that characterized the rest of Europe.[2] The moral and ethical bases of Dutch commercial wealth were thrift, frugality, and religious tolerance. Jews enjoyed a level of acceptance and assimilation in Dutch business and general culture unique in early modern Europe. (See “Individuals in Society: Glückel of Hameln,” page 520.) In the Dutch Republic tolerance not only seemed the right way but also contributed to profits by attracting a great deal of foreign capital and investment.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

Gonzales Coques, *The Young Scholar and His Wife*



The Young Scholar and His Wife, 1640, by Gonzales Coques [1614–1684] [oil on panel]/Gemaeldegalerie Alte Meister, Kassel, Germany/ © Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel/Bridgeman Images

During the seventeenth century much of Europe was gripped by economic, social, and political crisis. A long period of cold, wet weather destroyed crops, while religious and political conflicts contributed to the outbreak of the highly destructive Thirty Years' War. A shining exception to this grim picture was the Netherlands, which saw increased agricultural productivity, growing involvement in world trade, and a thriving urban culture. The bustling cities of the Dutch Republic and Flanders gave birth in this period to a new style of painting, now known as "genre painting," that celebrated the virtues of everyday life, family, and the domestic sphere.

Although earlier generations of artists had reserved their highest praise for paintings that re-created great historical and mythological events, genre painters depicted realistic scenes set in family homes, taverns, and other prosaic locales. They eschewed representing idealized heroes and dramatic imagery in favor of the earthly pleasures of eating, drinking, and gathering with friends and family in cozy interiors, often furnished with the exotic wares pouring in from the East. Genre paintings thus reflected the values and pastimes of the wealthy bourgeois merchants and other urban elites who commissioned them. This painting style of the Dutch golden age became extremely popular and spread to the rest of northern Europe.

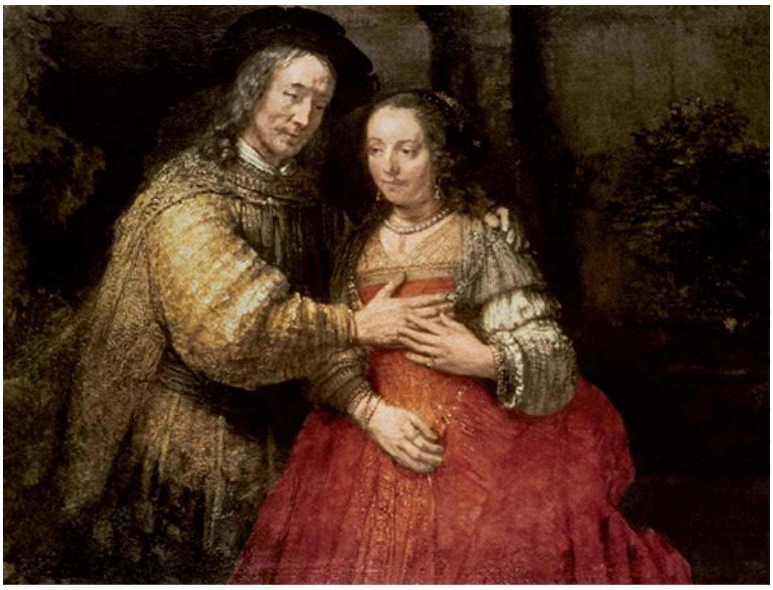
Gonzales Coques, the painter of this image, was born in Antwerp (part of modern Belgium) around 1615. He apprenticed with the Flemish artist Pieter Brueghel the Younger and became a master of the Antwerp painters' guild in 1640, the same year he produced this painting. Specializing in portraits of individuals and families — such as this fine rendition of an affluent young scholar and his wife — Coques contributed to the development of genre painting.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What social and cultural values does this painting seem to celebrate? List the details in the painting that provide evidence for your answer.
2. What insight does the painter offer into the roles of men and women in this society and the attributes of masculinity and femininity? Why do you think the husband and wife are standing separately and not together, as they probably would in a modern family portrait?
3. How does the artist’s use of color help convey meaning in the painting?

INDIVIDUALS IN SOCIETY

Glückel of Hameln


Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, The Netherlands/Bridgeman Images

Rembrandt, *The Jewish Bride.*

IN 1690 A JEWISH WIDOW IN THE SMALL GERMAN TOWN of Hameln in Lower Saxony sat down to write her autobiography. She wanted to distract her mind from the terrible grief she felt over the death of her husband and to provide her twelve children with a record. She told them that she was writing her memoirs "so you will know from what sort of people you have sprung, lest today or tomorrow your beloved children or grandchildren came and know naught of their family." Out of her pain and heightened consciousness, Glückel (1646–1724) produced an invaluable source for scholars.

She was born in Hamburg two years before the end of the Thirty Years' War. In 1649 the merchants of Hamburg expelled the Jews, who moved to nearby Altona, then under Danish rule. When the Swedes overran Altona in 1657–1658, the Jews returned to Hamburg "purely at the mercy of the Town Council." Glückel's narrative unfolds against a background of the constant harassment to which Jews were subjected — special papers, permits, bribes — and in Hameln she wrote, "And so it has been to this day and, I fear, will continue in like fashion."

When Glückel was "barely twelve," her father betrothed her to Chayim Hameln, and they married when she was fourteen. She describes him as “the perfect pattern of the pious Jew,” a man who stopped his work every day for study and prayer, fasted, and was scrupulously honest in his business dealings. Only a few years older than Glückel, Chayim earned his living dealing in precious metals and in making small loans on pledges (pawned goods). This work required constant travel to larger cities, markets, and fairs, often in bad weather, always over dangerous roads. Chayim consulted his wife about all his business dealings. As he lay dying, a friend asked if he had any last wishes. “None,” he replied. “My wife knows everything. She shall do as she has always done.” For thirty years Glückel had been his friend, full business partner, and wife. They had thirteen children, twelve of whom survived their father, eight then unmarried. As Chayim had foretold, Glückel succeeded in launching the boys in careers and in providing dowries for the girls.

Glückel’s world was her family, the Jewish community of Hameln, and the Jewish communities into which her children married. Her social and business activities took her across Europe, from Amsterdam to Berlin, from Danzig to Vienna; thus her world was far from narrow or provincial. She took great pride that Prince Frederick of Cleves, later king of Prussia, danced at the wedding of her eldest daughter. The rising prosperity of Chayim’s businesses allowed the couple to maintain up to six servants.

Glückel was deeply religious, and her culture was steeped in Jewish literature, legends, and mystical and secular works. Above all, she relied on the Bible. Her language, heavily sprinkled with scriptural references, testifies to a rare familiarity with the Scriptures.

Students who wish to learn about seventeenth-century business practices, the importance of the dowry in marriage, childbirth, Jewish life, birthrates, family celebrations, and even the meaning of life can gain a good deal from the memoirs of this extraordinary woman who was, in the words of one of her descendants, the poet Heinrich Heine, “the gift of a world to me.”

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Consider the ways in which Glückel of Hameln was both an ordinary and an extraordinary woman of her times. Would you call her a marginal or a central person in her society? Why?
2. How might Glückel’s successes be attributed to the stabilizing force of absolutism in the seventeenth century?

Source: *The Memoirs of Glückel of Hameln* (New York: Schocken Books, 1977).

Colonial Expansion and Empire

How did European nations compete for global trade and empire in the Americas and Asia?

For much of the sixteenth century the Spanish and Portuguese dominated European overseas trade and colonization (see “Conquest and Settlement” in Chapter 16). In the early seventeenth century, however, England, France, and the Netherlands challenged Spain’s monopoly. They eventually succeeded in creating overseas empires, consisting of settler colonies in North America, slave plantations in the Caribbean, and scattered trading posts in West Africa and Asia. Competition among them was encouraged by mercantilist economic doctrine, which dictated that foreign trade was a zero-sum game in which one country’s gains necessarily entailed another’s loss.

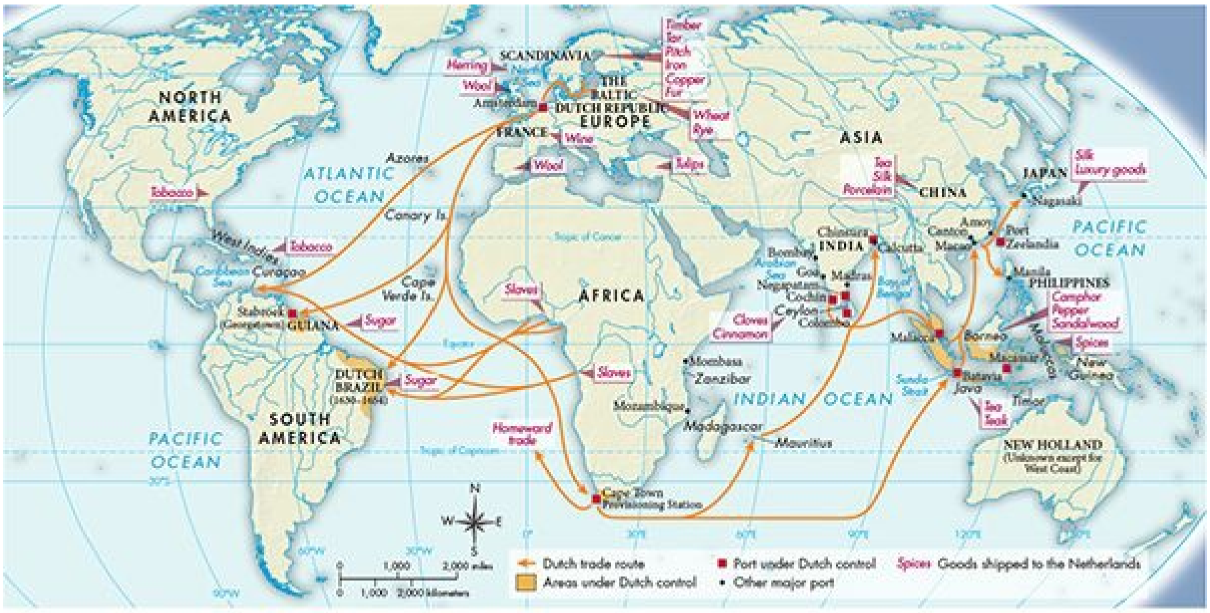
The Dutch Trading Empire

The so-called golden age of the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century was built on its commercial prosperity and its highly original republican system of government. The Dutch came to dominate the European shipping business by putting profits from their original industry — herring fishing — into shipbuilding. They then took aim at Portugal’s immensely lucrative Asian trade empire.

In 1599 a Dutch fleet returned to Amsterdam from a voyage to South East Asia carrying a huge cargo of spices. Those who had invested in the expedition received a 100 percent profit. The voyage led to the establishment in 1602 of the Dutch East India Company, founded with the stated intention of capturing the spice trade from the Portuguese.

In return for assisting Indonesian princes in local conflicts and disputes with the Portuguese, the Dutch won broad commercial concessions. Through agreements, seizures, and outright military aggression, they gained control of the western access to the Indonesian archipelago in the first half of the seventeenth century. Gradually, they acquired political domination over the archipelago itself. The Dutch were willing to use force more ruthlessly than the Portuguese were and had superior organizational efficiency. These factors allowed them to expel the Portuguese from Ceylon and other East Indian islands in the 1660s and henceforth dominate the production and trade of spices. The company also established the colony of Cape Town on the southern tip of Africa as a provisioning point for its Asian fleets.

The Dutch also aspired to a role in the Americas (Map 18.4). Founded in 1621, the Dutch West India Company aggressively sought to open trade with North and South America and capture Spanish territories there. The company captured or destroyed hundreds of Spanish ships, seized the Spanish silver fleet in 1628, and claimed portions of Brazil and the Caribbean. The Dutch also successfully interceded in the transatlantic slave trade, establishing a large number of trading stations on the west coast of Africa. Ironically, the nation that was known as a bastion of tolerance and freedom came to be one of the principal operators of the slave trade starting in the 1640s.


NORTH AMERICA
SCANDINAVIA
Herring
North Sea
Wool
Amsterdam
THE BALTIC
DUTCH REPUBLIC
EUROPE
FRANCE
Wine
Wool
Tulips
Timber
Tar
Pitch
Iron
Copper
Fur
Wheat
Rye
ASIA
Tea
Silk
Porcelain
CHINA
JAPAN
Silk
Luxury goods
Nagasaki
Azores
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Canary Is.
Tobacco
West Indies
Tobacco
Caribbean Sea
Curaçao
Cape Verde Is.
Slaves
AFRICA
Stabroek (Georgetown)
GUIANA
Sugar
Equator
DUTCH BRAZIL (1630–1654)
Sugar
Slaves
SOUTH AMERICA
PACIFIC OCEAN
Tropic of Cancer
Tropic of Capricorn
Homeward trade
Mombasa
Zanzibar
Mozambique
Madagascar
Mauritius
Cape Town Provisioning Station
INDIAN OCEAN
Chinsura
INDIA
Calcutta
Bombay
Arabian Sea
Goa
Madras
Negapatam
Cochin
Ceylon
Colombo
Bay of Bengal
Cloves
Cinnamon
Canton
Amoy
Macao
Port Zeelandia
PACIFIC OCEAN
Manila
PHILIPPINES
Camphor
Pepper
Sandalwood
Malacca
Borneo
Moluccas
Spices
Macassar
New Guinea
Batavia
Java
Sunda Strait
Timor
Tea
Teak
NEW HOLLAND (Unknown except for West Coast)
Arctic Circle
N
W
E
S
0
1,000
2,000 miles
0
1,000
2,000 kilometers
Dutch trade route
Areas under Dutch control
Port under Dutch control
Other major port
Spices Goods shipped to the Netherlands

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 18.4 Seventeenth-Century Dutch Commerce Dutch wealth rested on commerce, and commerce depended on the huge Dutch merchant marine, manned by perhaps forty-eight thousand sailors. The fleet carried goods from all parts of the globe to the port of Amsterdam.

Colonial Empires of England and France

England and France followed the Dutch in challenging Iberian dominance overseas. Unlike the Iberian powers, whose royal governments financed exploration and directly ruled the colonies, England, France, and the Netherlands conducted the initial phase of colonization through chartered companies with monopolies over settlement and trade in a given area.

Just as the Spanish explorers had learned from the Reconquista, English expansion drew on long experience at home conquering and colonizing Ireland. After an unsuccessful first colony at Roanoke (in what is now North Carolina), the English colony of Virginia, founded at Jamestown in 1607, gained a steady hold by producing tobacco for a growing European market. Indentured servants obtained free passage to the colony in exchange for several years of work and the promise of greater opportunity than could be found in England. In the 1670s English colonists from the Caribbean island of Barbados settled Carolina, where conditions were suitable for large rice plantations. During the late seventeenth century enslaved Africans replaced indentured servants as laborers on tobacco and rice plantations, and a harsh racial divide was imposed.

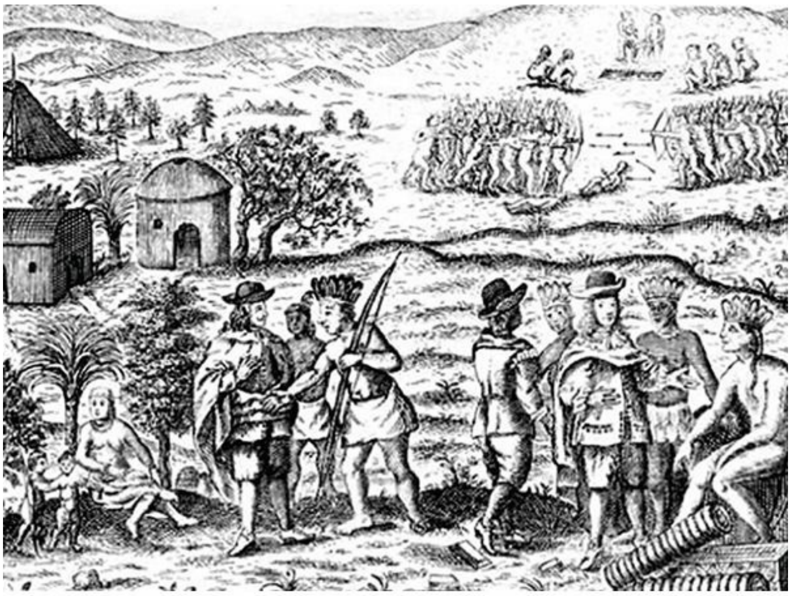
For the first settlers on the coast of New England, the reasons for seeking a new life in the colonies were more religious than economic. Many of these colonists were radical Protestants escaping Anglican repression. The small and struggling Puritan outpost of Plymouth Colony (1620) was followed by Massachusetts Bay Colony (1630), which grew into a prosperous settlement. Religious disputes in Massachusetts led to the dispersion of settlers into the new communities of Providence, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Haven. Because New England lacked the conditions for plantation agriculture, slavery was always a minor factor there.

Whereas the Spanish established wholesale dominance over Mexico and Peru and its indigenous inhabitants, English settlements hugged the Atlantic coastline and expelled indigenous people from their lands, leading to attacks by displaced groups and wars of reprisal and extermination. In place of the unified rule exerted by the Spanish crown, English colonization was haphazard and decentralized in nature, leading to greater colonial autonomy and diversity. As the English crown grew more interested in colonial expansion, efforts were made to acquire the territory between New England in the north and Virginia in the south. The goal was to unify English holdings and minimize French and Dutch competition on the Atlantic seaboard. The results of these efforts were the mid-Atlantic colonies: the Catholic settlement of Maryland (1632); New York, captured from the Dutch in 1664; and the Quaker colony of Pennsylvania (1681).

The French represented yet another model of settlement and interaction, somewhat akin to the Portuguese in Asia and Africa. While the Spanish incorporated the large populations of pre-existing empires and the English expelled indigenous groups to provide agricultural land for their numerous colonists, the French focused on establishing trade and diplomatic relations with tribes that remained largely autonomous. In 1605 the French founded the settlement of Port-Royal on the Bay of Fundy in Acadia, as a base for fishing and the fur trade. In the following years, under the leadership of Samuel de Champlain the French moved west into the St. Lawrence River Valley, establishing the forts of Quebec (1608), Three Rivers (1634), and Montreal (1642). The French formed trade and military alliances with several tribes, including the Montagnais, Hurons, and Algonquins, which allowed them to acquire valuable furs throughout the Great Lakes region. Contact with French traders, settlers, and missionaries resulted in devastating epidemics for their indigenous allies as well as increased political instability and violent conflict.

PRO
PELLE
CUTEM

© National Maritime Museum, London, UK/
The Image Works



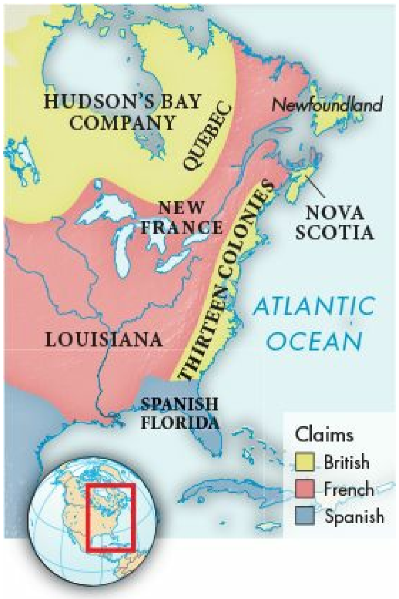
engraving: From *Geographia Americae with An Account of the Delaware Indians, Based on Surveys and Notes Made 1654–1656*, by Peter Lindestrom, published by The Swedish Colonial Society/Visual Connection Archive; token: © National Maritime Museum, London, UK/The Image Works

The Fur Trade In the early seventeenth century European fur traders relied on Native Americans’ expertise and experience, leading to the equal relations depicted in this scene from the colony of New Sweden (in modern-day Pennsylvania). The action in the background shows violence among indigenous groups, rivalries exacerbated by contact with Europeans and their trade goods. Hudson’s Bay Company, the English colonial trading company, issued its own tokens as currency in the fur trade. This token, dating from the mid-nineteenth century, displays the company’s crest, which says “a skin for a skin” in Latin. Two stags face each other, with a fox at the top and four beavers on the shield. Traders received tokens for the pelts they sold and could use them to purchase goods from the company’s store. European demand for beaver hats, made from the felted pelts of beavers, drove the tremendous expansion of the North American fur trade in the beginning of the seventeenth century.

In the 1660s Louis XIV’s capable controller general, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, established direct royal control over New France (Canada) and tried to enlarge its population by sending colonists. Nevertheless, immigration to New Canada remained minuscule compared with the stream of settlers who came to British North America. The Jesuits, who were the most active missionary orders in New France, established a college in Quebec as early as 1635.

Following the waterways of the St. Lawrence River, the Great Lakes, and the Mississippi River, the French ventured into much of North America in the 1670s and 1680s. In 1673 the Jesuit Jacques Marquette and the merchant Louis Joliet sailed down the Mississippi as far as present-day Arkansas. In 1682 Robert de La Salle traveled the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico, opening the way for French occupation of Louisiana.

In the first decades of the seventeenth century, English and French captains also challenged Spain’s hold over the Caribbean, seizing a number of islands. These islands acquired new importance after 1640, when the Portuguese brought sugar plantations to Brazil. Sugar and slaves quickly followed in the West Indies (see “Sugar and Early Transatlantic Slavery” in Chapter 16), making the Caribbean plantations the most lucrative of all colonial possessions.



Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

European Claims in North America, 1714

The northern European powers also expanded in Africa and Asia. During the seventeenth century, France and England — along with Denmark and other northern European powers — established fortified trading posts, or factory-forts, in West Africa as bases for purchasing slaves and in India and the Indian Ocean for spices and other luxury goods. Thus, by the end of the seventeenth century, a handful of European powers possessed overseas empires that truly spanned the globe.

Mercantilism and Colonial Wars

Trade to and among European overseas possessions was governed by mercantilist economic policy (see "The Economic Policy of Mercantilism"). The acquisition of colonies was intended to increase the wealth and power of the mother country, and to that end, European states — starting with Spain in the sixteenth century — imposed trading monopolies on their overseas colonies and factories. The mercantilist notion of a "zero-sum game," in which any country's gain must come from another country's loss, led to hostile competition and outright warfare among European powers over their colonial possessions.

In England Oliver Cromwell established the first of a series of **Navigation Acts** in 1651, and the restored monarchy of Charles II extended them in 1660 and 1663. The acts required most goods imported into England and Scotland (Great Britain after 1707) to be carried on British-owned ships with British crews or on ships of the country producing the article. Moreover, these laws gave British merchants and shipowners a virtual monopoly on trade with British colonies. These economic regulations were intended to eliminate foreign competition and to encourage the development of a British shipping industry whose seamen could serve when necessary in the Royal Navy.

Navigation Acts Mid-seventeenth-century English mercantilist laws that greatly restricted other countries' rights to trade with England and its colonies.

The Navigation Acts were a form of economic warfare against the Dutch, who were far ahead of the English in shipping and foreign trade in the mid-seventeenth century. In conjunction with three Anglo-Dutch wars between 1652 and 1674, the Navigation Acts seriously damaged Dutch shipping and commerce. By the late seventeenth century the Netherlands was falling behind England in shipping, trade, and settlement.

Thereafter France was England's most serious rival in the competition for overseas empire. France was continental Europe's leading military power. It was already building a powerful fleet and a worldwide system of rigidly monopolized colonial trade. But the War of the Spanish Succession, the last of Louis XIV's many wars (see "The Wars of Louis XIV") tilted the balance in favor of England. The 1713 Peace of Utrecht forced France to cede its North American holdings in Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the Hudson Bay territory to Britain. Spain was compelled to give Britain control of its West African slave trade and to let Britain send one ship of merchandise into the Spanish colonies annually. These acquisitions primed Britain to take a leading role in the growing Atlantic trade of the eighteenth century, including the transatlantic slave trade (see Chapter 19).

People Beyond Borders

As they seized new territories, European nations produced maps proudly outlining their possessions. The situation on the ground, however, was often much more complicated than the lines on those maps would suggest. Many groups of people lived in the contested frontiers between empires, habitually crisscrossed their borders, or carved out niches within empires where they carried out their own lives in defiance of the official rules.

Restricted from owning land and holding many occupations in Europe, Jews were eager participants in colonial trade and established closely linked mercantile communities scattered across many different empires.

Similarly, a community of Christian Armenians in Isfahan in the Safavid Empire (modern-day Iran) formed the center of a trade network extending from London to Manila and Acapulco (see “Merchant Networks in the Islamic Empires” in Chapter 17). Family ties and trust within these minority groups were a tremendous advantage in generating the financial credit and cooperation necessary for international commerce. Yet Jews and Armenians were minorities where they settled and vulnerable to persecution.

The nomadic Cossacks and Tartars who inhabited the steppes of the Don River basin that bordered the Russian and Ottoman Empires are yet another example of “in-between” peoples. The Cossacks and the Tartars maintained considerable political and cultural autonomy through the seventeenth century and enjoyed a degree of peaceful interaction. By the eighteenth century, however, both Ottoman and Russian rulers had expanded state control in their frontiers and had reined in the raiding and migration of nomadic steppe peoples. As their example suggests, the assertion of state authority in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries made it progressively harder for all of these groups to retain autonomy from the grip of empire.

The Russian Empire

How did Russian rulers build a distinctive absolutist monarchy and expand into a vast and powerful empire?

Russia occupied a unique position among Eurasian states. With borders straddling eastern Europe and northwestern Asia, its development into a strong imperial state drew on elements from both continents. As in the Muslim empires in Central and South Asia and the Ming Dynasty in China, the expansion of Russia was a result of the weakening of the great Mongol and Timurid Empires. After declaring independence from the Mongols, the Russian tsars conquered a vast empire, extending through North Asia all the way to the Pacific Ocean. State-building and territorial expansion culminated during the reign of Peter the Great, who turned Russia toward the West by intervening in western European wars and politics and forcing his people to adopt elements of Western culture.

Mongol Rule in Russia and the Rise of Moscow

In the thirteenth century the Mongols had conquered Kievan Rus, the medieval Slavic state that included most of present-day Ukraine, Belarus, and part of northwest Russia. For two hundred years the Mongols forced the Slavic princes to submit to their rule. The princes of the Grand Duchy of Moscow, a principality within Kievan Rus, became particularly adept at serving the Mongols. Eventually the Muscovite princes were able to destroy the other princes who were their rivals for power. Ivan III (r. 1462–1505), known as Ivan the Great, greatly expanded the principality of Moscow, claiming large territories in the north and east to the Siberian frontier.

By 1480 Ivan III was strong enough to declare the autonomy of Moscow. To legitimize his new position, Ivan and his successors borrowed elements of Mongol rule. They forced weaker Slavic principalities to render tribute and adopted Mongol institutions such as the tax system, postal routes, and census. Loyalty from the highest-ranking nobles, or boyars, helped the Muscovite princes consolidate their power.

From *Geographia Americae with An Account of the Delaware Indians, Based on Surveys and Notes Made 1654–1656*, by Peter Lindestrom, published by The Swedish Colonial Society/Visual Connection Archive

Russian Peasants An eighteenth-century French artist visiting Russia recorded his impressions of the daily life of the Russian people in this etching of a fish merchant pulling his wares on a sleigh through a snowy village. Two caviar vendors behind him make a sale to a young mother standing at her doorstep with her baby in her arms.

Another source of legitimacy lay in Moscow’s claim to the political and religious inheritance of the Byzantine Empire. After the empire’s capital, Constantinople, fell to the Ottomans in 1453, the princes of Moscow saw themselves as heirs of the Byzantine caesars (emperors) and guardians of the Orthodox Christian Church.

Building the Russian Empire

Developments in Russia took a chaotic turn with the reign of Ivan IV (r. 1533–1584), the famous Ivan the Terrible, who ascended to the throne at age three. His mother died when he was eight, leaving Ivan to suffer insults and neglect from the boyars at court. At age sixteen he pushed aside his advisers and crowned himself tsar.

After the sudden death of his wife, however, Ivan began a campaign of persecution against those he suspected of opposing him. He executed members of leading boyar families, along with their families, friends, servants, and peasants. To replace them, Ivan created a new service nobility, whose loyalty was guaranteed by their dependence on the state for land and titles.

As landlords demanded more from the serfs who survived the persecutions, growing numbers of peasants fled toward recently conquered territories to the east and south. There they joined free groups and warrior bands, known as **Cossacks**, who had been living on the borders of Russian territory since the fourteenth century. Ivan responded by tying serfs ever more firmly to the land. Simultaneously, he ordered that urban dwellers be bound to their towns and jobs so that he could tax them more heavily. These restrictions checked the growth of the Russian middle classes and stood in sharp contrast to economic and social developments in western Europe.

Cossacks Free groups and outlaw armies living on the borders of Russian territory from the fourteenth century onward. In the mid-sixteenth century they formed an alliance with the Russian state.

Ivan's reign was successful in defeating the remnants of Mongol power, adding vast new territories to the realm, and laying the foundations for the huge multiethnic Russian Empire. In the 1550s, strengthened by an alliance with Cossack bands, Ivan conquered the Muslim khanates of Kazan and Astrakhan and brought the fertile steppe region around the Volga River under Russian control. In the 1580s Cossacks fighting for the Russian state crossed the Ural Mountains and began the long conquest of Siberia. Because of the size and distance of the new territories, the Russian state did not initially seek to impose the Orthodox religion and maintained local elites in positions of honor and leadership, buying their loyalty with grants of land. In relying on cooperation from local elites and ruthlessly exploiting the common people, the Russians followed the pattern of the Spanish and other early modern European imperial states.

Following Ivan's death, Russia entered a chaotic period known as the Time of Troubles (1598–1613). While Ivan's relatives struggled for power, the Cossacks and peasants rebelled against nobles and officials. This social explosion from below brought the nobles together. They crushed the Cossack rebellion and elected Ivan's grandnephew, Michael Romanov (r. 1613–1645), the new hereditary tsar.

Despite the turbulence of the period, the Romanov tsars, like their western European counterparts, made further achievements in territorial expansion and state-building. After a long war, Russia gained land to the west in Ukraine in 1667. By the end of the century it had completed the conquest of Siberia to the east. This vast territorial expansion brought Russian power to the Pacific Ocean and was only checked by the powerful Qing Dynasty. Like the French in Canada, the basis of Russian wealth in

Siberia was furs, which the state collected by forced annual tribute payments from local peoples. Profits from furs and other natural resources, especially mining in the eighteenth century, funded expansion of the Russian bureaucracy and the army.

The growth of state power did nothing to improve the lot of the common people. In 1649 a new law code extended serfdom to all peasants in the realm, giving lords unrestricted rights over their serfs and establishing penalties for harboring runaways. The new code also removed the privileges that non-Russian elites had enjoyed within the empire and required conversion to Russian orthodoxy. Henceforth, Moscow maintained strict control of trade and administration throughout the empire.

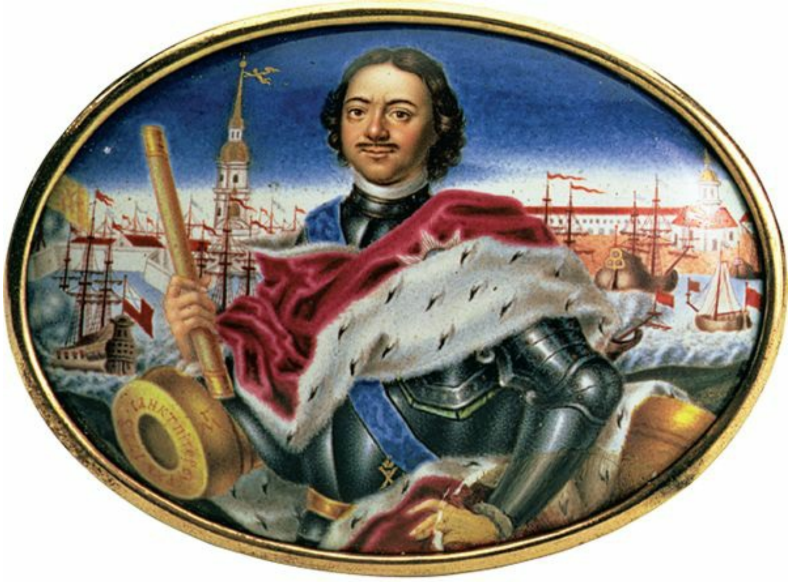
The peace imposed by harsh Russian rule was disrupted in 1670 by a failed rebellion led by the Cossack Stenka Razin, who attracted a great army of urban poor and peasants. The ease with which Moscow crushed the rebellion by the end of 1671 testifies to the success of the Russian state in unifying and consolidating its empire.

Peter the Great and Russia’s Turn to the West

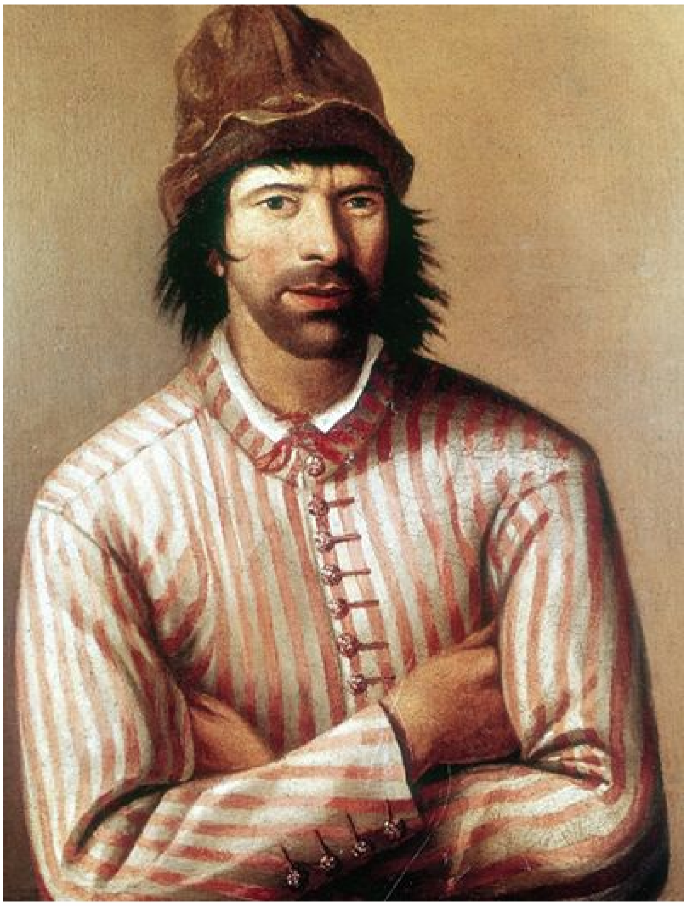
Heir to Romanov efforts at state-building, Peter the Great (r. 1682–1725) embarked on a tremendous campaign to accelerate and complete these processes. Peter built on the service obligations of Ivan the Terrible and his successors and continued their tradition of territorial expansion. Peter’s ambitions hinged on gaining access to the sea by extending Russia’s borders to the Black Sea (controlled by the Ottomans) and to the Baltic Sea (dominated by Sweden).

Peter embarked on his first territorial goal by conquering the Ottoman fort of Azov in 1696 and quickly built Russia’s first navy base nearby. In 1697 the tsar went on an eighteen-month tour of western European capitals. Peter was fascinated by foreign technology, and he hoped to forge an anti-Ottoman alliance to strengthen his hold on the Black Sea. Peter failed to secure a military alliance, but he did learn his lessons from the growing power of the Dutch and the English. He also engaged more than a hundred foreign experts to return with him to Russia to help build the navy and improve Russian infrastructure. (See “Analyzing the Evidence: Peter the Great and Foreign Experts,” page 524.)

To realize his second goal, Peter entered the Great Northern War (1700–1721) against Sweden. After a humiliating defeat at the Battle of Narva in 1700, Peter responded with measures designed to increase state power, strengthen his military, and gain victory. He required all nobles to serve in the army or in the civil administration — for life. Peter also created schools of navigation and mathematics, medicine, engineering, and finance to produce skilled technicians and experts. Furthermore, he established an interlocking military-civilian bureaucracy with fourteen ranks, and he decreed that everyone had to start at the bottom and work toward the top. He sought talented foreigners and placed them in his service. These measures gradually combined to make the army and government more powerful and efficient.



Hermitage, St. Petersburg, Russia/Bridgeman Images



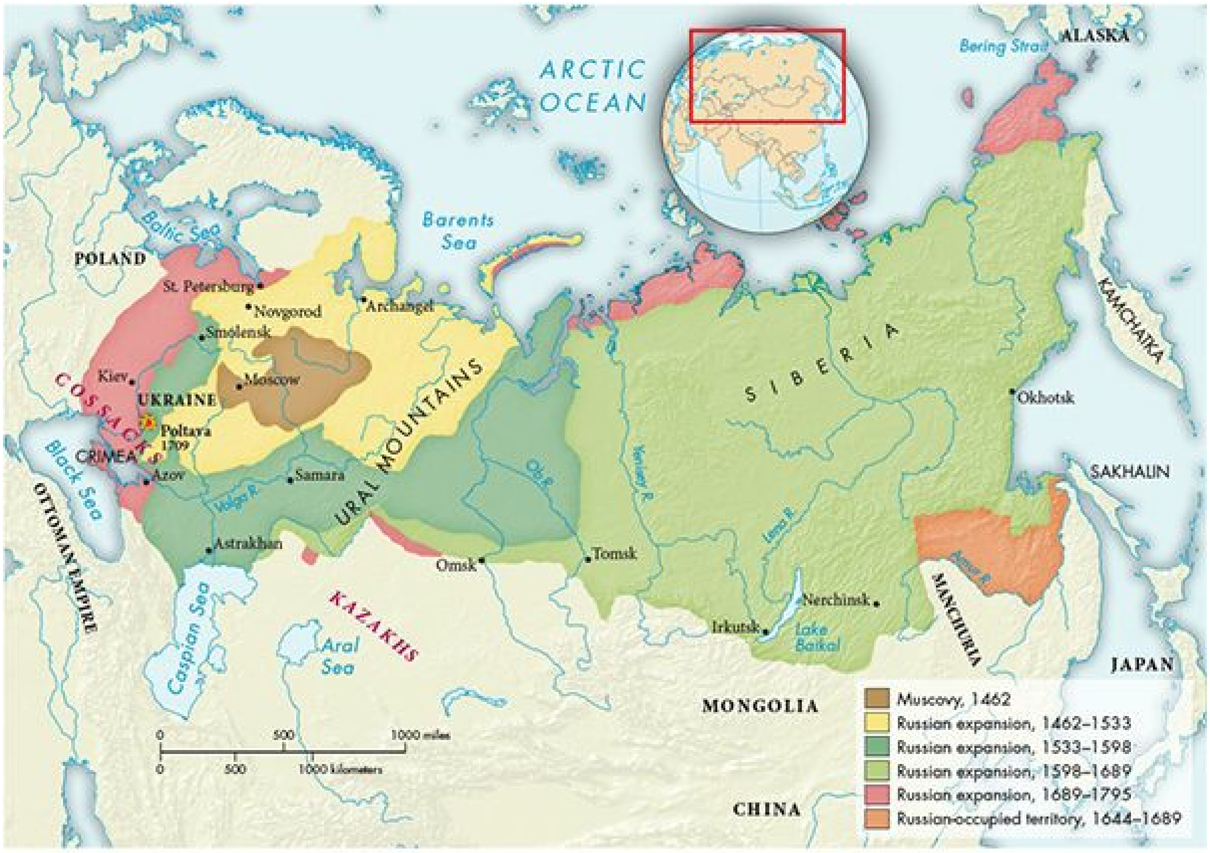
Universal Images Group/UIG via Getty Images

Peter the Great The compelling portrait above captures the strength and determination of the warrior-tsar in 1723, after more than three decades of personal rule. In his hand Peter holds the scepter, symbol of royal sovereignty, and across his breastplate is draped an ermine fur, a mark of honor. In the background are the battleships of Russia's new Baltic fleet and the famous St. Peter and St. Paul Fortress that Peter built in St. Petersburg. The second image portrays Peter dressed as a ship carpenter's apprentice during his incognito tour of western Europe.

Peter also greatly increased the service requirements of commoners. He established a regular standing army of peasant-soldiers, drafted for life. In addition, he created special regiments of Cossacks and foreign mercenaries. To fund the army, taxes on peasants increased threefold during Peter's reign. Serfs were also arbitrarily assigned to work in the growing number of factories and mines that supplied the military.

In 1709 Peter's new war machine was able to crush Sweden's army in Ukraine at Poltava (Map 18.5). Russia's victory against Sweden was conclusive in 1721, and Estonia and present-day Latvia came under

Russian rule for the first time. The cost was high: warfare consumed 80 to 85 percent of all revenues. But Russia became the dominant power in the Baltic and very much a great European power.


ARCTIC OCEAN
Bering Strait
ALASKA
Barents Sea
Baltic Sea
POLAND
St. Petersburg
Novgorod
Archangel
Smolensk
Moscow
Kiev
UKRAINE
COSSACKS
Poltava 1709
CRIMEA
Azov
Samara
Volga R.
Black Sea
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Astrakhan
Caspian Sea
URAL MOUNTAINS
KAZAKHS
Aral Sea
Omsk
Ob R.
Tomsk
Yenisey R.
SIBERIA
Lena R.
Irkutsk
Lake Baikal
Nerchinsk
Okhotsk
KAMCHATKA
SAKHALIN
Amur R.
MANCHURIA
JAPAN
MONGOLIA
CHINA
0 500 1000 miles
0 500 1000 kilometers
Muscovy, 1462
Russian expansion, 1462–1533
Russian expansion, 1533–1598
Russian expansion, 1598–1689
Russian expansion, 1689–1795
Russian-occupied territory, 1644–1689

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 18.5 The Expansion of Russia, 1462–1689 In little more than two centuries, Russia expanded from the small principality of Muscovy to an enormous multiethnic empire, stretching from the borders of western Europe through northern Asia to the Pacific.

After his victory at Poltava, Peter channeled enormous resources into building a new Western-style capital on the Baltic. The city of St. Petersburg was designed to reflect modern urban planning with wide, straight avenues; buildings set in a uniform line; and large parks. Each summer, twenty-five thousand to forty thousand peasants were sent to provide construction labor in St. Petersburg without pay.

There were other important consequences of Peter's reign. For Peter, modernization meant westernization, and both Westerners and Western ideas flowed into Russia for the first time. He required nobles to shave their heavy beards and wear Western clothing. He also required them to attend parties where young men and women would mix together and freely choose their own spouses. From these efforts a new elite class of Western-oriented Russians began to emerge.

Peter’s reforms were unpopular with many Russians. For nobles, one of Peter’s most detested reforms was the imposition of unigeniture — inheritance of land by one son alone. For peasants, the reign of the tsar saw a significant increase in the bonds of serfdom. Nonetheless, Peter’s modernizing and westernizing of Russia paved the way for it to move somewhat closer to the European mainstream in its thought and institutions during the Enlightenment, especially under Catherine the Great (see “Enlightened Absolutism and Its Limits” in Chapter 19).

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

Peter the Great and Foreign Experts

John Deane, an eminent English shipbuilder, was one of the many foreign artisans and experts brought to Russia by Peter the Great after his foreign tour of 1697. Several months after arriving in Russia, Deane sent a glowing account of the tsar's technical prowess to his patron in England, the marquess of Carmarthen, admiral of the English fleet.

> I Have deferr'd writing, till I could be able to give Your Lordship a true Account (from my own Knowledge) of the *Czar* (our Master's) Navy, which being a New Thing in the World as yet, I believe is variously talk'd of in *England, &c.* First, at *Voronize* there is already in the Water and Rigg'd, 36, and to be Launch'd in the Spring 20 more stout Ships, from 30 to 60 Guns. Next, 18 very large Gallies (built after the *Venetian* manner by *Italian* Masters) are already compleated; and 100 smaller Gallies or Brigantines are equipt for the Sea; 7 Bomb-Ships are Launch'd and Rigg'd, and 4 Fireships are Building against the Spring, when they are all to go down to *Azoph.* The Ships are chiefly built by the *Dutch* and *Danes.*
>
> The 25th of *August* last his Majesty came to *Moscow, incognito*; immediately he took in hand the rewarding of General *Gordon*'s Soldiers, that fought against the Rebels he defeated in *June* last, and next day gave Orders to fetch up all those of the Rebels who were dispersed by way of Banishment, which were in all then left about 2700. I suppose Your Lordship has been inform'd by Publick News, how they are hung round the Walls of this City, some hundreds beheaded, some broke upon the Wheel, *&c.* to the whole Number of them, which was in all 3000.
>
> At my arrival in Moscow, I fell very ill of the Bloody-Flux, which made me be in Moscow when his Majesty came home: About the latter end of October I was somewhat recovered, his Majesty then carried me down to Voronize [site of the naval shipyard] with him. Voronize is about 400 English Miles South-East from Moscow. There the Czar immediately set up a ship of 60 guns, where he is both Foreman and Master-Builder; and not to flatter him, I'll assure your Lordship it will be the best ship among them, and 'tis all from his own Draught; How he fram'd her together and how he made the Mould, and in so short a time as he did is really wonderful: But he is able at this day to put his own notions into practice, and laugh at his Dutch and Italian builders for their ignorance. There are several pieces of workmanship, as in the keel, stem, and post, which are all purely his own invention, and sound good work, and would be approved of by all the shipwrights of England if they saw it he has a round Tuck, and a narrow Floor, a good tumbling Home, and Circular Side; none are to exceed 11 Dutch

Foot Draught of Water. He has not run into any Extreme, But taken the Mediums of all good Sailing Properties, which seem best. One may, methinks, call her an Abstract of his own private Observations whilst Abroad, strengthened by Your Lordship’s Improving Discourses to him on that Subject, and his own extraordinary Notion of Sailing. One thing as to her Keel is, That should it wholly be beat out, yet it is so ordered, that the Ship will be tight and safe, and may continue so at Sea afterwards.

I likewise made a Suit of Moulds for a Ship of Sixty Guns, but after fell sick again; and at Christmas, when his Majesty came to Moscow, he brought me back again for recovery of my health, where I am at present; notwithstanding both our Ships go forward, having put things in such a posture, as that a *Grecian* (who has been in *England*) carries on the Business. Mr. *Ney* is Building of a 60 Gun Ship there too; besides, there are four of that Size (near built) upon the *Done*, two of 40 Guns already at *Azoph*, carried down some time since, and a great many Galleys, *&c.*

The Rivers *Vorona*, at *Voronitz*, when I was there, was hardly so broad as the Ships are long; but in the Spring about the latter End of *April*, or beginning of *May*, when the Snow melts, there is 16 Foot Water in that little River, and continues this height about 12 or 14 days, with a Rapid Torrent, with that force, that though it be 1000 Miles down to *Azoph* [Azov], yet the Ships will easily be there in 9 or 10 days. There is 30000 Soldiers at *Voronize*, to defend the Ships from the *Tartars*, who are very mischievous, and very swift in setting a place on Fire, and running away again. Those Ships that are Launcht lie fast in Ice about two Foot thick, so that the River is now as firm as Land, although this is reckoned a very mild Winter; for I remember in *January* one Afternoon with a *Southerly* Wind it thaw’d and rain’d for 3 or 4 hours, which is rare enough for an Almanack. The Ground is covered with Snow about a Yard deep, and ’tis mighty clear, piercing cold Weather, such as in *England* we can’t imagine.

. . . His Majesty was at my Chamber two days of last Week, with Mr. *Styles* as Interpreter (who gives his humble duty to Your Lordship). You may guess what His Majesty came to be inform’d in whilst he was there; I shew’d him a Model of a Machine to bring up the *Royal Transport* to the *Volga*, at 17 Inches Draught of Water; he was pleas’d to like it, but gave no Orders for putting it in Execution, so I believe she will lie where she is now, and perish. Here are Three Envoys, *viz.* the *Emperor’s*, the *Danes*, and *Brandenburgs*, in this *Slabado*, (as it is call’d), which lies from *Moscow*, as *Lambeth* does from *London.* The whole place is inhabited by the Dutch; I believe there may be 400 families. Last Sunday and Monday the strangers were invited to the consecration of General La Fort’s house, which is the noblest building in Russia, and finely furnisht. There were all the envoys, and as near as I could guess 200 gentlemen, English, French, and Dutch, and about as many ladies; each day were dancing and musick. All the envoys, and all the lords (but three in Moscow) are going to Voronize to see the fleet, I suppose. His majesty went last Sunday to Voronize with Prince Alexander and I am to go down (being something recovered) with the Vice-Admiral about six days hence.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. According to Deane, what evidence did Peter the Great give of his skills in shipbuilding? Based on this document, how would you characterize the relationship between Peter and his foreign experts?
2. What evidence does Dean provide of the impact of foreigners on life in Russia?
3. What image of Peter as a ruler emerges from this document? How does Deane characterize the tsar and his rule?

Source: John Deane, “A Letter from Moscow to the Marquess of Carmarthen, Relating to the Czar of Muscovy’s Forwardness in His Great Navy, &c. Since His Return Home,” in Sir John Barrow, *A Memoir of the Life of Peter the Great* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1834), pp. 110–113.

Chapter Summary

Most parts of Europe experienced the first centuries of the early modern era as a time of crisis. Following the religious divides of the sixteenth-century Protestant and Catholic Reformations, Europeans in the seventeenth century suffered from economic stagnation, social upheaval, and renewed military conflict. Overcoming these obstacles, both absolutist and constitutional European states emerged from the seventeenth century with increased powers and more centralized control.

Monarchs in Spain, France, and Austria used divine right to claim they possessed absolute power and were not responsible to any representative institutions. Absolute monarchs overcame the resistance of the nobility both through military force and by confirming existing economic and social privileges. England and the Netherlands defied the general trend toward absolute monarchy, adopting distinctive forms of constitutional rule.

As Spain's power weakened, other European nations bordering the Atlantic Ocean sought their own profits and glory from overseas empires, with England emerging in the early eighteenth century with a distinct advantage over its rivals. Henceforth, war among European powers would include conflicts over territories and trade in the colonies. European rulers' increased control over their own subjects thus went hand in glove with the expansion of European power in the world.

In Russia, Mongol conquest and rule set the stage for a harsh tsarist autocracy that was firmly in place by the time of the reign of Ivan the Terrible in the sixteenth century. The reign of Ivan and his successors saw a great expansion of Russian territory, laying the foundations for a huge multiethnic empire. Peter the Great forcibly turned Russia toward the West by adopting Western technology and culture.

CONNECTIONS

The seventeenth century represented a difficult passage between two centuries of dynamism and growth in Europe. On one side lay the sixteenth century's religious enthusiasm and strife, overseas discoveries, rising populations, and vigorous commerce. On the other side stretched the eighteenth century's renewed population growth, economic development, and cultural flourishing. The first half of the seventeenth century was marked by harsh climate conditions and violent conflict across Europe and much of the world. Recurring crop failure, famine, and epidemic disease contributed to a stagnant economy and population loss. In the middle decades of the seventeenth century, the very survival of the European monarchies established in the Renaissance appeared in doubt.

With the re-establishment of order in the second half of the century, maintaining stability was of paramount importance to European rulers. While a few nations placed their trust in constitutionally limited governments, many more were ruled by monarchs proclaiming their absolute and God-given authority. Despite their political differences, most European states emerged from the period of crisis with shared achievements in state power, territorial expansion, and long-distance trade. In these achievements, they resembled the Qing in China and the Mughals in India, who also saw the consolidation of imperial authority in this period; by contrast, the Ottoman Empire recovered more slowly from the crises of the seventeenth century.

The eighteenth century was to see these power politics thrown into question by new Enlightenment aspirations for human society, which themselves derived from the inquisitive and self-confident spirit of the Scientific Revolution. These movements are explored in the next chapter. By the end of the eighteenth century demands for real popular sovereignty, colonial self-rule, and slave emancipation challenged the very bases of order so painfully achieved in the seventeenth century. Chapter 22 recounts the revolutionary movements that swept the late-eighteenth-century Atlantic world, while Chapters 25, 26, and 27 follow the story of European imperialism and the resistance of colonized peoples in Africa, Asia, and the Americas into the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER 18 Review and Explore

Identify Key Terms

Identify and explain the significance of each item below.

Protestant Reformation (p. 500)
Jesuits (p. 502)
moral economy (p. 504)
Thirty Years' War (p. 504)
sovereignty (p. 506)
absolutism (p. 506)
divine right of kings (p. 508)
mercantilism (p. 513)
constitutionalism (p. 514)
republicanism (p. 514)
Puritans (p. 515)
Bill of Rights of 1689 (p. 516)
Navigation Acts (p. 522)
Cossacks (p. 524)

Review the Main Ideas

Answer the focus questions from each section of the chapter.

1. How did the Protestant and Catholic Reformations change power structures in Europe and shape European colonial expansion? (p. 500)
2. How did seventeenth-century European rulers overcome social and economic crisis to build strong states? (p. 503)
3. What was absolutism, and how did it evolve in seventeenth-century Spain, France, and Austria? (p. 506)
4. Why and how did the constitutional state triumph in England and the Dutch Republic? (p. 514)
5. How did European nations compete for global trade and empire in the Americas and Asia? (p. 517)
6. How did Russian rulers build a distinctive absolutist monarchy and expand into a vast and powerful empire? (p. 523)

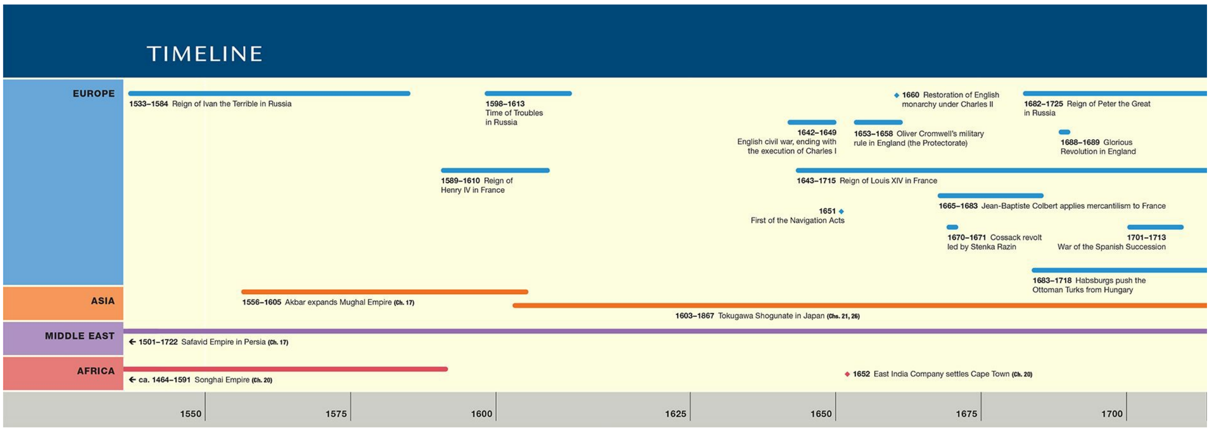
Make Comparisons and Connections

Analyze the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters.

1. This chapter has argued that, despite their political differences, rulers in

absolutist and constitutionalist nations faced similar obstacles in the mid-seventeenth century and achieved many of the same goals. Based on the evidence presented here, do you agree with this argument? Why or why not?

2. Proponents of absolutism in western Europe believed that their form of monarchical rule was fundamentally different from and superior to what they saw as the "despotism" of Russia and the Ottoman Empire (Chapter 17). What was the basis of this belief, and how accurate do you think it was?
3. What common features did the Muslim empires of the Middle East and India (Chapter 17) share with European empires? How would you characterize interaction among these Eurasian empires?



Suggested Resources

Books

Beik, William. *A Social and Cultural History of Early Modern France*. 2009. An overview of early modern French history, by one of the leading authorities on the period.

Elliott, John H. *Imperial Spain, 1469–1716*, 2d ed. 2002. An authoritative account of Spain's rise to imperial greatness and its slow decline.

Gaunt, Peter, ed. *The English Civil War: The Essential Readings*. 2000. A collection showcasing leading historians' interpretations of the civil war.

Goldgar, Anne. *Tulipmania: Money, Honor, and Knowledge in the Dutch Golden Age*. 2007. A fresh look at the speculative fever for tulip bulbs in the early-seventeenth-century Dutch Republic.

Hughes, Lindsey, ed. *Peter the Great and the West: New Perspectives*. 2001. Essays by leading scholars on the reign of Peter the Great and his opening of Russia to the West.

Ingrao, Charles W. *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1618–1815*, 2d ed. 2000. An excellent synthesis of the political and social development of the Habsburg empire in the early modern period.

Kettering, Sharon. *Patronage in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century France*. 2002. A collection of essays on courtly patronage, emphasizing the role of women in noble patronage networks.

Parker, Geoffrey. *Global Crisis: War, Climate Change and Catastrophe in the Seventeenth Century*. 2013. A sweeping account of the worldwide crisis of the seventeenth century, which the author argues was largely caused by climatic changes known as the “little ice age.”

Romaniello, Matthew. *The Elusive Empire: Kazan and the Creation of Russia, 1552–1671*. 2012. A study of the conquest of Kazan by Ivan the Terrible in 1552 and the Russian Empire built in its aftermath.

Rountree, Helen C. *Pocahontas, Powhatan, Opechancanough: Three Indian Lives Changed by Jamestown*. 2005. Biographies of three important Native Americans involved in the Jamestown settlement; a rich portrait of the life of the Powhatan people and their encounter with the English.

Wilson, Peter H. *The Thirty Years War: Europe’s Tragedy*. 2011. An overview of the origins and outcomes of the Thirty Years’ War, focusing on political and economic issues in addition to religious conflicts.

Feature Films and Television Dramas

Alatriste (Agustín Díaz Yanes, 2006). Set in the declining years of Spain’s imperial glory, this film follows the violent adventures of an army captain who takes the son of a fallen comrade under his care.

Black Robe (Bruce Beresford, 1991). A classic film about French Jesuit missionaries among Algonquin and Huron Indians in New France in the seventeenth century.

Charles II: The Power and the Passion (BBC, 2003). An award-winning television miniseries about the son of executed English king Charles I and the Restoration that brought him to the throne in 1660.

Cromwell (Ken Hughes, 1970). The English civil war from its origin to Oliver Cromwell’s victory, with battle scenes as well as personal stories of Cromwell and other central figures.

Girl with a Pearl Earring (Peter Webber, 2003). The life and career of painter Johannes Vermeer told through the eyes of a young servant girl who becomes his assistant and model.

Molière (Laurent Tirard, 2007). A film about the French playwright Molière, a favorite of King Louis XIV, which fancifully incorporates characters and plotlines from some of the writer’s most celebrated plays.

The New World (Terrence Malick, 2005). Set in 1607 at the founding of the Jamestown settlement, this film retells the story of John Smith and Pocahontas.

Websites

Chateau de Versailles. The official website of the palace of Versailles, built by Louis XIV and inhabited by French royalty until the revolution of 1789. **en.chateauversailles.fr/homepage**

The Invitation to a Funeral Tour: A Free-Style Jaunt around Restoration London. A website offering information on the places, food, and people of

Restoration London, inspired by the novel *Invitation to a Funeral* by Molly Brown (1999). **www.okima.com/**

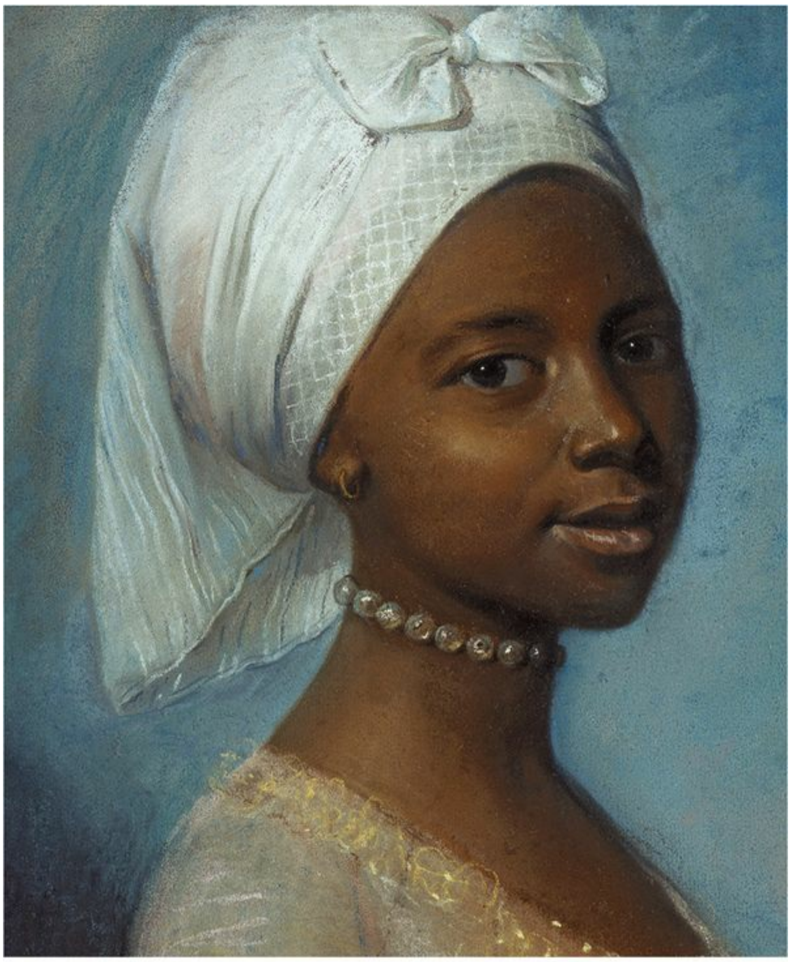
The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents. Contains a complete English translation of *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, the reports submitted by Jesuit missionaries in New France to authorities in the home country. **puffin.creighton.edu/jesuit/relations/**

The Plymouth Colony Archive Project. A site hosted by the University of Illinois with searchable primary and secondary sources relating to the Plymouth colony, including court records, laws, journals and memoirs, wills, maps, and biographies of colonists. **www.histarch.uiuc.edu/Plymouth/index.html**

19

New Worldviews and Ways of Life

1540–1790



Portrait of a Young Woman, by an unknown artist, previously attributed to Jean-Etienne Liotard (1702–1789) (pastel on paper)/Saint Louis Art Museum/Bridgeman Images

Free People of Color

A sizable mixed-race population emerged in many European colonies in the Americas, including descendants of unions between masters and

enslaved African women. The wealthiest of the free people of color, as they were called, were plantation owners with slaves of their own.

From the mid-sixteenth century on, age-old patterns of knowledge and daily life were disrupted by a series of transformative developments. Just as European explorers and conquerors overturned ancient models of the globe, so scholars challenged, and eventually discarded, ancient frameworks for understanding the heavens. The resulting conception of the universe and its laws remained in force until Albert Einstein's discoveries in the first half of the twentieth century. Accompanied by new discoveries in botany, zoology, chemistry, and other domains, these developments constituted a fundamental shift in the basic framework for understanding the natural world and the methods for examining it known collectively as the "Scientific Revolution."

In the eighteenth century philosophers extended the use of reason from nature to human society. Self-proclaimed members of an "Enlightenment" movement, they wished to bring the same progress to human affairs that their predecessors had brought to the understanding of the natural world. The Enlightenment created concepts of human rights, equality, progress, and tolerance that still guide Western societies. At the same time, some Europeans used their new understanding of reason to explain their own superiority, thus rationalizing attitudes now regarded as racist and sexist. Despite these biases, European intellectual change drew on contact and exchange with non-European peoples, ideas, and natural organisms.

Changes in the material world encouraged the emergence of new ideas. With the growth of population, the revitalization of industry, and growing world trade, Europeans began to consume at a higher level. Feeding the growth of consumerism was the expansion of transatlantic trade and lower prices for colonial goods, often produced by slaves. During the eighteenth century ships crisscrossing the Atlantic circulated commodities, ideas, and people to all four continents bordering the ocean. As trade became more integrated and communication intensified, an Atlantic world of mixed identities and vivid debates emerged.

CHAPTER PREVIEW

THE SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION
What revolutionary discoveries were made in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and what was their global context?

IMPORTANT CHANGES IN SCIENTIFIC THINKING AND PRACTICE
What intellectual and social changes occurred as a result of the Scientific Revolution?

THE RISE AND SPREAD OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT

How did the Enlightenment emerge, and what were major currents of Enlightenment thought?

KEY ISSUES OF ENLIGHTENMENT DEBATE

How did Enlightenment thinkers address issues of cultural and social difference and political power?

ECONOMIC CHANGE AND THE ATLANTIC WORLD

How did economic and social change and the rise of Atlantic trade interact with Enlightenment ideas?

The Scientific Revolution

What revolutionary discoveries were made in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and what was their global context?

Building on developments in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, tremendous advances in Europeans' knowledge of the natural world and techniques for establishing such knowledge took place between 1500 and 1700. Collectively known as the "Scientific Revolution," these developments emerged because many more people studied the natural world, using new methods to answer fundamental questions about the universe and how it operated. The authority of ancient Greek texts was replaced by a conviction that knowledge should be acquired by observation and experimentation and that mathematics could be used to understand and represent the workings of the physical world. By 1700 precise laws governing physics and astronomy were known, and a new emphasis on the practical uses of knowledge had emerged.

Hailed today as pioneers of a modern worldview, the major figures of the Scientific Revolution were for the most part devout Christians who saw their work as heralding the glory of creation and who combined older traditions of magic, astrology, and alchemy with their pathbreaking experimentation. Their discoveries took place in a broader context of international trade, imperial expansion, and cultural exchange. Alongside developments in modern science and natural philosophy, the growth of natural history in this period is now recognized by historians as a major achievement of the Scientific Revolution.

Why Europe?

In 1500 scientific activity flourished in many parts of the world. With the expansion of Islam into the lands of the Byzantine Empire in the seventh and eighth centuries, Muslim scholars inherited ancient Greek learning, which itself was built on centuries of borrowing from older civilizations in Egypt, Babylonia, and India. The interaction of peoples and cultures across the vast Muslim world, facilitated by religious tolerance and the common scholarly language of Arabic, was highly favorable to advances in learning.

In a great period of cultural and intellectual flourishing from 1000 to 1500, Muslim scholars thrived in cultural centers such as Baghdad and Córdoba. They established the world's first universities. In this fertile atmosphere, scholars surpassed the texts they had inherited in areas such as mathematics, physics, astronomy, and medicine. Arab and Persian mathematicians, for example, invented algebra, the concept of the algorithm, and decimal point notation, while Arab astronomers improved on measurements recorded in ancient works.

China was also a vital center of scientific activity, which reached a peak in the mid-fourteenth century. Among its many achievements, papermaking, gunpowder, and the use of the compass in navigation would be the most influential for the West. In Mesoamerica, civilizations such as the Maya and the Aztecs devised complex calendar systems based on astronomical observations and developed mathematics and writing.

Given the multiple world sites of learning and scholarship, it was by no means inevitable that Europe would take the lead in scientific thought. In world history, periods of advancement produced by intense cultural interaction, such as those that occurred after the spread of Islam, are often followed by stagnation and decline during times of conflict and loss of authority. This is what happened in western Europe after the fall of the Western Roman Empire in the fifth century and in the Maya civilization after the collapse of its cultural and political centers around 900.

The re-establishment of stronger monarchies and the growth of trade in the High Middle Ages contributed to a renewal of learning in western Europe. As Europeans began to encroach on Islamic lands in Iberia, Sicily, and the eastern Mediterranean, they became aware of the rich heritage of Greek learning in these regions and the ways scholars had improved upon ancient knowledge. In the twelfth century many ancient Greek texts were translated into Latin, along with the commentaries of Arab scholars. A number of European cities created universities in which Aristotle’s works dominated the curriculum.

As Europe recovered from the ravages of the Black Death in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the intellectual and cultural movement known as the Renaissance provided a crucial foundation for the Scientific Revolution. Scholars called humanists emphasized the value of acquiring knowledge for the practical purposes of life. The quest to restore the glories of the ancient past led to the rediscovery of a host of important classical texts. The fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans in 1453 resulted in a great influx of little-known Greek works, as Christian scholars fled to Italy with their precious texts.

In this period, western European universities established new professorships of mathematics, astronomy, and natural philosophy. The prestige of the new fields was low, especially mathematics, which was reserved for practical problems but not used as a tool to understand the functioning of the physical world itself. Nevertheless, these professorships eventually enabled the union of mathematics with natural philosophy that was to be a hallmark of the Scientific Revolution.

European overseas expansion in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries provided another catalyst for new thought about the natural world. In particular, the navigational problems of long oceanic voyages in the age of expansion stimulated scientific research and invention. To help solve these problems, inventors developed many new scientific instruments, such as the telescope, barometer, thermometer, pendulum clock, microscope, and air pump. Better instruments, which permitted more accurate observations, often led to important new knowledge. Another crucial technology in this period was printing, which provided a faster and less expensive way to circulate knowledge.

Political and social conflicts were widespread in Eurasia in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but they had different results. The three large empires of the Muslim world (see "The Turkish Ruling Houses: The Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals" in Chapter 17) that arose in the wake of the Mongol Empire sought to restore order and assert legitimacy in part by imposing Islamic orthodoxy. Their failure to adopt the printing press can be seen as part of a wider reaction against earlier traditions of innovation. Similarly, in China after the Manchu invasion of 1644, the new Qing Dynasty legitimized its authority through stricter adherence to Confucian tradition. By contrast, western Europe remained politically fragmented into smaller competitive nations, divisions that were augmented by the religious fracturing of the Protestant Reformation. These conditions made it impossible for authorities to impose one orthodox set of ideas and thus allowed individuals to question dominant patterns of thinking.

Scientific Thought to 1550

For medieval scholars, philosophy was the path to true knowledge about the world, and its proofs consisted of the authority of ancients (as interpreted by Christian theologians) and their techniques of logical argumentation. Questions about the physical nature of the universe and how it functioned belonged to a minor branch of philosophy called natural philosophy. Natural philosophy was based primarily on the ideas of Aristotle, the great Greek philosopher of the fourth century B.C.E. According to the Christianized version of Aristotle, a motionless earth stood at the center of the universe and was encompassed by ten separate concentric crystal spheres in which were embedded the moon, sun, planets, and stars. Beyond the spheres was Heaven with the throne of God and the souls of the saved.

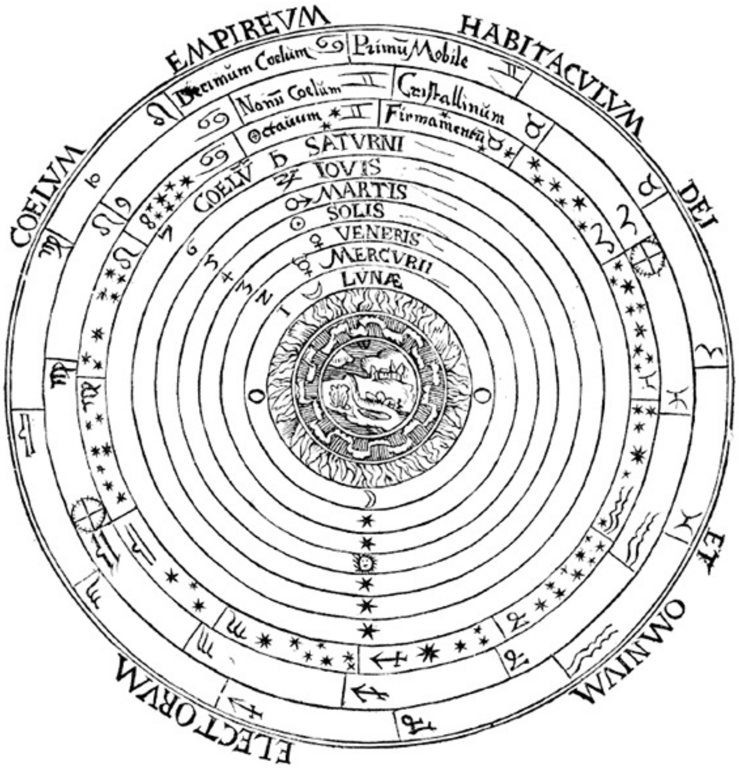

COELVM EMPIREVM HABITACVLVM DEI ET OMNIVM ELECTORVM
Decimum Coelum
Primum Mobile
Nonum Coelum
Crystallinum
Octauum
Firmamentum
SATVRNI
IOVIS
MARTIS
SOLIS
VENERIS
MERCVRII
LVNÆ

Image Select/Art Resource, NY

The Aristotelian Universe as Imagined in the Sixteenth Century A round earth is at the center, surrounded by spheres of water, air, and fire. Beyond this small nucleus, the moon, the sun, and the five planets were embedded in their own rotating crystal spheres, with the stars sharing the surface of one enormous sphere. Beyond, the heavens were composed of unchanging ether.

Aristotle’s views also dominated thinking about physics and motion on earth. Aristotle had distinguished between the world of the celestial spheres and that of the earth — the sublunar world. The sublunar realm was made up of four imperfect, changeable elements: air, fire, water, and earth. Aristotle and his followers also believed that a uniform force moved an object at a constant speed and that the object would stop as soon as that force was removed. The ancient Greek scholar Ptolemy amended Aristotle’s physics by positing that the planets moved in small circles, called epicycles, each of which moved in turn along a larger circle, or deferent. This theory accounted for the apparent backward motion of the planets (which in fact occurs as planets closer to the sun overtake the earth on their orbits) and provided a surprisingly accurate model for predicting planetary motion.

Ptolemy’s work also provided the basic foundation of knowledge about the earth. Rediscovered around 1410, his *Geography* presented crucial advances on medieval cartography by representing a round earth divided into 360 degrees with the major latitude marks. However, Ptolemy’s map reflected the limits of ancient knowledge, showing only the continents of Europe, Africa, and Asia, with land covering three-quarters of the world.

Astronomy and Physics

The first great departure from the medieval understanding of cosmology was the work of the Polish cleric Nicolaus Copernicus (1473–1543). Copernicus came to believe that Ptolemy’s cumbersome rules detracted from the majesty of a perfect creator. He preferred an idea espoused by some ancient Greek and Arab scholars: that the sun, rather than the earth, was at the center of the universe. Without questioning the Aristotelian belief in crystal spheres, Copernicus theorized that the stars and planets, including the earth, revolved around a fixed sun. Fearing the ridicule of other astronomers, Copernicus did not publish his *On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Spheres* until 1543, the year of his death.

One astronomer who agreed with the **Copernican hypothesis** was the Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe (TEE-koh BRAH-hee) (1546–1601). Brahe established himself as Europe’s leading astronomer with his detailed observations of a new star that appeared suddenly in 1572 and shone very brightly for almost two years. The new star, which was actually a distant exploding star, challenged the idea that the heavenly spheres were unchanging and therefore perfect. Aided by grants from the king of Denmark, Brahe built the most sophisticated observatory of his day. After falling out with the king, Brahe acquired a new patron in the Holy Roman emperor Rudolph II, who built him a new observatory in Prague. For twenty years Brahe and his assistants observed the stars and planets with the naked eye in order to create new and improved tables of planetary motions, dubbed the *Rudolphine Tables* in honor of his patron.

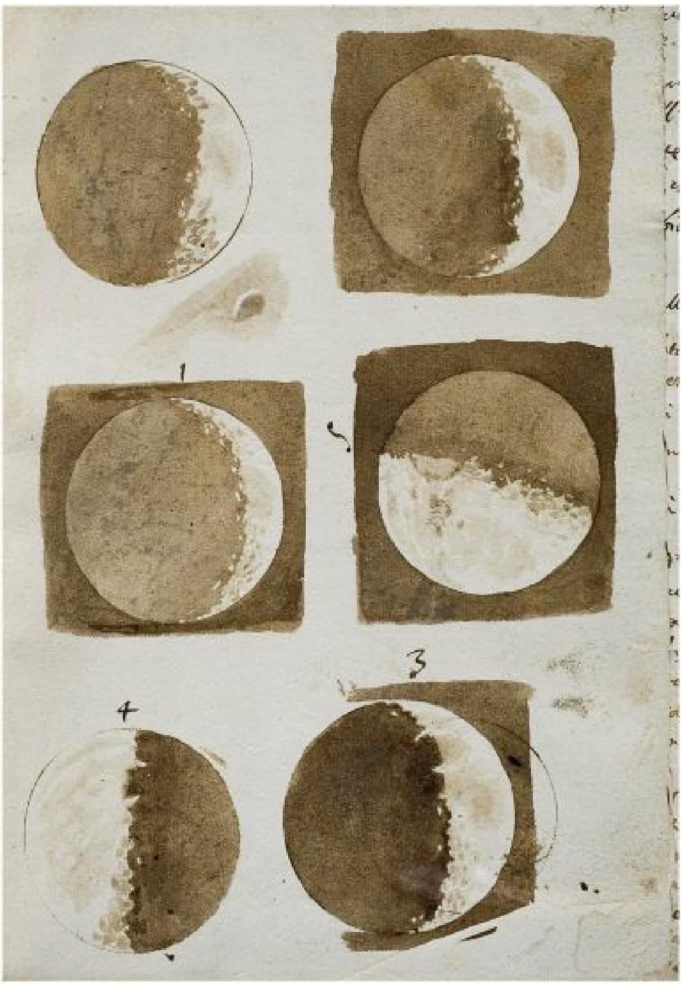
Copernican hypothesis The idea that the sun, not the earth, was the center of the universe.

Brahe’s assistant, Johannes Kepler (1571–1630), carefully re-examined his predecessor’s notations and came to believe that they could not be explained by Ptolemy’s astronomy. Abandoning the notion of epicycles and deferents, Kepler used Brahe’s data to develop three revolutionary laws of planetary motion. First, he demonstrated that the orbits of the planets around the sun are elliptical rather than circular. Second, he demonstrated that the planets do not move at a uniform speed in their orbits. When a planet is close to the sun it accelerates, and it slows as it moves farther away from the sun. Finally, Kepler's third law stated that the time a planet takes to make its complete orbit is precisely related to its distance from the sun.

Kepler's contribution was monumental. Whereas Copernicus had speculated, Kepler used mathematics to prove the precise relations of a sun-centered (solar) system. He thus united for the first time the theoretical cosmology of natural philosophy with mathematics. His work demolished the old system of Aristotle and Ptolemy, and with his third law he came close to formulating the idea of universal gravitation. In 1627 he also completed Brahe's *Rudolphine Tables*, which were used by astronomers for many years.

While Kepler was unraveling planetary motion, a young Florentine named Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) was challenging Aristotelian ideas about motion on earth. He measured the movement of a rolling ball across a surface, repeating the action again and again to verify his results. In his famous acceleration experiment, he showed that a uniform force — in this case, gravity — produced a uniform acceleration. Through another experiment, he formulated the **law of inertia**. He found that rest was not the natural state of objects. Rather, an object continues in motion forever unless stopped by some external force. His discoveries proved Aristotelian physics wrong.

law of inertia A law formulated by Galileo stating that motion, not rest, is the natural state of an object and that an object continues in motion forever unless stopped by some external force.



Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence, Italy/Rabatti-Domingi/
akg-images

TVBVM OPTICVM VIDES GALILAEI INVENTVM ET OPVS QVO SOLIS MACVLAS ET EXTIMOS LVNAE MONTES ET IOVIS SATELLITES ET NOVAM QVASI RERVM VNIVERSITATI PRIMVS DISPEXIT A. MDCIX.

Museo delle Scienze, Florence, Italy/akg-images

Galileo's Telescopic Observations of the Moon Among the many mechanical devices Galileo invented was a telescope that could magnify objects twenty times (other contemporary telescopes could magnify objects only three times). Using this telescope, he obtained the empirical evidence that proved the Copernican system. He sketched many illustrations of his observations, including the six phases of the moon, two of which are shown here.

On hearing details about the invention of the telescope in Holland, Galileo made one for himself in 1609. He quickly discovered the first four moons of Jupiter, which clearly demonstrated that Jupiter could not possibly be embedded in an impenetrable crystal sphere as Aristotle and

Ptolemy maintained. This discovery provided concrete evidence for the Copernican theory.

Newton's Synthesis

By about 1640 the work of Brahe, Kepler, and Galileo had been largely accepted by the scientific community despite opposition from religious leaders (see “Science and Religion”). But the new findings failed to explain what forces controlled the movement of the planets and objects on earth. That challenge was taken up by English scientist Isaac Newton (1642–1727).

Newton arrived at some of his most basic ideas about physics in 1666 at age twenty-four but was unable to prove them mathematically. In 1684, after years of studying optics, Newton returned to physics for eighteen intensive months. The result was his towering accomplishment, a single explanatory system that integrated the astronomy of Copernicus, as corrected by Kepler's laws, with the physics of Galileo and his predecessors. Newton did this through a set of mathematical laws that explain motion and mechanics. These laws were published in 1687 in Newton's *Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy* (also known as the *Principia*).

The key feature of the Newtonian synthesis was the **law of universal gravitation**. According to this law, each body in the universe attracts every other body in a precise mathematical relationship, whereby the force of attraction is proportional to the quantity of matter of the objects and inversely proportional to the square of the distance between them. The whole universe was unified in one majestic system. Matter moved on earth and throughout the heavens according to the same laws, which could be understood and expressed in mathematical terms.

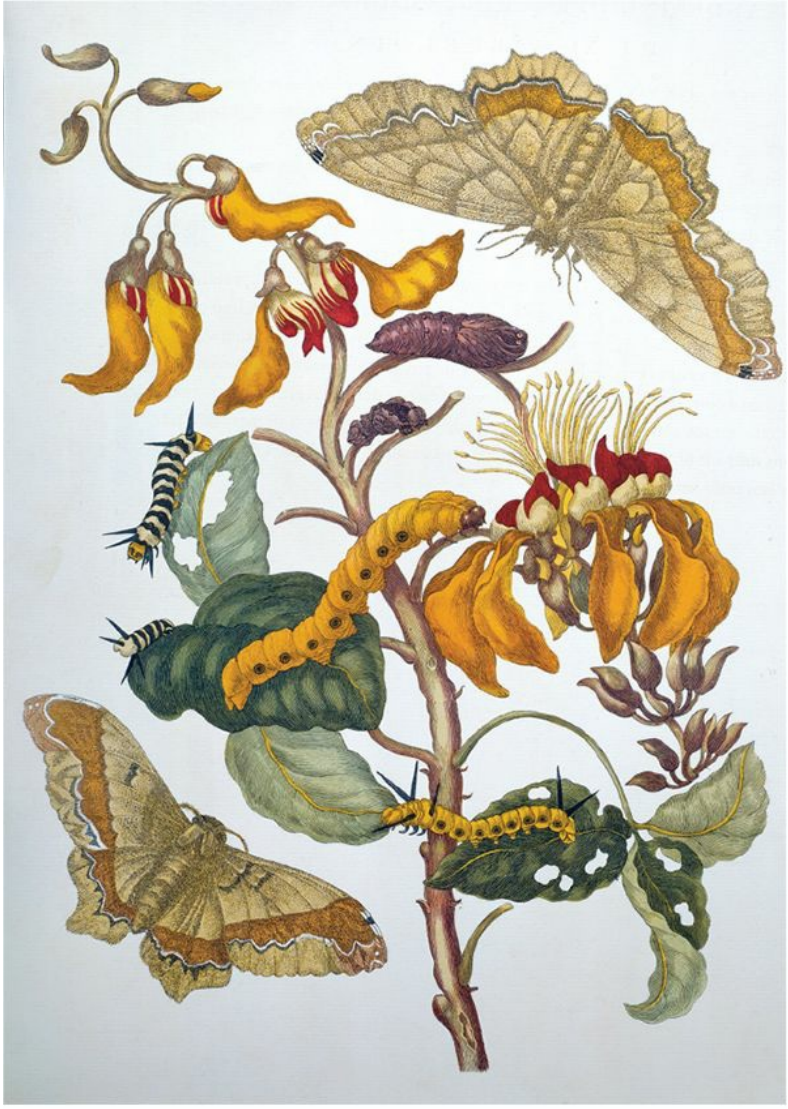
law of universal gravitation Newton's law that all objects are attracted to one another and that the force of attraction is proportional to the object's quantity of matter and inversely proportional to the square of the distance between them.

Natural History and Empire

At the same time that they made advances in astronomy and physics, Europeans embarked on the pursuit of knowledge about unknown geographical regions. Because they were the first to acquire a large overseas empire, the Spanish pioneered these efforts. The Spanish crown sponsored many scientific expeditions to gather information and specimens, out of which emerged new discoveries that reshaped the fields of botany, zoology, cartography, and metallurgy, among others.

Plants were a particular source of interest because they offered tremendous profits in the form of spices, medicines, dyes, and cash crops. King Philip II of Spain sent his personal physician, Francisco Hernández, to New Spain for seven years in the 1560s. Hernández filled fifteen volumes with illustrations of three thousand plants previously unknown in Europe. He interviewed local healers about the plants' medicinal properties, thereby benefiting from centuries of Mesoamerican botanical knowledge.

Other countries followed the Spanish example as their global empires expanded, relying both on official expeditions and the private initiative of merchants, missionaries, and settlers. Over time, the stream of new information about plant and animal species overwhelmed existing intellectual frameworks. Carl Linnaeus (1707–1778) of Sweden sent his students on exploratory voyages around the world and, based on their observations and the specimens they collected, devised a system of naming and classifying living organisms still used today (with substantial revisions).



bpk, Berlin/Manuscript Division, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Germany; Stiflung Preussischer Kulturbesitz/Photo: Ruth Schaut, Manuscript Division/Art Resource, NY

Metamorphoses of the Caterpillar and Moth Maria Sibylla Merian (1647–1717), the stepdaughter of a Dutch painter, became a celebrated scientific illustrator in her own right. Her finely observed pictures of insects in the South American colony of Suriname introduced many new species. For Merian, science was intimately tied with art: she not only painted but also bred caterpillars and performed experiments on them. Her two-year stay in Suriname, where she was accompanied by a teenage daughter, was a daring feat for a seventeenth-century woman.

Magic and Alchemy

Recent historical research on the Scientific Revolution has focused on the contribution of ideas and practices that no longer belong to the realm of science, such as astrology and alchemy. Many of the most celebrated astronomers were also astrologers. Used as a diagnostic tool in medicine, astrology formed a regular part of the curriculum of medical schools.

Centuries-old practices of magic and alchemy also remained important traditions for natural philosophers. Early modern practitioners of magic strove to understand and control hidden connections they perceived among different elements of the natural world, such as that between a magnet and iron. The idea that objects possessed hidden or “occult” qualities that allowed them to affect other objects was a particularly important legacy of the magical tradition.

Johannes Kepler exemplifies the interaction among these different strands of interest in the natural world. His duties as court mathematician included casting horoscopes for the royal family, and he based his own life on astrological principles. He also wrote at length on cosmic harmonies and explained elliptical motion through ideas about the beautiful music created by the combined motion of the planets. Another example of the interweaving of ideas and beliefs is Sir Isaac Newton, who was both intensely religious and also fascinated by alchemy, whose practitioners believed (among other things) that base metals could be turned into gold.

Important Changes in Scientific Thinking and Practice

What intellectual and social changes occurred as a result of the Scientific Revolution?

The Scientific Revolution was not accomplished by a handful of brilliant individuals working alone. Advancements occurred in many fields as scholars developed new methods to seek answers to long-standing problems with the collaboration and assistance of skilled craftsmen who invented new instruments and helped conduct experiments. These results circulated in an international intellectual community from which women were usually excluded.

The Methods of Science

The English politician and writer Francis Bacon (1561–1626) was the greatest early propagandist for the experimental method. Rejecting the Aristotelian and medieval method of using speculative reasoning to build general theories, Bacon argued that new knowledge had to be pursued through empirical research. The researcher who wants to learn more about leaves or rocks, for example, should not speculate about the subject but should rather collect a multitude of specimens and then compare and analyze them to derive general principles. Bacon's contribution was to formalize the empirical method, which had already been used by Brahe and Galileo, into the general theory of inductive reasoning known as **empiricism**.

empiricism A theory of inductive reasoning that calls for acquiring evidence through observation and experimentation rather than reason and speculation.

On the continent more speculative methods retained support. In 1619 the French philosopher René Descartes (day-KAHRT) (1596–1650) experienced a life-changing intellectual vision. Descartes saw that there was a perfect correspondence between geometry and algebra and that geometrical spatial figures could be expressed as algebraic equations and vice versa. A major step forward in mathematics, Descartes's discovery of analytic geometry provided scientists with an important new tool.

Descartes used mathematics to elaborate a highly influential vision of the workings of the cosmos. Drawing on ancient Greek atomist philosophies, Descartes developed the idea that matter was made up of identical "corpuscules" (tiny particles) that collided together in an endless series of motions, akin to the working of a machine. All occurrences in nature could be analyzed as matter in motion, and, according to Descartes, the total "quantity of motion" in the universe was constant. Descartes's mechanistic philosophy of the universe depended on the idea that a vacuum was impossible, which meant that every action had an equal reaction, continuing in an eternal chain reaction.

Descartes's greatest achievement was to develop his initial vision into a whole philosophy of knowledge and science. When experiments proved that sensory impressions could be wrong, Descartes decided it was necessary to doubt them and everything that could reasonably be doubted, and then, as in geometry, to use deductive reasoning from self-evident truths, which he called "first principles," to ascertain scientific laws. Descartes's reasoning ultimately reduced all substances to "matter" and "mind" — that is, to the physical and the spiritual. His view of the world as consisting of two fundamental entities is known as Cartesian dualism.

Both Bacon's inductive experimentalism and Descartes's deductive mathematical reasoning had flaws. Bacon's inability to appreciate the importance of mathematics and his obsession with practical results illustrated the limitations of antitheoretical empiricism. Likewise, some of Descartes's positions demonstrated the inadequacy of rigid, dogmatic rationalism. He believed, for example, that it was possible to deduce the whole science of medicine from first principles. Although insufficient on their own, Bacon's and Descartes's extreme approaches are combined in the modern scientific method, which began to crystallize in the late seventeenth century.

MAJOR CONTRIBUTORS TO THE SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION

Nicolaus Copernicus (1473–1543)	Published *On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Spheres* (1543); theorized that the sun, rather than the earth, was the center of the galaxy
Paracelsus (1493–1541)	Pioneered the use of chemicals and drugs to address perceived chemical imbalances
Andreas Vesalius (1514–1564)	Published *On the Structure of the Human Body* (1543)
Tycho	Built observatories and compiled data for the *Rudolphine*

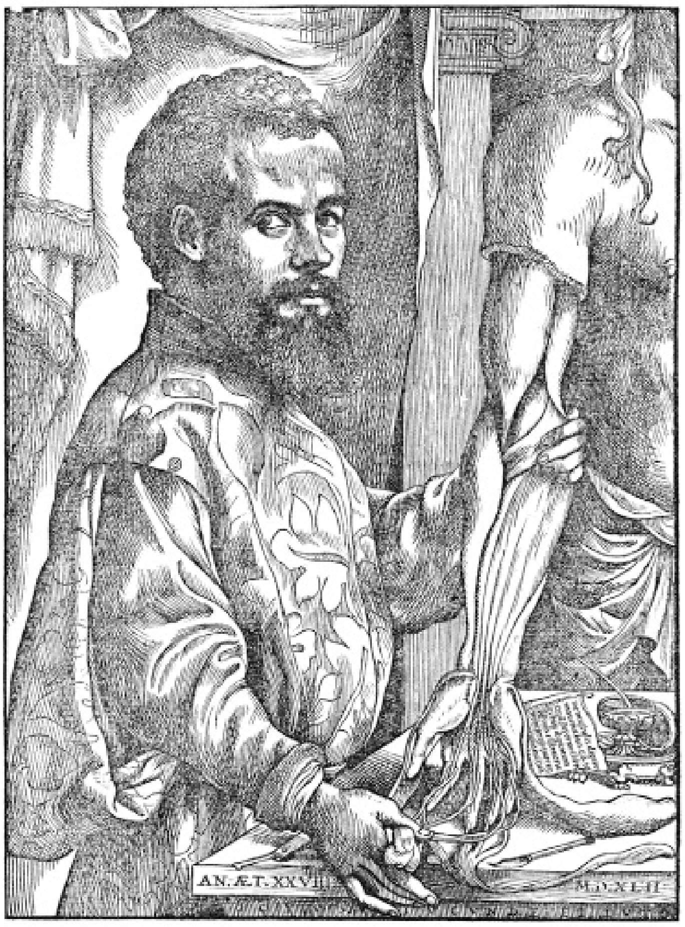
Brahe (1546–1601)	*Tables*, improved tables of planetary motions
Francis Bacon (1561–1626)	Advocated experimental method, formalizing theory of inductive reasoning known as empiricism
Galileo Galilei (1564–1642)	Used telescopic observation to provide evidence for Copernican hypothesis; experimented to formulate laws of physics, such as inertia
Johannes Kepler (1571–1630)	Used Brahe’s data to mathematically prove the Copernican hypothesis; his new laws of planetary motion united for the first time natural philosophy and mathematics; completed the *Rudolphine Tables* in 1627
William Harvey (1578–1657)	Discovered blood circulation (1628)
René Descartes (1596–1650)	Used deductive reasoning to formulate theory of Cartesian dualism
Robert Boyle (1627–1691)	Founded the modern science of chemistry; created the first vacuum; discovered Boyle’s law on the properties of gases
Isaac Newton (1642–1727)	Introduced the law of universal gravitation, synthesizing the theories of Copernicus and Galileo

Medicine, the Body, and Chemistry

The Scientific Revolution, which began with the study of the cosmos, soon transformed the understanding of the human body. For many centuries the ancient Greek physician Galen’s explanation of the body carried the same authority as Aristotle’s account of the universe. According to Galen, the body contained four humors: blood, phlegm, black bile, and yellow bile. Illness was believed to result from an imbalance of these humors.

Swiss physician and alchemist Paracelsus (1493–1541) was an early proponent of the experimental method in medicine and pioneered the use of chemicals and drugs to address what he saw as chemical, rather than humoral, imbalances. Another experimentalist, Flemish physician Andreas Vesalius (1514–1564), studied anatomy by dissecting human bodies. In 1543, the same year Copernicus published *On the Revolutions of the*

Heavenly Spheres, Vesalius issued *On the Structure of the Human Body*. Its two hundred precise drawings revolutionized the understanding of human anatomy, disproving Galen. The experimental approach also led English royal physician William Harvey (1578–1657) to discover the circulation of blood through the veins and arteries in 1628.



© SSPL/Science Museum/The Image Works

Frontispiece to *De Humani Corporis Fabrica* (*On the Structure of the Human Body*) The frontispiece to Vesalius's pioneering work, published in 1543, shows him dissecting a corpse before a crowd of students. This was a revolutionary new hands-on approach for physicians, who usually worked from a theoretical, rather than a practical, understanding of the body. Based on direct observation, Vesalius replaced ancient ideas drawn from Greek philosophy with a much more accurate account of the structure and function of the body.

The work of Irishman Robert Boyle (1627–1691) led to the development of modern chemistry. Following Paracelsus's lead, he undertook experiments to discover the basic elements of nature, which he believed was composed of infinitely small atoms. Boyle was the first to create a vacuum, thus disproving Descartes’s belief that a vacuum could not exist in nature, and he discovered Boyle’s law (1662), which states that the pressure of a gas varies inversely with volume.

Science and Religion

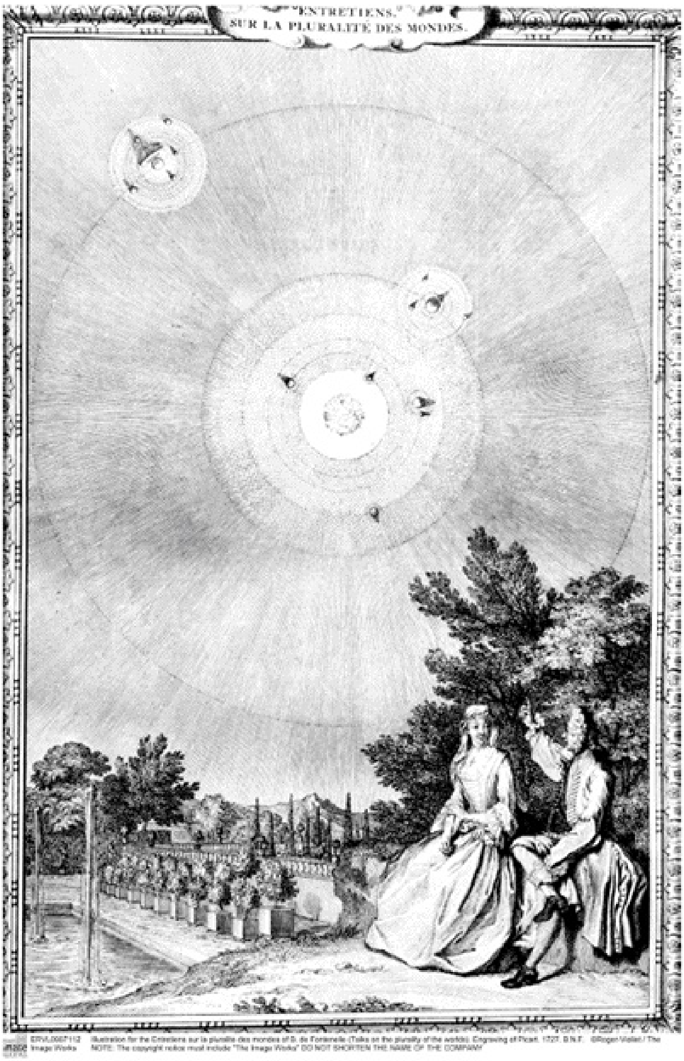
It is sometimes assumed that the relationship between science and religion is fundamentally hostile and that the pursuit of knowledge based on reason and proof is incompatible with faith. Yet during the Scientific Revolution most practitioners were devoutly religious and saw their work as contributing to the celebration of God’s glory. However, the concept of heliocentrism, which displaced the earth from the center of the universe, threatened the understanding of the place of mankind in creation as stated in Genesis. All religions derived from the Old Testament thus faced difficulties accepting the Copernican system. The leaders of the Catholic Church were initially less hostile than Protestant and Jewish religious leaders, but in the first decades of the sixteenth century Catholic attitudes changed. In 1616 the Holy Office placed the works of Copernicus and his supporters, including Kepler, on a list of books Catholics were forbidden to read.

Out of caution Galileo Galilei silenced his views on heliocentrism for several years, until 1623 saw the ascension of Pope Urban VIII, a man sympathetic to the new science. However, Galileo’s 1632 *Dialogue on the Two Chief Systems of the World* went too far. Published in Italian and widely read, it openly lampooned the Aristotelian view and defended Copernicus. In 1633 Galileo was tried for heresy by the papal Inquisition. Imprisoned and threatened with torture, the aging Galileo recanted.

Science and Society

The rise of modern science had many consequences. First, it led to the rise of a new and expanding social group — the international scientific community. Members of this community were linked together by common interests and values as well as by journals and scientific societies. The personal success of scientists and scholars depended on making new discoveries, and as a result science became competitive. Second, as governments intervened to support and sometimes direct research, the new scientific community became closely tied to the state and its agendas. National academies of science were created under state sponsorship in London in 1662, Paris in 1666, Berlin in 1700, and later across Europe.

It was long believed that the Scientific Revolution was the work of exceptional geniuses. More recently, historians have emphasized the importance of skilled craftsmen in the rise of science, particularly in the development of the experimental method. Many artisans developed a strong interest in emerging scientific ideas, and, in turn, the practice of science in the seventeenth century relied heavily on artisans’ expertise in making instruments and conducting precise experiments.


ENTRETIENS
SUR LA PLURALITE DES MONDES.

© Roger-Viollet/The Image Works

Popularizing Science The frontispiece illustration of Fontenelle’s *Conversations on the Plurality of Worlds* (1686) invites the reader to share the pleasures of astronomy with an elegant lady and an entertaining teacher. The drawing shows the planets revolving around the sun.

Some things did not change in the Scientific Revolution. For example, scholars willing to challenge received ideas about the natural universe did not question traditional inequalities between the sexes. Instead the emergence of professional science may have worsened the inequality in some ways. When Renaissance courts served as centers of learning, talented noblewomen could find niches in study and research. But the rise of a scientific community raised barriers for women because the universities and academies that furnished professional credentials refused them entry.

There were, however, a number of noteworthy exceptions. In Italy universities and academies did accept women. Across Europe women worked as makers of wax anatomical models and as botanical and zoological illustrators. They were also very much involved in informal scientific communities, attending salons (see “Women and the Enlightenment”), conducting experiments, and writing learned treatises.

The Rise and Spread of the Enlightenment

How did the Enlightenment emerge, and what were major currents of Enlightenment thought?

The political, intellectual, and religious developments of the early modern period that gave rise to the Scientific Revolution further contributed to a series of debates about key issues in late-seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe and the wider world that came to be known as the **Enlightenment**. By shattering the unity of Western Christendom, the conflicts of the Reformation brought old religious certainties into question; the strong states that emerged to quell the disorder soon inspired questions about political sovereignty and its limits. Increased movement of peoples, goods, and ideas within and among the states of Asia, Africa, Europe, and its colonies offered examples of shockingly different ways of life and values. Finally, the tremendous achievements of the Scientific Revolution inspired intellectuals to believe that answers to all the questions being asked could be found through the use of rational and critical thinking. Progress was possible in human society as well as science.

Enlightenment An intellectual and cultural movement in late-seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe and the wider world that used rational and critical thinking to debate issues such as political sovereignty, religious tolerance, gender roles, and racial difference.

The Early Enlightenment

Loosely united by certain key questions and ideas, the European Enlightenment (ca. 1690–1789) was a broad intellectual and cultural movement that gained strength gradually and did not reach its maturity until about 1750. Its origins in the late seventeenth century lie in a combination of developments, including political opposition to absolutist rule, religious conflicts between Protestants and Catholics and within Protestantism, and the attempt to apply principles and practices from the Scientific Revolution to human society.

A key crucible for Enlightenment thought was the Dutch Republic, with its proud commitments to religious tolerance and republican rule. When Louis XIV demanded that all Protestants convert to Catholicism, many Huguenots fled the country and resettled in the Dutch Republic. From this haven of tolerance, French Huguenots and their supporters began to publish tracts denouncing religious intolerance and suggesting that only a despotic monarch would deny religious freedom. Their challenge to authority thus combined religious and political issues.

These dual concerns drove the career of one important early Enlightenment writer, Pierre Bayle (1647–1706), a Huguenot who took refuge from government persecution in the Dutch Republic. Bayle critically examined the religious beliefs and persecutions of the past in his *Historical and Critical Dictionary* (1697). Demonstrating that human beliefs had been extremely varied and very often mistaken, he concluded that nothing can ever be known beyond all doubt, a view known as skepticism.

The Dutch Jewish philosopher Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677) was a key figure in the transition from the Scientific Revolution to the Enlightenment. Deeply inspired by advances in the Scientific Revolution, Spinoza sought to apply natural philosophy to thinking about human society. He borrowed Descartes's emphasis on rationalism and his methods of deductive reasoning but rejected the French thinker's mind-body dualism. Instead Spinoza came to espouse monism, the idea that mind and body are united in one substance and that God and nature were merely two names for the same thing. He envisioned a deterministic universe in which good and evil were merely relative values, and human actions were shaped by outside circumstances, not free will. Spinoza was excommunicated by the relatively large Jewish community of Amsterdam for his controversial religious ideas, but he was heralded by his Enlightenment successors as a model of personal virtue and courageous intellectual autonomy.

German philosopher and mathematician Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz (1646–1716) refuted both Cartesian dualism and Spinoza's monism. Instead he adopted the idea of an infinite number of substances, or "monads," from which all matter is composed according to a harmonious divine plan. His *Theodicy* (1710) declared that ours must be "the best of all possible worlds" because it was created by an omnipotent and benevolent God.

Out of this period of intellectual turmoil came John Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690), perhaps the most important text of the early Enlightenment. In this work Locke (1632–1704) set forth a new theory about how human beings learn and form their ideas. Whereas Descartes based his deductive logic on the conviction that certain first principles, or innate ideas, are imbued in humans by God, Locke insisted that all ideas are derived from experience. According to Locke, the human mind at birth is like a blank tablet, or tabula rasa, on which understanding and beliefs are inscribed by experience. Human development is therefore determined by external forces, like education and social institutions, not innate characteristics. Locke’s essay contributed to the theory of **sensationalism**, the idea that all human ideas and thoughts are produced as a result of sensory impressions.

sensationalism An idea, espoused by John Locke, that all human ideas and thoughts are produced as a result of sensory impressions.

The Influence of the Philosophes

Divergences among the early thinkers of the Enlightenment show that, while they shared many of the same premises and questions, the answers they found differed widely. The spread of this spirit of inquiry and debate owed a great deal to the work of the **philosophes**, a group of influential French intellectuals who proclaimed that they were bringing the light of knowledge to their fellow humans.

philosophes A group of French intellectuals who proclaimed that they were bringing the light of knowledge to their fellow humans.

To appeal to the public and get around the censors, the philosophes wrote novels and plays, histories and philosophies, and dictionaries and encyclopedias, all filled with satire and double meanings to spread their message. One of the greatest philosophes, the baron de Montesquieu (mahn-tuhs-KYOO) (1689–1755), pioneered this approach in *The Persian Letters* (1721). This work consists of letters supposedly written by two Persian travelers, Usbek and Rica, who as outsiders see European customs in unique ways and thereby allow Montesquieu a vantage point for criticizing existing practices and beliefs.

Disturbed by the growth in royal power under Louis XIV and inspired by the example of the physical sciences, Montesquieu set out to apply the critical method to the problem of government in *The Spirit of Laws* (1748). Arguing that forms of government were shaped by history, geography, and customs, Montesquieu identified three main types: monarchies, republics, and despotisms. A great admirer of the English parliamentary system, Montesquieu argued for a separation of powers, with political power divided among different classes and legal estates holding unequal rights and privileges. Decades later, his theory of separation of powers had a great impact on the constitutions of the United States in 1789 and of France in 1791.

The most famous philosophe was François-Marie Arouet, known by the pen name Voltaire (1694–1778). In his long career, Voltaire wrote more than seventy witty volumes, hobnobbed with royalty, and died a millionaire through shrewd speculations. His early career, however, was turbulent, and he was twice arrested for insulting noblemen. To avoid a prison term, Voltaire moved to England for three years, and there he came to share Montesquieu's enthusiasm for English liberties and institutions.

Returning to France, Voltaire met Gabrielle-Emilie Le Tonnelier de Breteuil, marquise du Châtelet (1706–1749), a gifted noblewoman. Madame du Châtelet invited Voltaire to live in her country house at Cirey in Lorraine. Passionate about science, she studied physics and mathematics and published the first French translation of Newton's *Principia*. Excluded from the Royal Academy of Sciences because she was a woman, Madame du Châtelet had no doubt that women's limited role in science was due to their unequal education.

While living at Cirey, Voltaire wrote works praising England and popularizing English scientific progress. Yet, like almost all the philosophes, Voltaire was a reformer, not a revolutionary. He pessimistically concluded that the best form of government was a good monarch, since human beings "are very rarely worthy to govern themselves." Nor did Voltaire believe in social and economic equality. The only realizable equality, Voltaire thought, was that "by which the citizen only depends on the laws which protect the freedom of the feeble against the ambitions of the strong."[1]

Voltaire's philosophical and religious positions were much more radical. Voltaire believed in God, but, like many Enlightenment thinkers, he rejected the established church in favor of **deism**, belief in a distant, noninterventionist deity. Above all, Voltaire and most of the philosophes hated religious intolerance, which they believed led to fanaticism and cruelty.

deism Belief in a distant, noninterventionist deity, shared by many Enlightenment thinkers.

The strength of the philosophes lay in their number, dedication, and organization. Their greatest achievement was a group effort — the seventeen-volume *Encyclopedia: The Rational Dictionary of the Sciences, the Arts, and the Crafts*, edited by Denis Diderot (1713–1784) and Jean le Rond d'Alembert (1717–1783). Completed in 1765 despite opposition from the French state and the Catholic Church, the *Encyclopedia* contained hundreds of thousands of articles by leading scientists, writers, skilled workers, and progressive priests. Science and the industrial arts were exalted, religion and immortality questioned. Intolerance, legal injustice, and out-of-date social institutions were openly criticized.

After about 1770 a number of thinkers and writers began to attack the philosophes' faith in reason and progress. The most famous of these was the Swiss intellectual Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778). Like other Enlightenment thinkers, Rousseau was passionately committed to individual freedom. Unlike them, however, he attacked rationalism and civilization as destroying, rather than liberating, the individual. Warm, spontaneous feeling, Rousseau believed, had to complement and correct cold intellect. Rousseau's ideals greatly influenced the early Romantic movement, which rebelled against the culture of the Enlightenment in the late eighteenth century.

Rousseau's contribution to political theory in *The Social Contract* (1762) was based on two fundamental concepts: the general will and popular sovereignty. According to Rousseau, the **general will** is sacred and absolute, reflecting the common interests of all people, who have displaced the monarch as the holder of sovereign power. The general will is not necessarily the will of the majority, however. At times the general will may be the authentic, long-term needs of the people as correctly interpreted by a farseeing minority.

general will A concept associated with Rousseau, referring to the common interests of all the people, who have displaced the monarch as the holder of sovereign power.

Enlightenment Movements Across Europe

The Enlightenment was a movement of international dimensions, with thinkers traversing borders in a constant exchange of visits, letters, and printed materials. The Republic of Letters, as this international group of scholars and writers was called, was a truly cosmopolitan set of networks stretching from western Europe to its colonies in the Americas, to Russia and eastern Europe, and along the routes of trade and empire to Africa and Asia.

Within this broad international conversation, scholars have identified regional and national particularities. Outside France, many strains of Enlightenment thought sought to reconcile reason with faith, rather than emphasizing the errors of religious fanaticism and intolerance. Some scholars point to a distinctive "Catholic Enlightenment" that aimed to renew and reform the church from within, looking to divine grace rather than human will as the source of social progress.

The Scottish Enlightenment, centered in Edinburgh, was marked by an emphasis on common sense and scientific reasoning. A central figure in Edinburgh was David Hume (1711–1776). Building on Locke's writings on learning, Hume argued that the human mind is really nothing but a bundle of impressions. These impressions originate only in sensory experiences and our habits of joining these experiences together. Since our ideas ultimately reflect only our sensory experiences, our reason cannot tell us anything about questions that cannot be verified by sensory experience (in the form of controlled experiments or mathematics), such as the origin of the universe or the existence of God. Hume further argued, in opposition to Descartes, that reason alone could not supply moral principles and that they derived instead from emotions and desires, such as feelings of approval or shame. Hume's rationalistic inquiry thus ended up undermining the Enlightenment's faith in the power of reason by emphasizing the superiority of the passions over reason in driving human behavior.

MAJOR FIGURES OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT

Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677)	Early Enlightenment thinker excommunicated from the Jewish community for his concept of a deterministic universe
John Locke (1632–1704)	*Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690)
Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz (1646–1716)	Early German philosopher and mathematician
Pierre Bayle (1647–1706)	*Historical and Critical Dictionary* (1697)
Montesquieu (1689–1755)	*The Persian Letters* (1721); *The Spirit of Laws* (1748)
Voltaire	Renowned French philosopher and author of more than

(1694–1778)	seventy works
Gabrielle-Emilie Le Tonnelier de Breteuil, marquise du Châtelet (1706–1749)	French scholar and supporter of equal education for women
David Hume (1711–1776)	Central figure of the Scottish Enlightenment
Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778)	*The Social Contract* (1762)
Denis Diderot (1713–1784) and **Jean le Rond d'Alembert** (1717–1783)	Editors of *Encyclopedia: The Rational Dictionary of the Sciences, the Arts, and the Crafts* (1765)
Adam Smith (1723–1790)	*Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759); *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776)
Immanuel Kant (1724–1804)	*On the Different Races of Man* (1775); *What Is Enlightenment?* (1784)

Hume's ideas had a formative influence on another major figure of the Scottish Enlightenment, Adam Smith (1723–1790). In his *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759), Smith argued that social interaction produced feelings of mutual sympathy that led people to behave in ethical ways, despite inherent tendencies toward self-interest. Smith believed that the thriving commercial life of the eighteenth century was likely to produce civic virtue through the values of competition, fair play, and individual autonomy. In *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776), Smith attacked the laws and regulations created by mercantilist governments that, he argued, prevented commerce from reaching its full capacity (see "Mercantilism and Colonial Wars" in Chapter 18). For Smith, ordinary people were capable of forming correct judgments based on their own experience and should therefore not be hampered by government regulations. Instead, the pursuit of individual self-interest in a competitive market would lead to rising prosperity and greater social equality. Smith's **economic liberalism** became the dominant form of economic thought in the early nineteenth century.

economic liberalism The theory, associated with Adam Smith, that the pursuit of individual self-interest in a competitive market would lead to rising prosperity and greater social equality, rendering government intervention unnecessary and undesirable.

Inspired by philosophers of moral sentiments, like Hume and Smith, as well as by physiological studies of the role of the nervous system in human perception, the celebration of sensibility became an important element of eighteenth-century culture. Sensibility referred to an acute sensitivity of the nerves and brain to outside stimuli that produced strong emotional and physical reactions. Novels, plays, and other literary genres depicted moral and aesthetic sensibility as a particular characteristic of women and the upper classes. The proper relationship between reason and the emotions became a key question.

After 1760 Enlightenment ideas were hotly debated in the German-speaking states, often in dialogue with Christian theology. Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) was the greatest German philosopher of his day. Kant posed the question of the age when he published a pamphlet in 1784 titled *What Is Enlightenment?* He answered, "*Sapere Aude* (dare to know)! 'Have the courage to use your own understanding' is therefore the motto of enlightenment." He argued that if intellectuals were granted the freedom to exercise their reason publicly in print, enlightenment would surely follow. Kant was no revolutionary; he also insisted that in their private lives, individuals must obey all laws, no matter how unreasonable. Like other Enlightenment figures in central and east-central Europe, Kant thus tried to reconcile absolutism and religious faith with a critical public sphere.

Important developments in Enlightenment thought also took place in the Italian peninsula. After achieving independence from Habsburg rule (1734), the kingdom of Naples entered a period of intellectual flourishing. In northern Italy a central figure was Cesare Beccaria (1738–1794). His *On Crimes and Punishments* (1764) was a passionate plea for reform of the penal system that decried the use of torture, arbitrary imprisonment, and capital punishment and advocated the prevention of crime over its punishment.

Key Issues of Enlightenment Debate

How did Enlightenment thinkers address issues of cultural and social difference and political power?

The Scientific Revolution and the political and religious conflicts of the late seventeenth century were not the only developments that influenced European thinkers. Europeans' increased interactions with non-European peoples and cultures also helped produce the Enlightenment spirit. Enlightenment thinkers struggled to assess differences between Western and non-Western cultures, often adopting Eurocentric views, but sometimes expressing admiration for other societies. These same thinkers focused a great deal of attention on other forms of cultural and social difference, developing new ideas about race, gender, and political power. Although new "scientific" ways of thinking often served to justify inequality, the Enlightenment did see a rise in religious tolerance, a particularly crucial issue for Europe's persecuted Jewish population.

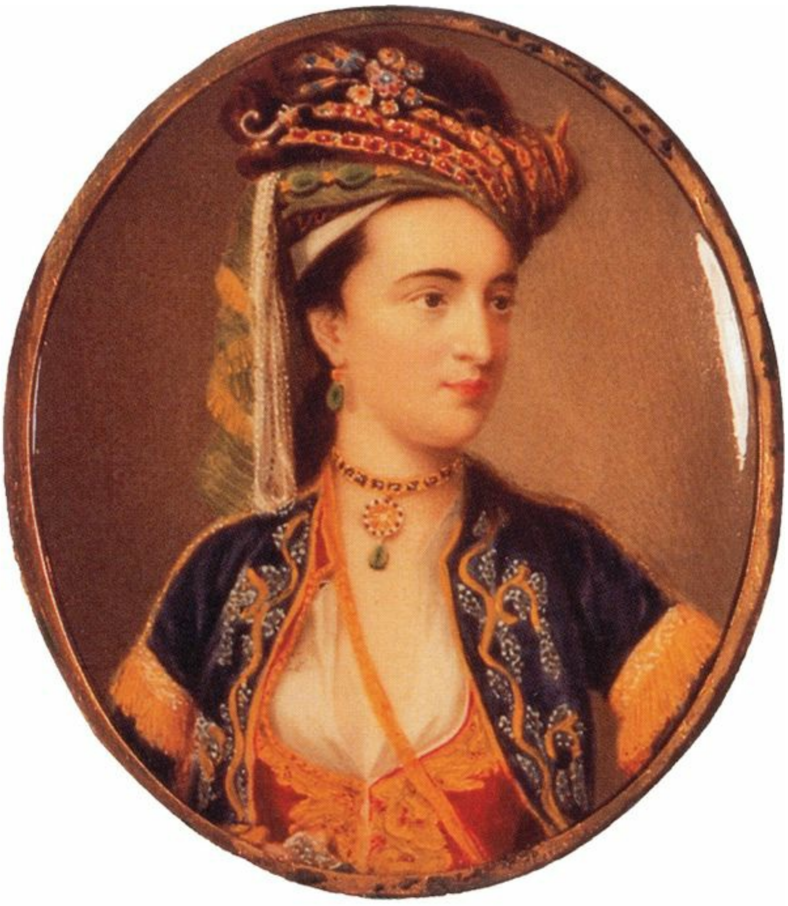
Shifting Views of the Non-Western World

In the wake of the great discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the rapidly growing travel literature taught Europeans that the peoples of China, India, Africa, and the Americas had very different beliefs and customs. Educated Europeans began to look at truth and morality in relative, rather than absolute, terms.

The powerful and advanced nations of Asia were obvious sources of comparison with the West. Seventeenth-century Jesuit missionaries served as a conduit for transmission of knowledge to the West about Chinese history and culture. The philosopher and mathematician Leibniz corresponded with Jesuits stationed in China, coming to believe that Chinese ethics and political philosophy were superior but that Europeans had equaled China in science and technology; some scholars believe his concept of monads was influenced by Confucian teaching on the inherent harmony between the cosmic order and human society.[2]

During the eighteenth century Enlightenment opinion on China was divided. Voltaire and some other philosophes revered China — without ever visiting or seriously studying it — as an ancient culture replete with wisdom and learning, ruled by benevolent absolutist monarchs. They enthusiastically embraced Confucianism as a natural religion in which universal moral truths were uncovered by reason. By contrast, Montesquieu and Diderot criticized China as a despotic land ruled by fear.

Attitudes toward Islam and the Muslim world were similarly mixed. As the Ottoman military threat receded at the end of the seventeenth century, some Enlightenment thinkers assessed Islam favorably. Others, including Spinoza, saw Islamic culture as superstitious and favorable to despotism. In most cases, writing about Islam and Muslim cultures served primarily as a means to reflect on Western values and practices.



NYPL/Science Source/Getty Images

Portrait of Mary Wortley Montagu in Turkish Attire
Lady Mary Wortley Montagu accompanied her husband, the British ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, on his diplomatic mission from 1717 to 1719. Her letters to friends and relatives provide a rare glimpse of the sultan’s court and an unusually sympathetic depiction of life in the Muslim empire, including a positive appreciation of the status of Ottoman women. Lady Montagu had several portraits painted of herself in Ottoman dress, reflecting her fascination with Ottoman culture.

One writer with considerable personal experience in a Muslim country was Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, wife of the English ambassador to the Ottoman Empire. Her letters challenged prevailing ideas by depicting Turkish people as sympathetic and civilized. Montagu also disputed the notion that women were more oppressed in Ottoman society than at home in Europe.

Apart from debates about Asian and Muslim lands, the “discovery” of the New World and subsequent explorations in the Pacific Ocean also destabilized existing norms and values in Europe. One popular idea, among Rousseau and others, was that indigenous peoples of the Americas were living examples of “natural man,” who embodied the essential goodness of humanity uncorrupted by decadent society.

New Definitions of Race

As scientists developed taxonomies of plant and animal species in response to discoveries in the Americas, they also began to classify humans into hierarchically ordered “races” and to speculate on the origins of perceived racial differences. The French naturalist Georges-Louis Leclerc, comte de Buffon (1707–1788), argued that humans originated with one species that then developed into distinct races due largely to climatic conditions.

Enlightenment thinkers such as David Hume and Immanuel Kant helped popularize these ideas. In *Of Natural Characters* (1748), Hume expressed his conviction that “negroes and in general all other species of men” were “naturally inferior to the whites.”[3] In *On the Different Races of Man* (1775), Kant claimed that there were four human races, each of which derived from an original race. According to Kant, the closest descendants of the original race were the white inhabitants of northern Germany. (Scientists now know that humans originated in Africa.)

Using the word *race* to designate biologically distinct groups of humans was new in European thought. Previously, Europeans had grouped other peoples into “nations” based on their historical, political, and cultural affiliations, rather than on supposedly innate physical differences. While Europeans had long believed they were culturally superior to people from other nations, the new idea that racial difference was physical and innate rather than cultural taught them they were biologically superior as well. In turn, scientific racism helped legitimize and justify the tremendous growth of slavery that occurred during the eighteenth century.

Racist ideas did not go unchallenged. The abbé Raynal’s *History of the Two Indies* (1770) fiercely attacked slavery and the abuses of European colonization. *Encyclopedia* editor Denis Diderot adopted Montesquieu’s technique of criticizing European attitudes through the voice of outsiders in his dialogue between Tahitian villagers and their European visitors. (See “Analyzing the Evidence: Denis Diderot, ‘Supplement to Bougainville’s

Voyage,’” above.”) Former slaves, like Olaudah Equiano and Ottobah Cugoano, published eloquent memoirs testifying to the horrors of slavery and the innate equality of all humans. These challenges to racism, however, were in the minority. More often, Enlightenment thinkers supported racial inequality.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

Denis Diderot, “Supplement to Bougainville’s Voyage”

Denis Diderot was born in a provincial town in eastern France and educated in Paris. Rejecting careers in the church and the law, he devoted himself to literature and philosophy. In 1749, sixty years before Charles Darwin’s birth, Diderot was jailed by Parisian authorities for publishing an essay questioning God’s role in the creation and suggesting the autonomous evolution of species. Following these difficult beginnings, Diderot’s editorial work and writing on the Encyclopedia were the crowning intellectual achievements of his life and, according to some, of the Enlightenment itself.

Like other philosophes, Diderot disseminated Enlightenment ideas through various types of writing, ranging from scholarly articles in the Encyclopedia to philosophical treatises, novels, plays, book reviews, and erotic stories. His “Supplement to Bougainville’s Voyage” (1772) was a fictional account of a European voyage to Tahiti inspired by the writings of traveler Louis-Antoine de Bougainville. In this passage, Diderot expresses his own loathing of colonial conquest and exploitation through the voice of an elderly Tahitian man. The character’s praise for his own culture allows Diderot to express his Enlightenment idealization of natural man, free from the vices of civilized societies.

He was the father of a numerous family. At the time of the Europeans’ arrival, he cast upon them a look that was filled with scorn, though it revealed no surprise, no alarm and no curiosity. They approached him; he turned his back on them and retired into his hut. His thoughts were only too well revealed by his silence and his air of concern, for in the privacy of his thoughts he groaned inwardly over the happy days of his people, now gone forever. At the moment of Bougainville’s departure, when all the natives ran swarming onto the beach, tugging at this clothing and throwing their arms around his companions and weeping, the old man stepped forward and solemnly spoke:

“Weep, wretched Tahitians, weep — but rather for the arrival than for the departure of these wicked and grasping men! The day they will return, bearing in one hand that piece of wood you see suspended from this one’s belt and in the other the piece of steel that hangs at the side of his companion. They will load you with chains, slit your throats and enslave you to their follies and vices. Someday you will be slaves to them, you will be as corrupt, as vile, as wretched as they are. But I have this consolation — my life is drawing to its close, and I shall not see the calamity that I foretell. O Tahitians, O my friends! You have the means of warding off a terrible fate, but I would die before I would advise you to make sure of it. Let them leave, and let them live.”

Then turning to Bougainville, he went on, “And you, leader of these brigands who obey you, take your vessel swiftly from our shores. We are innocent and happy, and you can only spoil our happiness. We follow the pure instinct of nature, and you have tried to efface her imprint from our hearts. Here all things are for all, and you have preached to us I know not what distinctions between mine and thine. . . . If some day a Tahitian should land on your shores and if he should engrave on one of your stones or on the bark of one of your trees, *This land belongs to the people of Tahiti*, what would you think? You are stronger than we are! And what does that signify? When one of our lads carried off some of the miserable trinkets with which your ship is loaded, what an uproar you made, and what revenge you took! And at that very moment you were plotting, in the depths of your heart, to steal a whole country! You are not slaves; you would suffer death rather than be enslaved, yet you want to make slaves of us! Do you believe then, that the Tahitian does not know how to die in defense of his liberty? This Tahitian, whom you want to treat as a chattel, as a dumb animal — this Tahitian is your brother. You are both children of Nature — what right do you have over him that he does not have over you?

"You came; did we attack you? Did we plunder your vessel? Did we seize you and expose you to the arrows of our enemies? Did we force you to work in the fields alongside our beasts of burden? We respected our own image in you. Leave us our customs, which are wiser and more decent than yours. We have no wish to barter what you call our ignorance for your useless knowledge. We possess already all that is good or necessary for our existence. Do we merit your scorn because we have not been able to create superfluous wants for ourselves? When we are hungry, we have something to eat; when we are cold, we have clothing to put on. You have entered our huts — what is lacking there in your opinion? You are welcome to drive yourselves as hard as you please in pursuit of what you call the comforts of life, but allow sensible people to stop when they see they have nothing to gain but imaginary benefits from the continuation of their painful labors. If you persuade us to go beyond the bounds of strict necessity, when shall we come to the end of our labor? When shall we have time for enjoyment? We have reduced our daily and yearly labors to the least possible amount, because to us nothing seemed more desirable than leisure. Go and bestir yourselves in your own country; there you may torment yourselves as much as you like; but leave us in peace, and do not fill our heads with a hankering after your false needs and imaginary virtues.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. On what grounds does the speaker argue for the Tahitians' basic equality with the

Europeans?

2. What is the good life, according to the speaker, and how does it contrast with the European way of life? Which do you think is the better path, and why?
3. In what ways could Diderot’s thoughts here be seen as representative of Enlightenment ideas? Are there ways in which they are not?
4. How realistic do you think this account is? Does it matter? How might defenders of colonial expansion respond to Diderot’s criticism?

Source: Barzun, Rameau’s Nephew and Other Works: Diderot, 1st Ed., © 1964. Reprinted by permission of Pearson Education, Inc., New York, New York.

Women and the Enlightenment

Dating back to the Renaissance debate about women, the question of women's proper role in society and the nature of gender differences fascinated Enlightenment thinkers. Some philosophes championed greater rights and expanded education for women, claiming that the position and treatment of women were the best indicators of a society's level of civilization and decency. In the 1780s the marquis de Condorcet, a celebrated mathematician and contributor to the *Encyclopedia*, went so far as to urge that women should share equal rights with men. This was a rare position; most philosophes espoused modest reforms and did not challenge male superiority over women.

From the first years of the Enlightenment, women writers made crucial contributions both to debates about women's rights and to the broader Enlightenment discussion. In 1694 Mary Astell published *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies*, which encouraged women to aspire to the life of the mind and proposed the creation of a women's college. Astell also harshly criticized the institution of marriage. Echoing arguments made against the absolute authority of kings during the Glorious Revolution (see "Constitutional Monarchy" in Chapter 18), she argued that husbands should not exercise absolute control over their wives in marriage. Yet Astell, like most female authors of the period, was careful to acknowledge women's God-given duties to be good wives and mothers.

The explosion of printed literature over the eighteenth century (see "Urban Life and the Public Sphere") brought significant numbers of women writers into print, but they remained a small proportion of published authors. In the second half of the eighteenth century, women produced some 15 percent of published novels, the genre in which they enjoyed the greatest success. They represented a much smaller percentage of nonfiction authors.[4]

If they remained marginal in the world of publishing, women played a much more active role in the informal dimensions of the Enlightenment: conversation, letter writing, travel, and patronage of artists and writers. A key element of their informal participation was as salon hostesses, or *salonnières* (sah-lahn-ee-EHRZ). **Salons**, which began in the early seventeenth century and reached their peak from 1740 to 1789, were weekly meetings held in wealthy households. They brought together writers, aristocrats, financiers, and noteworthy foreigners for meals and witty discussions of the latest trends in literature, science, and philosophy. (See "Analyzing the Evidence: Enlightenment Culture," at right.)

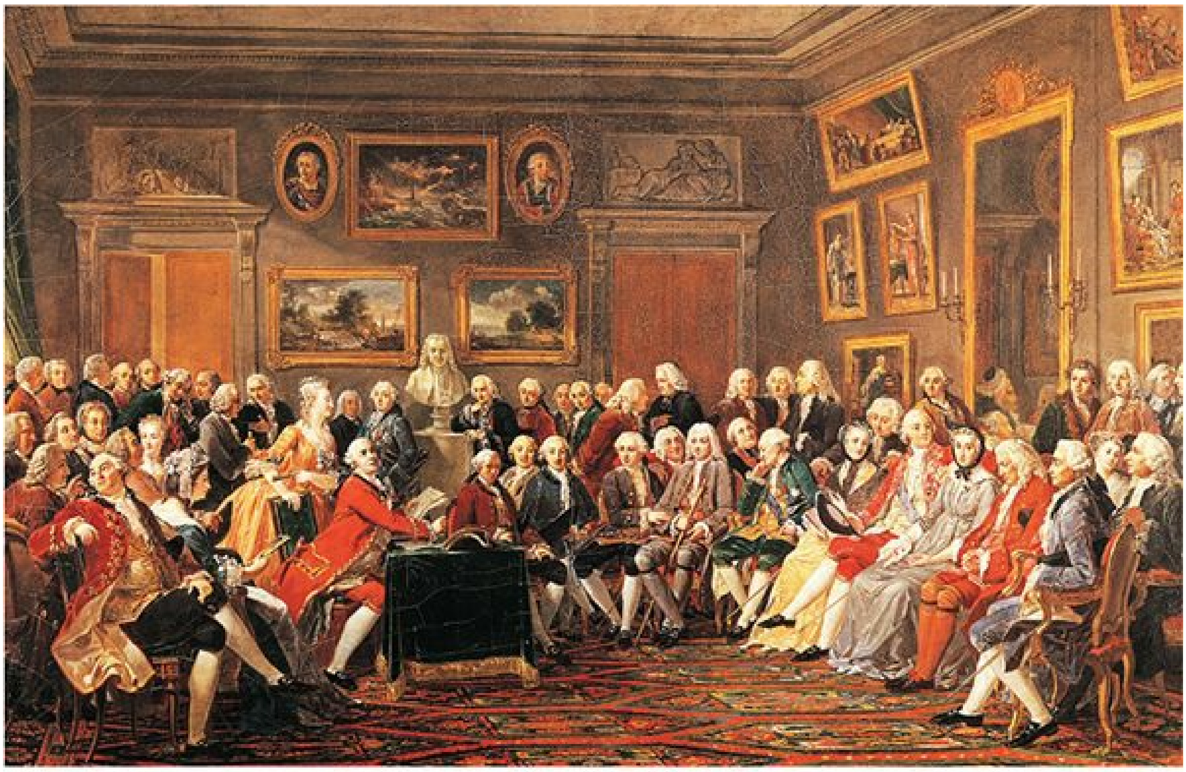
salons Regular social gatherings held by talented and rich Parisian women in their homes, where philosophes and their followers met to discuss literature, science, and philosophy.

Women's prominent role as society hostesses and patrons of the arts and letters outraged some Enlightenment thinkers. According to Rousseau, women and men were radically different beings and should play diametrically opposed roles in life. Destined by nature to assume the active role in sexual relations, men were naturally suited for the rough-and-tumble worlds of politics and public life. Women's role was to attract male sexual desire in order to marry and have children. For Rousseau, women's love for displaying themselves in public, attending salons, and pulling the strings of power was unnatural and had a corrupting effect on both politics and society.

Rousseau's emphasis on the natural laws governing women echoed a wider shift in ideas about gender during this period, as doctors, scientists, and philosophers increasingly agreed that women's essential characteristics were determined by their sexual organs and reproductive functions. This turn to nature, rather than tradition or scripture, as a means to understand human society had parallels in contemporary views on racial difference.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

Enlightenment Culture



The First Reading at Madame Geoffrin's of Voltaire's Tragedy "L'Orphelin de la Chine," 1755, by Gabriel Lemonnier [1743–1824] [oil on canvas]/Musée National du Château de Malmaison, France/DEA/Gianni Dagli Orti/Getty Images

Salons originated in seventeenth-century Paris and became social institutions during the cultural flourishing encouraged by French king Louis XIV. They were gatherings hosted by wealthy women for discussion of the latest literary publications, theatrical performances, and scientific discoveries. During the eighteenth century salons became centers for the dissemination of the new ideas of the Enlightenment. The female hostesses of the salons, known as salonnières, opened their homes once or twice a week to carefully cultivated groups of guests that included aristocrats, rich financiers, high-ranking officials, and noteworthy foreigners. The salonnières guided the discussion and supervised the guests' social interaction. Madame du Deffand, a prominent salonnière, hosted such guests as Montesquieu, d'Alembert, and Benjamin Franklin, then serving as the first United States ambassador to France. Invitations to salons were highly coveted; introductions to the rich and powerful could make the career of an ambitious writer, and, in turn, the social elite found amusement and cultural prestige in their ties to up-and-coming artists and men of letters.

Salons did not keep formal records, but historians have learned about them from letters and memoirs written by salonnières and their guests. One of the few visual representations of the salons is this painting, which depicts an actor performing the first reading of a new play by Voltaire at a 1755 meeting of the salon of Madame Geoffrin. The painter, Anicet

Charles Gabriel Lemonnier, was a regular guest at Geoffrin’s salon and benefited from her patronage. Virtually all the individuals he has depicted here are recognizable members of Parisian salon society, including Enlightenment writers Diderot, d’Alembert, and Rousseau. Lemonnier created the work in 1812 as a commission for the empress Josephine; thus it must be seen as an imaginative reconstruction of the salon, created several decades after it took place.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Which of these people do you think is the hostess, Madame Geoffrin, and why? What can we learn about Geoffrin from this painting of the salon hosted in her home?
2. Given that the salon was a central institution of the Enlightenment, what does this painting tell you about who belonged to the Enlightenment movement? How would you describe attendees in terms of social status, gender, and age?
3. Why would government ministers and wealthy nobles wish to socialize on a regular basis with philosophes, who were critical of French politics and society? How does this image help you understand the way that Enlightenment ideas were perceived by the elite of society?

Enlightened Absolutism and Its Limits

Enlightenment thinkers’ insistence on questioning long-standing traditions and norms inevitably led to issues of power and politics. Most philosophes were political moderates, who distrusted the uneducated masses and hoped for reform, not revolution. As Enlightenment ideas reached from Parisian salons to the centers of government, some absolutist rulers, without renouncing their own absolute authority, took up the call to reform their governments in accordance with the rational and humane principles of the Enlightenment. The result was what historians have called the **enlightened absolutism** of the later eighteenth century. This concept was reflected in programs of reform in Prussia, Russia, and Austria. (Similar programs in France and Spain will be discussed in Chapter 22.)

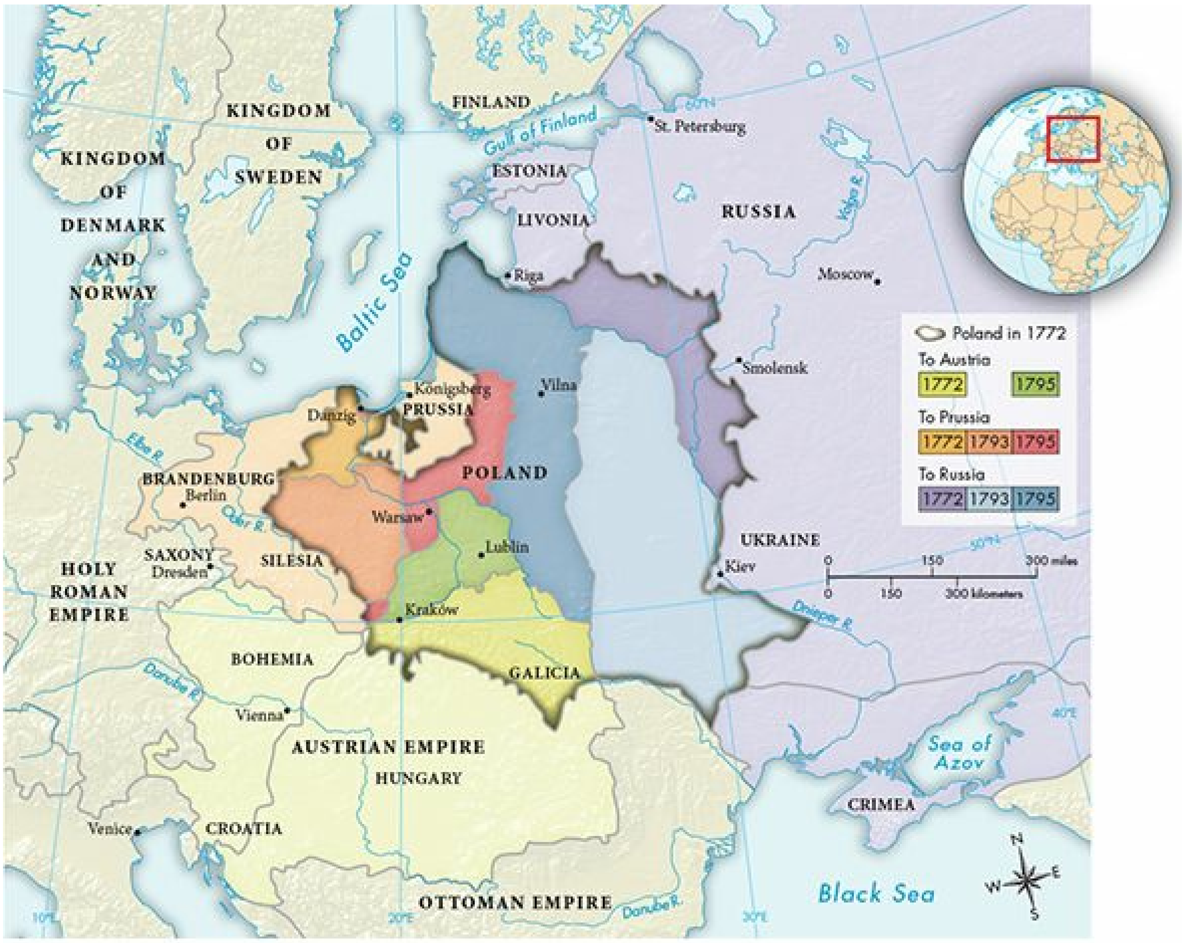
enlightened absolutism Term coined by historians to describe the rule of eighteenth-century monarchs who, without renouncing their own absolute authority, took up the call to reform their governments in accordance with the rational and humane principles of the Enlightenment.

Frederick II (r. 1740–1786) of Prussia, known as Frederick the Great, promoted religious tolerance and free speech and improved the educational system. Under his reign, Prussia’s laws were simplified, torture of prisoners was abolished, and judges decided cases quickly and impartially. However, Frederick did not free the serfs of Prussia; instead he extended the privileges of the nobility over them.

Frederick’s reputation as an enlightened prince was rivaled by that of Catherine the Great of Russia (r. 1762–1796). Catherine pursued three major goals. First, she worked hard to continue Peter the Great’s efforts to bring the culture of western Europe to Russia (see “Peter the Great and Russia’s Turn to the West” in Chapter 18). Catherine’s second goal was domestic reform. Like Frederick, she restricted the practice of torture, allowed limited religious tolerance, and tried to improve education and local government. The philosophes applauded these measures and hoped more would follow.

These hopes were dashed by a massive uprising of serfs in 1733 under the leadership of a Cossack soldier named Emelian Pugachev. Although Pugachev was ultimately captured and executed, his rebellion shocked Russian rulers. After 1775 Catherine gave nobles absolute control of their serfs and extended serfdom into new areas. In 1785 she formally freed nobles from taxes and state service. Under Catherine the Russian nobility thus attained its most exalted position, and serfdom entered its most oppressive phase.

Catherine's third goal was territorial expansion. Her armies subjugated the last descendants of the Mongols and the Crimean Tartars and began the conquest of the Caucasus on the border between Europe and Asia. Her greatest coup was the partition of Poland, which took place in stages from 1772 to 1795 (Map 19.1).


KINGDOM OF SWEDEN
KINGDOM OF DENMARK AND NORWAY
FINLAND
Gulf of Finland
60°N
St. Petersburg
ESTONIA
LIVONIA
RUSSIA
Volga R.
Baltic Sea
Riga
Moscow
Smolensk
Königsberg
PRUSSIA
Danzig
Vilna
POLAND
Elbe R.
BRANDENBURG
Berlin
Oder R.
Warsaw
Lublin
UKRAINE
Kiev
50°N
SAXONY
Dresden
SILESIA
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
Kraków
Dnieper R.
BOHEMIA
GALICIA
Danube R.
Vienna
AUSTRIAN EMPIRE
HUNGARY
Venice
CROATIA
CRIMEA
Sea of Azov
Black Sea
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Danube R.
10°E
20°E
30°E
40°E
N
E
S
W
Poland in 1772
To Austria
1772
1795
To Prussia
1772
1793
1795
To Russia
1772
1793
1795
0
150
300 miles
0
150
300 kilometers

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Mapping the Past

MAP 19.1 The Partition of Poland, 1772–1795 In 1772 the threat of war between Russia and Austria arose over Russian gains from the Ottoman Empire. To satisfy desires for expansion without fighting, Prussia's Frederick the Great proposed dividing parts of Poland among Austria, Prussia, and Russia. In 1793 and 1795 the three powers partitioned the remainder, and Poland ceased to exist as an independent nation.

ANALYZING THE MAP Of the three powers that divided the kingdom of Poland, which benefited the most? How did the partition affect the geographical boundaries of each state, and what was the significance of these geographical boundaries? What border with the former Poland remained unchanged? Why do you think this was the case?

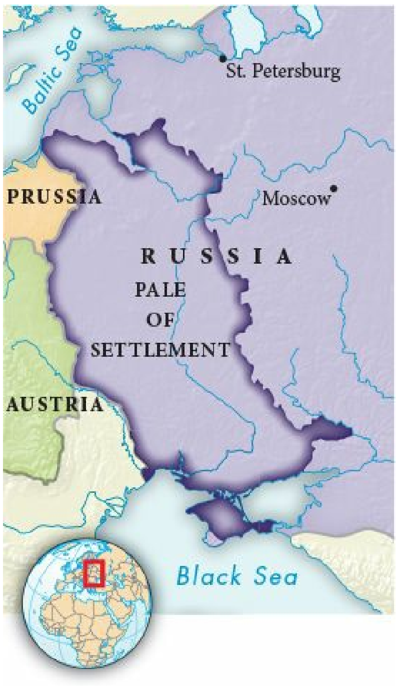
CONNECTIONS Why was Poland vulnerable to partition in the later half of the eighteenth century? What does the fact that a country could simply cease to exist on the map say about European politics at the time? Could such an event happen today? Why or why not?

Joseph II (r. 1780–1790), the Austrian Habsburg emperor, was perhaps the most sincere proponent of enlightened absolutism. Joseph abolished serfdom in 1781, and in 1789 he decreed that peasants could pay landlords in cash rather than through compulsory labor. When Joseph died at forty-nine, the Habsburg empire was in turmoil. His brother Leopold II (r. 1790–1792) canceled Joseph's radical edicts in order to re-establish order.

Perhaps the best example of the limitations of enlightened absolutism is the debates surrounding the possible emancipation of the Jews. For the most part, Jews in Europe were confined to tiny, overcrowded ghettos; were excluded by law from most occupations; and could be ordered out of a kingdom at a moment's notice.

In the eighteenth century an Enlightenment movement known as the **Haskalah** emerged from within the European Jewish community, led by the Prussian philosopher Moses Mendelssohn (1729–1786). Christian and Jewish Enlightenment philosophers, including Mendelssohn, began to advocate for freedom and civil rights for European Jews. (See "Thinking Like a Historian: The Enlightenment Debate on Religious Tolerance," page 552.)

Haskalah A Jewish Enlightenment movement led by Prussian philosopher Moses Mendelssohn.


Baltic Sea
St. Petersburg
PRUSSIA
Moscow
RUSSIA
PALE OF SETTLEMENT
AUSTRIA
Black Sea

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

The Pale of Settlement, 1791

Arguments for tolerance won some ground, especially under Joseph II of Austria. Most monarchs, however, refused to entertain the idea of emancipation. In 1791 Catherine the Great established the Pale of Settlement, a territory encompassing modern-day Belarus, Lithuania, Latvia, Moldova, Ukraine, and parts of Poland, in which most Jews were required to live until the Russian Revolution of 1917.

THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN

The Enlightenment Debate on Religious Tolerance

Enlightenment philosophers questioned many aspects of European society, including political authority, social inequality, and imperialism. A major focus of their criticism was the dominance of the established church and the persecution of minority faiths. While many philosophers defended religious tolerance, they differed widely in their approaches to the issue.

1 **Moses Mendelssohn, "Reply to Lavater," 1769.** In 1769 Johann Caspar Lavater, a Swiss clergyman, called on Moses Mendelssohn to either refute proofs of Christianity publicly or submit to baptism. Mendelssohn's reply is both a call for toleration and an affirmation of his religious faith.

It is, of course, the natural obligation of every mortal to diffuse knowledge and virtue among his fellow men, and to do his best to extirpate their prejudices and errors. One might think, in this regard, that it was the duty of every man publicly to oppose the religious opinions that he considers mistaken. But not all prejudices are equally harmful, and hence the prejudices we may think we perceive among our fellow men must not all be treated in the same way. Some are directly contrary to the happiness of the human race. . . . These must be attacked outright by every friend of humanity. . . . Of this kind are all people's errors and prejudices that disturb their own or their fellows' peace and contentment and kill every seed of the true and the good in man before it can germinate. On the one hand, fanaticism, misanthropy, and the spirit of persecution, and on the other, frivolity, luxury, and libertinism.

Sometimes, however, the opinions of my fellow men, which in my belief are errors, belong to the higher theoretical principles which are too remote from practical life to do any direct harm; but, precisely because of their generality, they form the basis on which the nation that upholds them has built its moral and social system, and thus happen to be of great importance to this part of the human race. To oppose such doctrines in public, because we consider them prejudices, is to dig up the ground to see whether it is solid and secure, without providing any other support for the building that stands on it. Anyone who cares more for the good of humanity than for his own fame will be slow to voice his opinion about such prejudices, and will take care not to attack them outright without extreme caution.

2 **Voltaire, *Treatise on Toleration*, 1763.** Voltaire, the prominent French philosophe, began his *Treatise on Toleration* by recounting the infamous trial of Jean Calas. Although all the evidence pointed toward suicide, the judges concluded that Calas had killed his son in order to prevent him from converting to Catholicism, and Calas was brutally executed in 1762. For Voltaire, the Calas affair was a battle between fanaticism and reason, extremism and moderation.

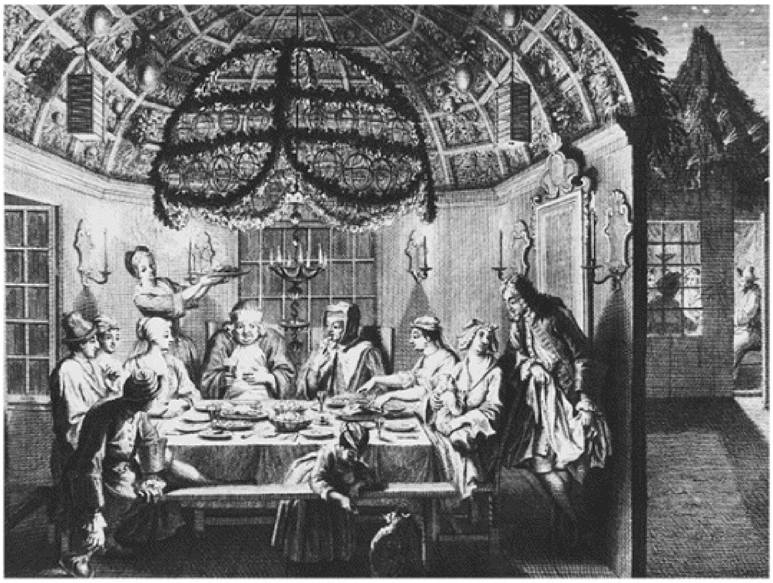
■ Some fanatic in the crowd cried out that Jean Calas had hanged his son Marc Antoine. The cry was soon repeated on all sides; some adding that the deceased was to have abjured Protestantism on the following day, and that the family and young Lavaisse had strangled him out of hatred of the Catholic religion. In a moment all doubt had disappeared. The whole town was persuaded that it is a point of religion with the Protestants for a father and mother to kill their children when they wish to change their faith.

. . . There was not, and could not be, any evidence against the family; but a deluded religion took the place of proof. . . . [The judges] were confounded when the old man, expiring on the wheel, prayed God to witness his innocence, and begged him to pardon his judges.

The daughters were taken from the mother and put in a convent. The mother, almost sprinkled with the blood of her husband, her eldest son dead, the younger banished, deprived of her daughters and all her property, was alone in the world, without bread, without hope, dying of the intolerable misery. Certain persons, having carefully examined the circumstances of this horrible adventure, were so impressed that they urged the widow, who had retired into solitude, to go and demand justice at the feet of the throne. . . . She reached Paris almost at the point of death. She was astonished at her reception, at the help and the tears that were given to her.

At Paris reason dominates fanaticism, however powerful it be; in the provinces fanaticism almost always overcomes reason.

3 **Bernard Picart, “Jewish Meal During the Feast of the Tabernacles,” from *Ceremonies and Customs of All the Peoples of the World*, 1724.** Eighteenth-century travel literature provided eager audiences with images and descriptions of religious practices from around the world. This image emphasizes the prosperity and warm family relations of a Jewish family enjoying a holiday meal, echoing the tolerant mind-set of the author.



Heritage Images/Hulton Archives/Getty Images

4 **Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Nathan the Wise*, 1779.** In this excerpt from *Nathan the Wise*, a play by German writer Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, the sultan Saladin asks a Jewish merchant named Nathan to tell him which is the true religion: Islam, Christianity, or Judaism. Nathan responds with a parable about a man who promised to leave the same opal ring, a guarantor of divine favor, to each of his three beloved sons. He then had two exact replicas of the ring made so that each son would believe he had inherited the precious relic.

■ **NATHAN:** Scarce was the father dead.
When each one with his ring appears
Claiming each the headship of the house.
Inspections, quarrelling, and complaints ensue;
But all in vain, the veritable ring
Was not distinguishable —
(*After a pause, during which he expects the Sultan's answer*)
Almost as indistinguishable as to us,
Is now — the true religion.

SALADIN: What? Is that meant as answer to my question?

NATHAN: 'Tis meant but to excuse myself, because
I lack the boldness to discriminate between the rings,
Which the father by express intent had made
So that they might not be distinguished.

SALADIN: The rings! Don't play with me.
I thought the faiths which I have named
Were easily distinguishable,
Even to their raiment, even to meat and drink.

NATHAN: But yet not as regards their proofs:
For do not all rest upon history, written or traditional?
And history can also be accepted
Only on faith and trust. Is it not so?
Now, whose faith and confidence do we least misdoubt?
That of our relatives? Of those whose flesh and blood we are,
Of those who from our childhood
Have lavished on us proofs of love,
Who ne'er deceived us, unless 'twere wholesome for us so?
How can I place less faith in my forefathers
Than you in yours? or the reverse?
Can I desire of you to load your ancestors with lies,
So that you contradict not mine? Or the reverse?
And to the Christian the same applies.
Is that not so?

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. Based on these sources, what attitudes did eighteenth-century Europeans manifest toward religions other than their own? Were such attitudes always negative?
2. What justifications did Enlightenment philosophers use to argue in favor of religious tolerance? Were arguments in favor of religious tolerance necessarily antireligious?
3. Why did Judaism figure so prominently in debates about religious tolerance in eighteenth-century Europe? In what ways do you think Mendelssohn's experience as a Jew (Source 1) shaped his views on religious tolerance?

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

Using the sources above, along with what you have learned in class and in this chapter, compare and contrast the views on religious toleration presented in the sources. On what would the authors of these works have agreed? How did their arguments in favor of toleration differ? What explanation can you offer for the differences you note?

Sources: (1) Ritchie Robertson, ed., *The German-Jewish Dialogue: An Anthology of Literary Texts, 1749–1993* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 308 words from pp. 41–42. Used by permission of Oxford University Press; (2) Voltaire, *A Treatise on Toleration and Other Essays,* trans. Joseph McCabe (Amherst, N.Y.: Prometheus Books, 1994), pp. 147–149, 152–153; (4) Crane Brinton, ed., *The Portable Age of Reason Reader* (New York: Viking Press, 1956), pp. 383–389.

Economic Change and the Atlantic World

How did economic and social change and the rise of Atlantic trade interact with Enlightenment ideas?

Enlightenment debates took place within a rapidly evolving material world. Agricultural reforms contributed to a rise in population that in turned fueled substantial economic growth in eighteenth-century Europe. A new public sphere emerged in the growing cities of Europe and its colonies in which people exchanged opinions in cafés, bookstores, and other spaces. A consumer revolution brought fashion and imported foods into the reach of common people for the first time.

These economic and social changes were fed by an increasingly integrated Atlantic economy that circulated finished European products, raw materials from the colonies, and enslaved people from Africa. Over time, the people, goods, and ideas that crisscrossed the ocean created distinctive Atlantic communities and identities.

Economic and Demographic Change

The seventeenth century saw important gains in agricultural productivity in northwestern Europe that slowly spread throughout the continent. Using new scientific techniques of observation and experimentation, a group of scientists, government officials, and a few big landowners devised agricultural practices and tools that raised crop yields dramatically, especially in England and the Netherlands. These included new forms of crop rotation, better equipment, and selective breeding of livestock. The controversial process of **enclosure**, fencing off common land to create privately owned fields, allowed a break with traditional methods but at the cost of reducing poor farmers’ access to land.

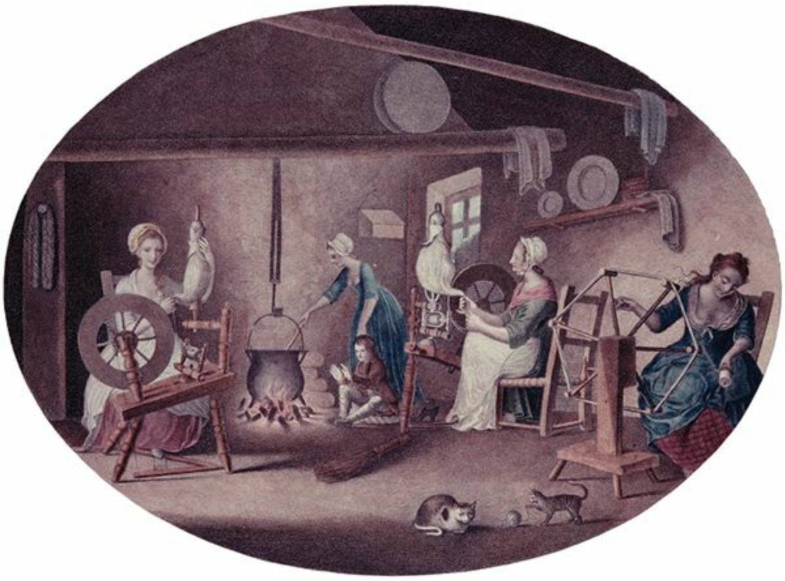
enclosure The controversial process of fencing off common land to create privately owned fields that increased agricultural production at the cost of reducing poor farmers’ access to land.

Colonial plants also provided new sources of calories and nutrition. Introduced into Europe from the Americas — along with corn, squash, tomatoes, and many other useful plants — the potato provided an excellent new food source and offset the lack of fresh vegetables and fruits in common people’s winter diet. The potato had become an important dietary supplement in much of Europe by the end of the eighteenth century.

Increases in agricultural productivity and better nutrition, combined with the disappearance of bubonic plague after 1720 and improvements in sewage and water supply, contributed to the tremendous growth of the European population in the eighteenth century. The explosion of population was a major phenomenon in all European countries, leading to a doubling of the number of Europeans between 1700 and 1835.

Population growth increased the number of rural workers with little or no land, and this in turn contributed to the development of industry in rural areas. The poor in the countryside increasingly needed to supplement their agricultural earnings with other types of work. **Cottage industry**, which consisted of manufacturing with hand tools in peasant cottages and work sheds, grew markedly in the eighteenth century, particularly in England and the Low Countries.

cottage industry Manufacturing with hand tools in peasant cottages and work sheds, a form of economic activity that became important in eighteenth-century Europe.



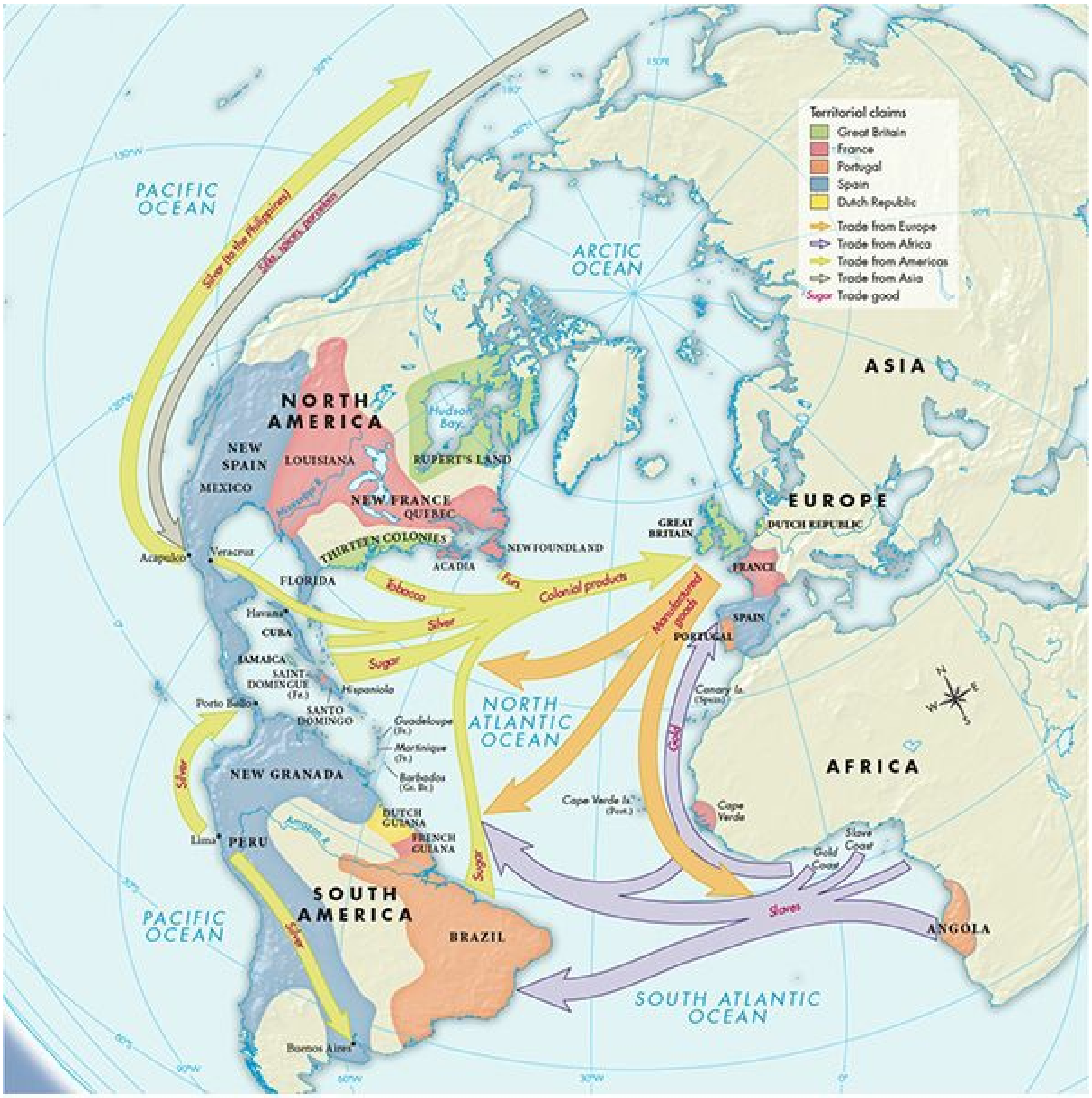
The British Library, London, UK/© British Library Board. All Rights Reserved/Bridgeman Images

Cottage Industry Many steps went into making textiles. This 1791 illustration of the different tasks involved in spinning yarn is based on the artist's observations of linen manufacture in the north of Ireland. The yarn was spun on the wheel and then wound on the clock reel to measure it into "hanks" of set length. After being boiled in a pot over the fire and dried, the yarn was ready for weaving.

Despite the rise in rural industry, life in the countryside was insufficient to support the rapidly growing population. Many people thus left their small villages to join the tide of migration to the cities, especially after 1750. London and Paris swelled to over five hundred thousand people, while Naples and Amsterdam had populations of more than one hundred thousand. It was in the bustling public life of these cities that the Enlightenment emerged and took root.

The Atlantic Economy

European economic growth in the eighteenth century was spurred by the expansion of trade across the Atlantic Ocean. Commercial exchange in the Atlantic is often referred to as the triangle trade, designating a three-way transport of goods: European commodities to Africa; enslaved Africans to the colonies; and colonial goods back to Europe. This model highlights some of the most important flows of trade but significantly oversimplifies the picture. For example, a brisk intercolonial trade existed, with the Caribbean slave colonies importing food from other American colonies in exchange for sugar and slaves (Map 19.2).

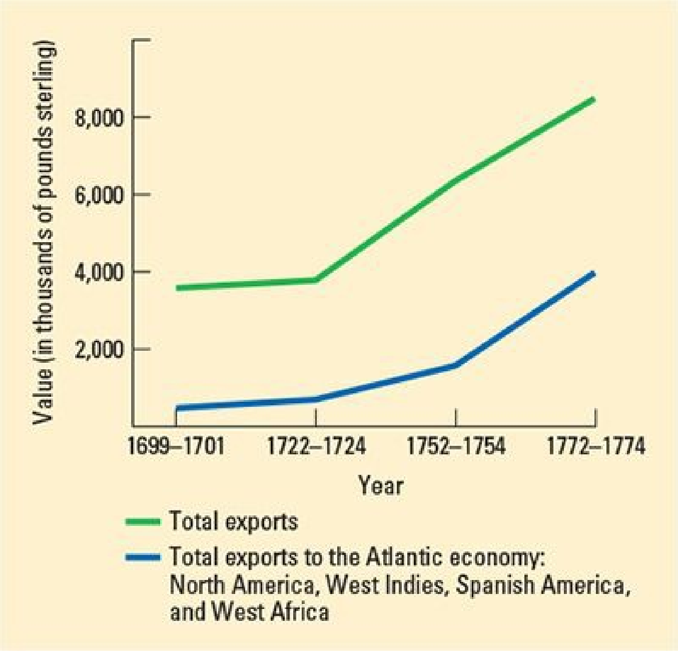

Territorial claims
🟩 Great Britain
🟥 France
🟧 Portugal
🟦 Spain
🟨 Dutch Republic
➡ Trade from Europe
➡ Trade from Africa
➡ Trade from Americas
➡ Trade from Asia
Sugar Trade good
PACIFIC OCEAN
ARCTIC OCEAN
ASIA
Silver (to the Philippines)
Silks, spices, porcelain
NORTH AMERICA
Hudson Bay
RUPERT'S LAND
NEW SPAIN
LOUISIANA
MEXICO
Mississippi R.
NEW FRANCE
QUEBEC
THIRTEEN COLONIES
NEWFOUNDLAND
ACADIA
Acapulco
Veracruz
FLORIDA
Tobacco
Furs
Colonial products
Manufactured goods
EUROPE
GREAT BRITAIN
DUTCH REPUBLIC
FRANCE
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
Havana
CUBA
Silver
JAMAICA
Sugar
SAINT-DOMINGUE (Fr.)
Hispaniola
SANTO DOMINGO
Porto Bello
Guadeloupe (Fr.)
Martinique (Fr.)
Barbados (Gr. Br.)
NORTH ATLANTIC OCEAN
Canary Is. (Spain)
Gold
AFRICA
NEW GRANADA
Silver
Cape Verde Is. (Port.)
Cape Verde
DUTCH GUIANA
FRENCH GUIANA
Amazon R.
Lima
PERU
Sugar
Slave Coast
Gold Coast
SOUTH AMERICA
Silver
BRAZIL
Slaves
ANGOLA
PACIFIC OCEAN
SOUTH ATLANTIC OCEAN
Buenos Aires

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 19.2 The Atlantic Economy, 1701 The growth of trade encouraged both economic development and military conflict in the Atlantic basin. Four continents were linked together by the exchange of goods and slaves.

Moreover, the Atlantic economy was inextricably linked to trade with the Indian and Pacific Oceans. The rising economic and political power of Europeans in the eighteenth century thus drew on the connections they established between the long-standing Asian and Atlantic trade worlds.

Over the course of the eighteenth century the economies of European nations bordering the Atlantic Ocean relied more and more on colonial exports. In England sales to the mainland colonies of North America and the West Indian sugar islands soared from £500,000 to £4 million (Figure 19.1). Exports to England's colonies in Ireland and India also rose substantially from 1700 to 1800.



Source: Data from R. Davis, "English Foreign Trade, 1700–1774," *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., 15 [1962]: 302–303.

FIGURE 19.1 Exports of English Manufactured Goods, 1700–1774 While trade between England and Europe stagnated after 1700, English exports to Africa and the Americas boomed and greatly stimulated English economic development.

At the core of this Atlantic world was the misery and profit of the Atlantic slave trade (see "The African Slave Trade" in Chapter 20). The brutal practice intensified dramatically after 1700 and especially after 1750 with the growth of trade and the increase in demand for slave-produced goods. English dominance of the slave trade provided another source of large profits to the home country. (See "Global Viewpoints: Malachy Postlethwayt and Olaudah Equiano on the Abolition of Slavery," page 557.)

The French also profited enormously from colonial trade in the eighteenth century, even after losing their vast North American territories to England in 1763. The Caribbean colonies of Saint-Domingue (modern-day Haiti), Martinique, and Guadeloupe provided immense fortunes from slave-based plantation agriculture. The wealth generated from colonial trade fostered the confidence of the merchant classes in Nantes, Bordeaux, and other large cities, and merchants soon joined other elite groups clamoring for more political power.

The third major player in the Atlantic economy, Spain, also saw its colonial fortunes improve during the eighteenth century. Its mercantilist goals were boosted by a recovery in silver production. Spanish territory in North America expanded significantly in the second half of the eighteenth century. At the close of the Seven Years’ War (1756–1763) (see “The Seven Years’ War” in Chapter 22), Spain gained Louisiana from the French, and its influence extended westward all the way to northern California through the efforts of Spanish missionaries and ranchers.

Conflict among European powers in the late seventeenth century led to the rise of privateers in the Caribbean and elsewhere in the Atlantic world; these were ships sanctioned by their home government to attack and pillage those of enemy powers. Privateers operated with some semblance of legality, whereas the many pirates active in the Caribbean were outlaws subject to brutal punishment. The late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries constituted the “golden age” of piracy, drawing poor European sailors and escaped slaves into the dangerous but lucrative activity.

GLOBAL VIEWPOINTS

Malachy Postlethwayt and Olaudah Equiano on the Abolition of Slavery

As Britain came to dominate transatlantic commerce during the eighteenth century, debate arose over the morality of the slave trade and the country’s involvement in it. Malachy Postlethwayt, an economist, rejected criticism of slavery by arguing that African nations treated their subjects much worse than slave traders did and that the benefits of Christianity by far outstripped any disadvantages slaves might endure. In his famous autobiography, former slave Olaudah Equiano (oh-lah-OO-dah ay-kwee-AH-noh) emphasized the cruelties of slavery. He argued, against authors like Postlethwayt, that trade with free peoples in Africa promised much more economic benefit to Britain than did slavery.

Malachy Postlethwayt, *The National and Private Advantages of the African Trade Considered*

■ Many are prepossessed against this trade, thinking it a barbarous, inhuman and unlawful traffic for a Christian country to trade in Blacks; to which I would beg leave to observe; that though the odious appellation of slaves is annexed to this trade, it being called by some the slave-trade, yet it does not appear from the best enquiry I have been able to make, that the state of those people is changed for the worse, by being servants to our British planters in America; they are certainly treated with great lenity and humanity: and as the improvement of the planter’s estates depends upon due care being taken of their healths and lives, I cannot but think their condition is much bettered to what it was in their own country.

Besides, the negro princes in Africa, ’tis well known, are in perpetual war with each other, and since before they had this method of disposing of their prisoners of war to Christian merchants, they were wont not only to be applied to inhuman sacrifices, but to extreme torture and barbarity, their transportation must certainly be a melioration [improvement] of their condition; provided living in a civilized Christian country, is better than living among savages; Nay, if life be preferable to torment and cruel death, their state cannot, with any color or reason, be presumed to be worsened.

Olaudah Equiano, Appeal for the Abolition of Slavery

■ Tortures, murder, and every other imaginable barbarity and iniquity, are practiced upon the poor slaves with impunity. I hope the great slave trade will be abolished. I pray it may be an event at hand. The great body of manufacturers, uniting in the cause, will considerably facilitate and expedite it; and as I have already stated, it is most substantially their interest and advantage, and as such the nation’s at large (except those persons concerned in the manufacturing neck yokes, collars, chains, handcuffs, leg bolts, drags, thumb screws, iron muzzles, and coffins; cats, scourges, and other instruments of torture used in the slave trade). In a short time one sentiment will alone prevail, from motives of interest as well as justice and humanity. . . . If the blacks were permitted to remain in their own country, they would double themselves every fifteen years. In proportion to such increase will be the demand for manufactures. Cotton and indigo grow spontaneously in most parts of Africa; a consideration this of no small consequence to the manufacturing towns of Great Britain. It opens a most immense, glorious and happy prospect — the clothing, &c. of a continent ten thousand miles in circumference, and immensely rich in productions of every denomination in return for manufactures.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What contrast does Postlethwayt draw between the treatment of African people under slavery and in their home countries? What conclusion does he draw from this contrast?
2. To whom does Equiano address his appeal for abolition of the slave trade? What economic reasons does he provide for trading goods rather than slaves with Africa?

Sources: Malachy Postlethwayt, *The National and Private Advantages of the African Trade Considered* (London: Jon and Paul Knapton, 1746), pp. 4–5; Olaudah Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano*, 2d ed., ed. Robert J. Allison (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin’s, 2007), pp. 194–195.

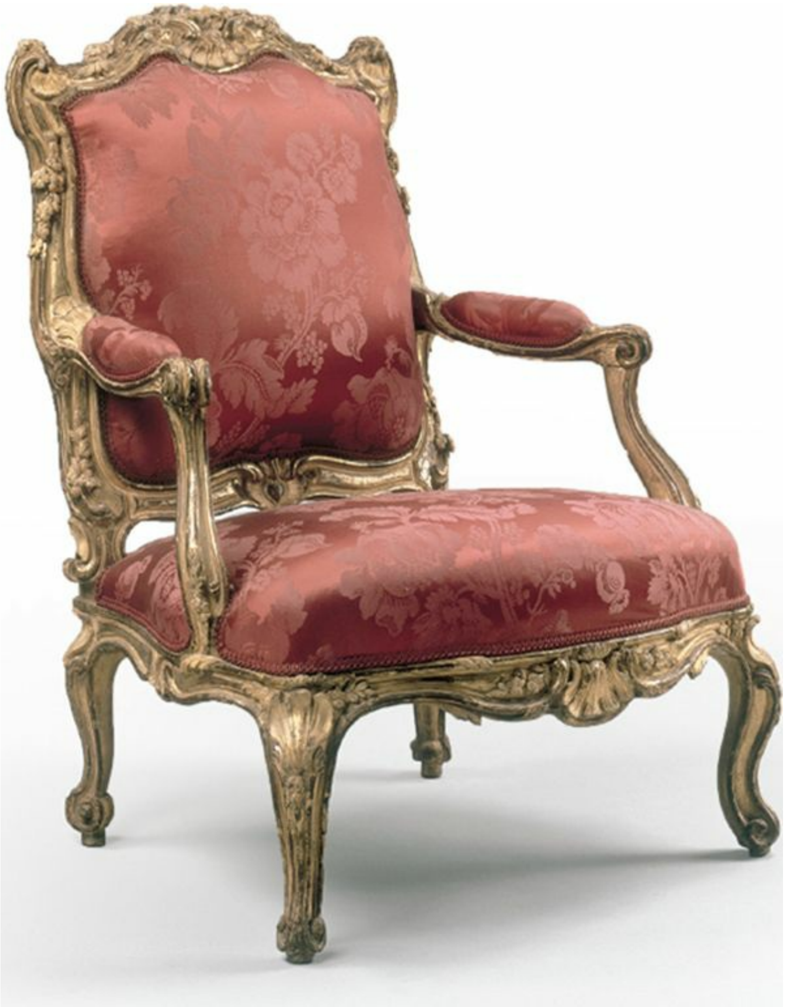
Urban Life and the Public Sphere

Urban life in the Atlantic world gave rise to new institutions and practices that encouraged the spread of Enlightenment thought. From about 1700 to 1789 the production and consumption of books grew significantly. Lending libraries, bookshops, cafés, salons, and Masonic lodges provided spaces in which urban people debated new ideas. Together these spaces and institutions helped create a new **public sphere** that celebrated open debate informed by critical reason.

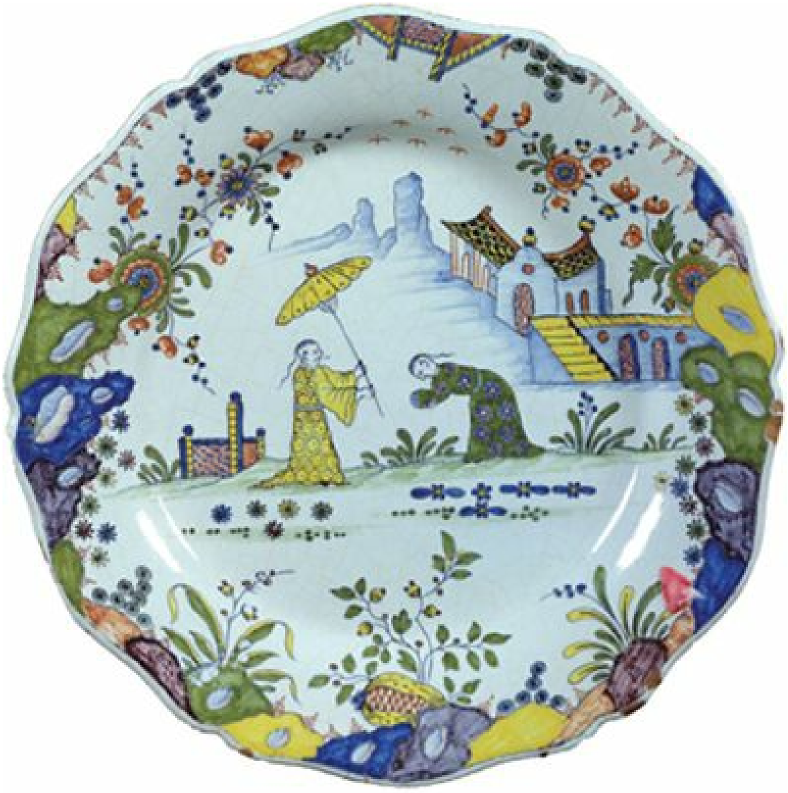
public sphere An idealized intellectual space that emerged in Europe during the Enlightenment. Here, the public came together to discuss important social, economic, and political issues.

The public sphere was an idealized space where members of society came together to discuss the social, economic, and political issues of the day. Although Enlightenment thinkers addressed their ideas to educated and prosperous readers, even poor and illiterate people learned about such issues as they were debated at the marketplace or tavern.

Economic growth in the second half of the eighteenth century also enabled a significant rise in the consumption of finished goods and new foodstuffs that historians have labeled a “consumer revolution.” A boom in textile production and cheap reproductions of luxury items meant that the common people could afford to follow fashion for the first time. Colonial trade made previously expensive and rare foodstuffs, such as sugar, tea, coffee, chocolate, and tobacco, widely available.



Louvre, Paris, France/© RMN–Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY



Musée des Beaux-Arts, Moulins, France/Bridgeman Images

The Consumer Revolution From the mid-eighteenth century on, the cities of western Europe witnessed a new proliferation of consumer goods. Items once limited to the wealthy few — such as fans, watches, snuffboxes, umbrellas, ornamental containers, and teapots — were now reproduced in cheaper versions for middling and ordinary people. The fashion for wide hoopskirts was so popular that the armrests of the chairs of the day, known as Louis XV chairs, were specially designed to accommodate them. Enlightenment fascination with Chinese culture was reflected in the tremendous popularity of *chinoiserie*, objects (such as the plate shown here) decorated in imitation of Chinese motifs and techniques.

Culture and Community in the Atlantic World

As contacts among the Atlantic coasts of the Americas, Africa, and Europe became more frequent, and as European settlements grew into well-established colonies, new identities and communities emerged. The term *Creole* referred to people of Spanish or other European ancestry born in the Americas. Wealthy Creoles throughout the Atlantic colonies prided themselves on following European ways of life.

Over time, however, the colonial elite came to feel that their circumstances gave them different interests and characteristics from people of their home countries. Creoles adopted native foods, like chocolate, chili peppers, and squash, and sought relief from tropical disease in native remedies. Also, they began to turn against restrictions from their home countries: Creole traders and planters, along with their counterparts in English colonies, increasingly resented the regulations and taxes imposed by colonial bureaucrats, and such resentment would eventually lead to revolutions against colonial powers (see Chapter 22).

Not all Europeans in the colonies were wealthy or well educated. Numerous poor and lower-middle-class whites worked as clerks, shopkeepers, craftsmen, and laborers. With the exception of the English colonies of North America, white Europeans made up a minority of the population, outnumbered by indigenous peoples in Spanish America and, in the Caribbean, by the growing numbers of enslaved people of African descent. Since most European migrants were men, much of the colonial population of the Atlantic world descended from unions — forced or through consent — of European men and indigenous or African women. Colonial attempts to identify and control racial categories greatly influenced developing Enlightenment thought on racial differences.

In the Spanish and French Caribbean, as in Brazil, many slave masters acknowledged and freed their mixed-race children, leading to sizable populations of free people of color. In the second half of the eighteenth century the prosperity of some free people of color brought a backlash from the white population of Saint-Domingue in the form of new race laws prohibiting nonwhites from marrying whites and forcing them to adopt distinctive attire. In the British colonies of the Caribbean and the southern mainland, by contrast, masters tended to leave their mixed-race progeny in slavery, maintaining a stark discrepancy between free whites and enslaved people of color.[5]

The identities inspired by the Atlantic world were equally complex. In some ways, the colonial encounter helped create new and more fixed forms of identity. Inhabitants of distinct regions of European nations came to see themselves as “Spanish” or “English” when they crossed the Atlantic; similarly, their colonial governments imposed the identity of “Indian” and “African” on peoples with vastly different linguistic, cultural, and political origins. The result was the creation of new Creole communities that melded cultural and social elements of various groups of origin with the new European cultures.

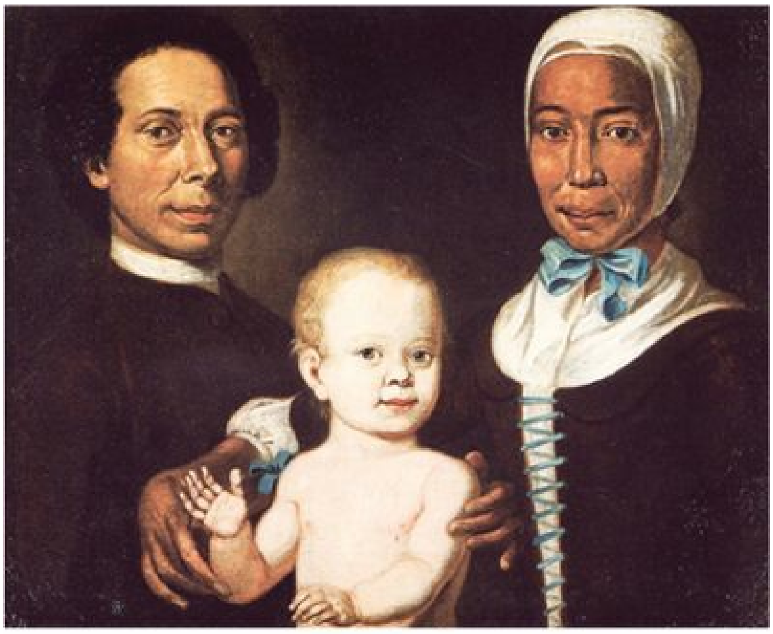
Mixed-race people represented complex mixtures of indigenous, African, and European ancestry, so their status was ambiguous. Spanish administrators applied purity of blood (*limpieza de sangre*) laws — originally used to exclude Jews and Muslims during the reconquista — to indigenous and African peoples. Some mixed-race people sought to enter

Creole society and obtain its many official and unofficial privileges by passing as white. Over time, where they existed in any number, mestizos and free people of color established their own communities and social hierarchies based on wealth, family connections, occupation, and skin color. (See “Individuals in Society: Rebecca Protten,” at right.)

Restricted from owning land and holding many occupations in Europe, Jews were eager participants in the new Atlantic economy and established a network of mercantile communities along its trade routes. As in the Old World, Jews in European colonies faced discrimination. Jews were considered to be white Europeans and thus ineligible to be slaves, but they did not enjoy equal status with Christians. The status of Jews adds one more element to the complexity of Atlantic identities.

INDIVIDUALS IN SOCIETY

Rebecca Protten



Courtesy of Jon F. Sensbach. Used by permission of the Moravian Archives [Unity Archives, Herrnhut, Germany], GS-393.

A portrait of Rebecca Protten with her second husband and their daughter, Anna-Maria.

IN THE MID-1720s A YOUNG GIRL WHO CAME TO BE known as Rebecca traveled from Antigua to the small Danish sugar colony of St. Thomas, today part of the U.S. Virgin Islands. Eighty-five percent of St. Thomas's four thousand inhabitants were of African descent, almost all enslaved.

Surviving documents refer to Rebecca as a "mulatto," indicating a mixed European and African ancestry. A wealthy Dutch-speaking planter named van Beverhout purchased the girl as a servant, sparing her work in the grueling and deadly sugar fields. Rebecca won the family's favor, and they taught her to read, write, and speak Dutch. They also shared with her their Protestant faith and took the unusual step of freeing her.

As a free woman, she continued to work for the van Beverhouts and to study the Bible and spread its message of spiritual freedom. In 1736 she met missionaries for the Moravian Church, a German-Protestant sect that emphasized emotion and community in worship and devoted its mission work to the enslaved peoples of the Caribbean. The missionaries were struck by Rebecca’s piety and her potential to assist their work. As one wrote: “She researches diligently in the Scriptures, loves the Savior, and does much good for other Negro women because she does not simply walk alone with her good ways but instructs them in the Scriptures as well.” A letter Rebecca sent to Moravian women in Germany declared: “Oh! Help me to praise him, who has pulled me out of the darkness. I will take up his cross with all my heart and follow the example of his poor life.”*

Rebecca soon took charge of the Moravians’ female missionary work. Every Sunday and every evening after work, she would walk for miles to lead meetings with enslaved and free black women. The meetings consisted of reading and writing lessons, prayers, hymns, a sermon, and individual discussions in which she encouraged her new sisters in their spiritual growth.

In 1738 Rebecca married a German Moravian missionary, Matthaus Freundlich, a rare but not illegal case of mixed marriage. The same year, her husband bought a plantation, with slaves, to serve as the headquarters of their mission work. The Moravians — and presumably Rebecca herself — wished to spread Christian faith among slaves and improve their treatment, but did not oppose the institution of slavery itself.

Authorities nonetheless feared that baptized and literate slaves would agitate for freedom, and they imprisoned Rebecca and Matthaus. Only the unexpected arrival of German aristocrat and Moravian leader Count Zinzendorf saved the couple. Exhausted, they left for Germany in 1741, but Matthaus and the couple’s young daughter died soon after their arrival.

In Marienborn, a German center of the Moravian faith, Rebecca encountered other black Moravians, who lived in equality alongside their European brethren. In 1746 she married another missionary, Christian Jacob Protten, son of a Danish sailor and, on his mother’s side, grandson of a West African king. She and another female missionary from St. Thomas were ordained as deaconesses, probably making them the first women of color to be ordained in the Western Christian Church.

In 1763 Rebecca and her husband set out for her husband’s birthplace, the Danish slave fort at Christiansborg (in what is now Accra, Ghana) to establish a school for mixed-race children. Her husband died in 1769, leaving Rebecca a widow once more. She died in obscurity near Christiansborg in 1780.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Why did Moravian missionaries assign such an important leadership

role to Rebecca? What particular attributes did she offer?

2. Why did Moravians, including Rebecca, accept the institution of slavery instead of fighting to end it?
3. What does Rebecca's story teach us about the Atlantic world of the mid-eighteenth century? What might a philosophe have to say about her life story and its relationship to the ideals of the Enlightenment?

---

*Quotations from Jon F. Sensbach, *Rebecca's Revival: Creating Black Christianity in the Atlantic World* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006), pp. 61, 63.

The Atlantic Enlightenment

The colonies of British North America were deeply influenced by the Scottish Enlightenment, with its emphasis on pragmatic approaches to the problems of life. Following the Scottish model, leaders in the colonies adopted a moderate, “commonsense” version of the Enlightenment that emphasized self-improvement and ethical conduct. In most cases, this version of the Enlightenment was perfectly compatible with religion and was chiefly spread through the growing colleges and universities of the colonies.

Northern Enlightenment thinkers often depicted Spain and its American colonies as the epitome of the superstition and barbarity they contested. Nonetheless, the dynasty that took power in Spain in the early eighteenth century followed its own course of enlightened absolutism, just like its counterparts in the rest of Europe. Under King Carlos III (r. 1759–1788) and his son Carlos IV (r. 1788–1808), Spanish administrators attempted to strengthen colonial rule and improve government efficiency. Enlightened administrators debated the status of indigenous peoples and whether it would be better for these peoples if they maintained their distinct legal status or were integrated into Spanish society.

Educated Creoles were well aware of the new currents of thought, and the universities, newspapers, and salons of Spanish America produced their own reform ideas. As in other European colonies, one effect of Enlightenment thought was to encourage Creoles to criticize the policies of the mother country and aspire toward greater autonomy.

Chapter Summary

Decisive breakthroughs in astronomy and physics in the seventeenth century demolished the medieval synthesis of Aristotelian philosophy and Christian theology. The impact of these scientific breakthroughs on intellectual life was enormous, nurturing a new critical attitude in many disciplines. In addition, an international scientific community arose, and state-sponsored academies, which were typically closed to women, advanced scientific research.

Believing that all aspects of life were open to debate and skepticism, Enlightenment thinkers asked challenging questions about religious tolerance, political power, and racial and sexual difference. Enlightenment thinkers drew inspiration from the new peoples and cultures encountered by Europeans and devised new ideas about race as a scientific and biological category. The ideas of the Enlightenment inspired absolutist rulers in central and eastern Europe, but real reforms were limited.

In the second half of the eighteenth century agricultural reforms helped produce tremendous population growth. Economic growth and urbanization favored the spread of Enlightenment thought by producing a public sphere in which ideas could be debated. The expansion of transatlantic trade made economic growth possible, as did the lowering of prices on colonial goods due to the growth of slave labor. Atlantic trade involved the exchange of commodities among Europe, Africa, and the Americas, but it was also linked with trade in the Indian and Pacific Oceans. The movement of people and ideas across the Atlantic helped shape the identities of colonial inhabitants.

CONNECTIONS

Hailed as the origin of modern thought, the Scientific Revolution must also be seen as a product of its past. With curriculum drawn from Islamic cultural achievements, medieval universities gave rise to important new scholarship in mathematics and natural philosophy. In turn, the ambition and wealth of Renaissance patrons nurtured intellectual curiosity and encouraged scholarly research and foreign exploration. Natural philosophers pioneered new methods of explaining and observing nature while drawing on centuries-old traditions of astrology, alchemy, and magic. A desire to control and profit from empire led the Spanish, followed by their European rivals, to explore and catalogue the flora and fauna of their American colonies. These efforts resulted in new frameworks in natural history.

Enlightenment ideas of the eighteenth century were a similar blend of past and present, progressive and traditional, inward-looking and cosmopolitan. Enlightenment thinkers advocated universal rights and liberties but also preached the biological inferiority of non-Europeans and women. Their principles often served as much to bolster absolutist regimes as to inspire revolutionaries to fight for human rights.

New notions of progress and social improvement would drive Europeans to embark on world-changing revolutions in politics and industry (see Chapters 22 and 23) at the end of the eighteenth century. These revolutions provided the basis for modern democracy and unprecedented scientific advancement. Yet some critics have seen a darker side. For them, the mastery over nature enabled by the Scientific Revolution now threatens to overwhelm the earth’s fragile equilibrium, and the Enlightenment belief in the universal application of reason can lead to intolerance of other people’s spiritual, cultural, and political values.

As the era of European exploration and conquest gave way to empire building, the eighteenth century witnessed increased consolidation of global markets and bitter competition among Europeans. The eighteenth-century Atlantic world thus tied the shores of Europe, the Americas, and Africa in a web of commercial and human exchange, including the tragedy of slavery, discussed in Chapter 20. The Atlantic world maintained strong ties with trade in the Pacific and the Indian Ocean.

CHAPTER 19 Review and Explore

Identify Key Terms

Identify and explain the significance of each item below.

Copernican hypothesis (p. 536)
law of inertia (p. 537)
law of universal gravitation (p. 537)
empiricism (p. 539)
Enlightenment (p. 541)
sensationalism (p. 542)
philosophes (p. 542)
deism (p. 543)
general will (p. 543)
economic liberalism (p. 544)
salons (p. 548)
enlightened absolutism (p. 548)
Haskalah (p. 551)
enclosure (p. 551)
cottage industry (p. 551)
public sphere (p. 556)

Review the Main Ideas

Answer the focus questions from each section of the chapter.

1. What revolutionary discoveries were made in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and what was their global context? (p. 534)
2. What intellectual and social changes occurred as a result of the Scientific Revolution? (p. 538)
3. How did the Enlightenment emerge, and what were major currents of Enlightenment thought? (p. 541)
4. How did Enlightenment thinkers address issues of cultural and social difference and political power? (p. 545)
5. How did economic and social change and the rise of Atlantic trade interact with Enlightenment ideas? (p. 551)

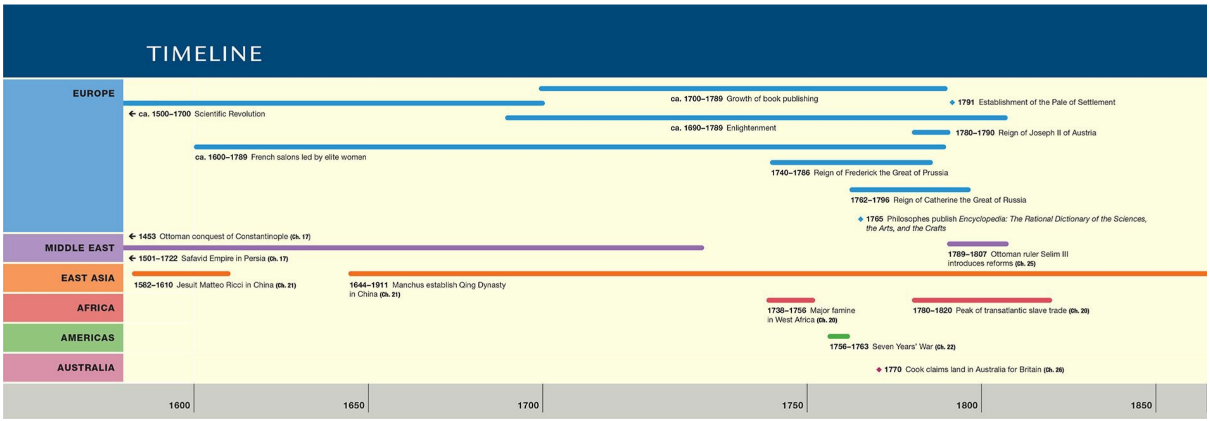
Make Comparisons and Connections

Analyze the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters.

1. How did medieval and Renaissance developments contribute to the Scientific Revolution? Should the Scientific Revolution be seen as a sharp break with

the past or as the culmination of long-term, gradual change?

2. The eighteenth century was the period of the European Enlightenment, which celebrated tolerance and human liberty. Paradoxically, it was also the era of a tremendous increase in slavery, which brought suffering and death to millions. How can you explain this paradox?
3. How did developments in population, global trade, and intellectual life affect each other in the eighteenth century? How and why did developments in one region affect other regions?



Suggested Resources

Books

Allen, Robert, et al., eds. *Living Standards in the Past: New Perspectives on Well-Being in Asia and Europe*. 2004. Offers rich comparative perspectives on population growth and living standards among common people

Cañizares-Esguerra, Jorge. *Nature, Empire, and Nation: Explorations of the History of Science in the Iberian World*. 2006. Explores the role of Spain and Spanish America in the development of science in the early modern period.

Curran, Andrew S. *The Anatomy of Blackness: Science and Slavery in an Age of Enlightenment*. 2011. Examines how Enlightenment thinkers transformed traditional thinking about people of African descent into ideas about biological racial difference.

Delbourgo, James, and Nicholas Dew, eds. *Science and Empire in the Atlantic World*. 2008. A collection of essays examining the relationship between the Scientific Revolution and the imperial expansion of European powers across the Atlantic.

Ellis, Markman. *The Coffee House: A Cultural History*. 2004. An engaging study of the rise of the coffeehouse and its impact on European cultural and social life.

Manning, Susan, and Francis D. Cogliano. *The Atlantic Enlightenment*. 2008. A series of essays examining the exchange of Enlightenment ideas, authors, and texts across the Atlantic Ocean.

Massie, Robert K. *Catherine the Great: Portrait of a Woman*. 2011. Recounts the life story of Catherine, from obscure German princess to enlightened ruler of Russia.

McMahon, Darrin M. *Happiness: A History.* 2006. Discusses how worldly pleasure became valued as a duty of individuals and societies in the Enlightenment.

Messbarger, Rebecca. *The Lady Anatomist: The Life and Work of Anna Morandi Manzolini.* 2010. The biography of an Italian woman artist and scientist whose life reflected the opportunities and constraints for eighteenth-century women.

Robertson, John. *The Case for the Enlightenment: Scotland and Naples, 1680–1760.* 2005. A comparative study of Enlightenment movements in Scotland and Naples, emphasizing commonalities between these two small kingdoms on the edges of Europe.

Shapin, Steven. *The Scientific Revolution.* 1996. A concise and well-informed general introduction to the Scientific Revolution.

Sorkin, David. *Moses Mendelssohn and the Religious Enlightenment.* 1996. A brilliant study of the Jewish philosopher and of the role of religion in the Enlightenment.

Documentaries

Blackbeard: Terror at Sea (National Geographic, 2006). A documentary recounting the exploits of the most famous eighteenth-century pirate.

Galileo's Battle for the Heavens (PBS, 2002). Recounts the story of Galileo's struggle with the Catholic Church over his astronomical discoveries, featuring re-enactments of key episodes in his life.

Newton's Dark Secrets (PBS, 2005). Explores Isaac Newton's fundamental scientific discoveries alongside his religious faith and practice of alchemy.

Eature Films and Television Dramas

Amazing Grace (Michael Apted, 2006). An idealistic Briton's struggle to end his country's involvement in the slave trade alongside allies Olaudah Equiano and a repentant former slave-ship captain.

Catherine the Great (A&E, 1995). A made-for-television movie starring Catherine Zeta-Jones as the German princess who becomes Catherine the Great.

Ridicule (Patrice Leconte, 1996). When a provincial nobleman travels to the French court in the 1780s to present a project to drain a malarial swamp in his district, his naïve Enlightenment ideals incur the ridicule of decadent courtiers.

Websites

The Bubble Project. A website presenting historical and modern resources on the South Sea Bubble of 1720, one of the first major international financial crises. **david-mcneil.ca/bubble/bubble.html**

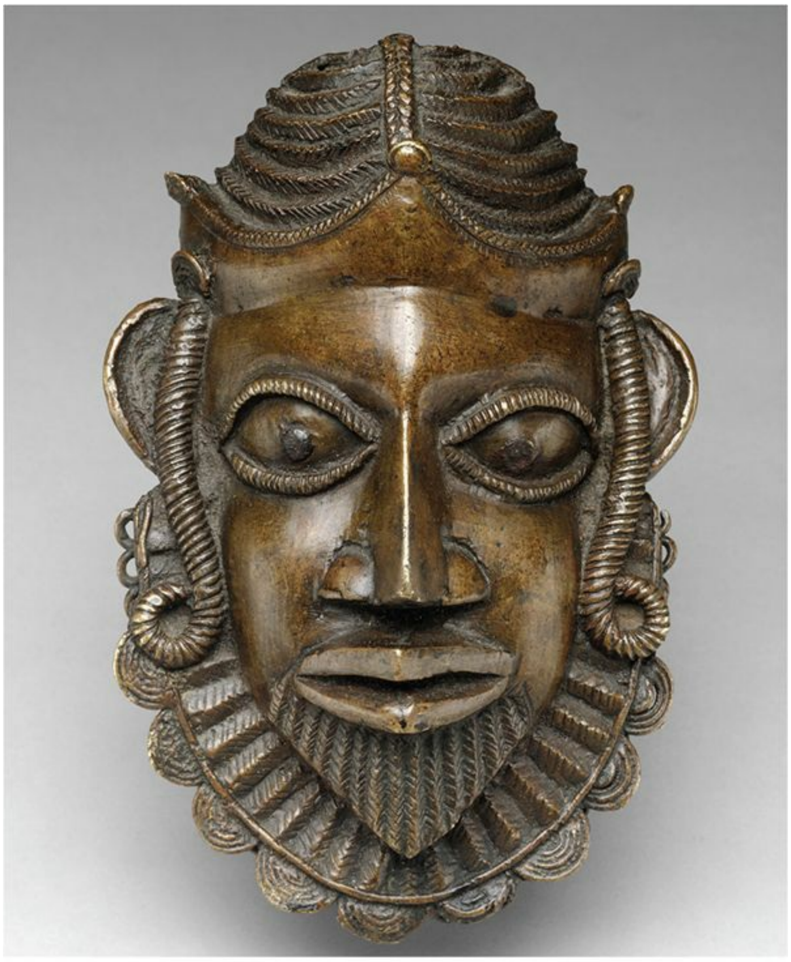
The Encyclopedia of Diderot & d'Alembert Collaborative Translation Project. A collaborative project to translate the *Encyclopedia* edited by Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert into English, with searchable entries submitted by students and scholars and vetted by experts. **quod.lib.umich.edu/d/did/**

Mapping the Republic of Letters. A site hosted by Stanford University showcasing projects using mapping software to create spatial visualizations based on correspondence and travel of members of the eighteenth-century Republic of Letters. **republicofletters.stanford.edu/**

20

Africa and the World

1400–1800



Hip Ornament: Portuguese Face, 16th–19th century. Brass, iron. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Klaus G. Perls, 1991 (1991.162.9)/The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York/Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Image source: Art Resource, NY

Waist Pendant of Benin Worn by Royalty

European intrusion in Africa during the early modern period deeply affected the diverse societies of Africa. The facial features, the beard, and the ruffled collar on this Edo peoples' artifact dating from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries are clearly Portuguese, but the braided hair is

distinctly African, probably signifying royalty.

African states and societies of the early modern period — from the fifteenth throu the eighteenth centuries — included a wide variety of languages, cultures, political systems, and levels of economic development. Kingdoms and stateless societies coexisted throughout Africa, from small Senegambian villages to the Songhai (song-GAH-ee) kingdom and its renowned city of Timbuktu in West Africa, and from the Christian state of Ethiopia to the independent Swahili city-states along the East Africa coast. By the fifteenth century Africans had developed a steady rhythm of contact and exchange. Across the vast Sahara, trade goods and knowledge passed back and forth from West Africa to North Africa, and beyond to Europe and the Middle East. The same was true in East Africa, where Indian Ocean traders touched up and down the African coast to deliver goods from Arabia, India, and Asia and to pick up the ivory, gold, spices, and other products representing Africa's rich natural wealth. In the interior as well, extensive trading networks linked African societies across the vast continent.

Modern European intrusion into Africa beginning in the fifteenth century profoundly affected these diverse societies and ancient trading networks. The intrusion led to the transatlantic slave trade, one of the greatest forced migrations in world history, through which Africa made a substantial, though involuntary, contribution to the building of the West's industrial civilization. In the seventeenth century an increasing desire for sugar in Europe resulted in an increasing demand for slave labor in South America and the West Indies, where sugar was produced. In the eighteenth century Western technological changes created a demand for cotton and other crops that required extensive human labor, thus intensifying the West's "need" for African slaves.

CHAPTER PREVIEW

WEST AFRICA IN THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

What types of economic, social, and political structures were found in the kingdoms and states along the west coast and in the Sudan?

CROSS-CULTURAL ENCOUNTERS ALONG THE EAST AFRICAN COAST

How did the arrival of Europeans and other foreign cultures affect the East African coast, and how did Ethiopia and the Swahili city-states respond to these incursions?

THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE

What role did slavery play in African societies before the transatlantic slave trade began, and what was the effect of European involvement?

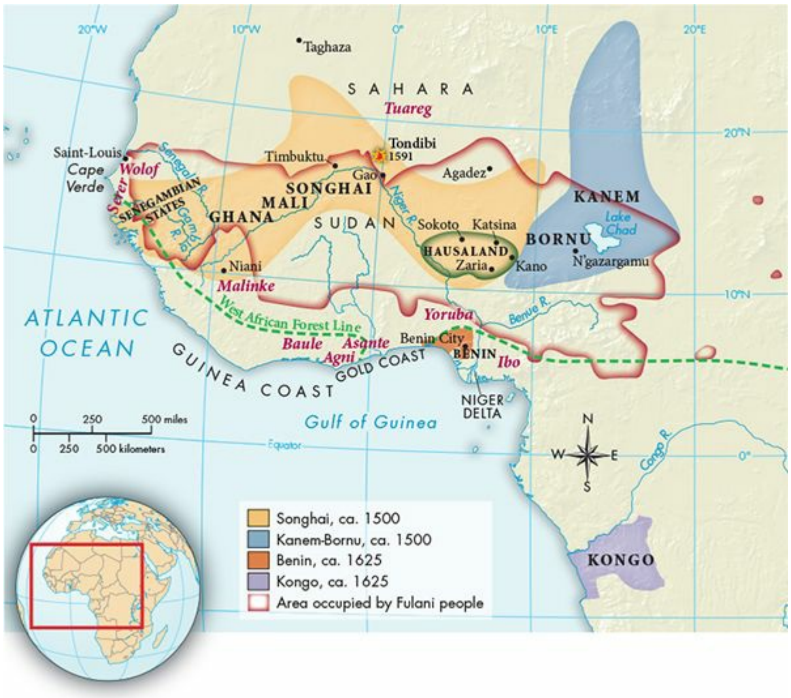
West Africa in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

What types of economic, social, and political structures were found in the kingdoms and states along the west coast and in the Sudan?

In mid-fifteenth-century Africa, Benin (buh-NEEN) and a number of other kingdoms flourished along the two-thousand-mile west coast between Senegambia and the northeastern shore of the Gulf of Guinea. Further inland, in the region of the Sudan (soo-DAN), the kingdoms of Songhai, Kanem-Bornu (KAH-nuhm BOR-noo), and Hausaland benefited from the trans-Saharan caravan trade, which along with goods brought Islamic culture to the region. Stateless societies such as those in the region of Senegambia (modern-day Senegal and the Gambia) existed alongside these more centralized states. Despite their political differences and whether they were agricultural, pastoral, or a mixture of both, West African cultures all faced the challenges presented by famine, disease, and the slave trade.

The West Coast: Senegambia and Benin

The Senegambian states possessed a homogeneous culture and a common history. For centuries Senegambia — named for the Senegal and Gambia Rivers — served as an important entrepôt for desert caravan contact with North African and Middle Eastern Islamic civilizations (Map 20.1). Through the transatlantic slave trade, Senegambia came into contact with Europe and the Americas. Thus Senegambia felt the impact of Islamic culture to the north and of European influences from the maritime West.


Taghaza
SAHARA
Tuareg
Tondibi 1591
Timbuktu
Gao
Agadez
Saint-Louis
Cape Verde
Wolof
Serer
SENEGAMBIAN STATES
Senegal R.
Gambia R.
GHANA
MALI
SONGHAI
SUDAN
Niger R.
Sokoto
Katsina
HAUSALAND
Zaria
Kano
KANEM
BORNU
Lake Chad
N'gazargamu
Niani
Malinke
ATLANTIC OCEAN
West African Forest Line
Yoruba
Benue R.
Baule
Asante
Agni
Benin City
BENIN
Ibo
GOLD COAST
GUINEA COAST
NIGER DELTA
Gulf of Guinea
Equator
Congo R.
KONGO
20°W
10°W
0°
10°E
20°E
20°N
10°N
0°
N
W
E
S
0 250 500 miles
0 250 500 kilometers
Songhai, ca. 1500
Kanem-Bornu, ca. 1500
Benin, ca. 1625
Kongo, ca. 1625
Area occupied by Fulani people

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Mapping the Past

MAP 20.1 West African Societies, ca. 1500–1800 The coastal region of West Africa witnessed the rise of a number of kingdoms in the sixteenth century.

ANALYZING THE MAP What geographical features defined each of the kingdoms shown here? Consider rivers, lakes, oceans, deserts, and forests. How might they have affected the size and shape of these kingdoms?

CONNECTIONS Compare this map to the small map on page 581 called "The Slave Coast of West Africa." Consider the role that rivers and other geographical factors played in the development of the West African slave trade. Why were Luanda and Benguela the logical Portuguese sources for slaves?

The Senegambian peoples spoke Wolof, Serer, and Pulaar, which all belong to the West African language group. Both the Wolof-speakers and the Serer-speakers had clearly defined social classes: royalty, nobility, warriors, peasants, low-caste artisans such as blacksmiths and leatherworkers, and enslaved persons. The enslaved class consisted of individuals who were pawned for debt, house servants who could not be sold, and people who were acquired through war or purchase. Senegambian slavery varied from society to society. In some places slaves were considered chattel property and were treated as harshly as they would be later in the Western Hemisphere.

The word **chattel** originally comes from a Latin word meaning “head,” as in “so many head of cattle.” It reflects the notion that enslaved people are not human, but subhuman, like beasts of burden or other animals. Thus they can be treated like animals. But in Senegambia and elsewhere in Africa, many enslaved people were not considered chattel property and could not be bought and sold. Some even served as royal advisers and enjoyed great power and prestige.[1] Unlike in the Americas, where slave status passed forever from one generation to the next, in Africa the enslaved person’s descendants were sometimes considered free.

chattel An item of personal property; a term used in reference to enslaved people that conveys the idea that they are subhuman, like animals, and therefore may be treated like animals.

Senegambia was composed of stateless societies, culturally homogeneous ethnic populations living in small groups of villages without a central capital. Among these stateless societies, **age-grade systems** evolved. Age-grades were groups of teenage males and females whom the society initiated into adulthood at the same time. Age-grades cut across family ties, created community-wide loyalties, and provided a means of local law enforcement, because each age-grade was responsible for the behavior of all its members.

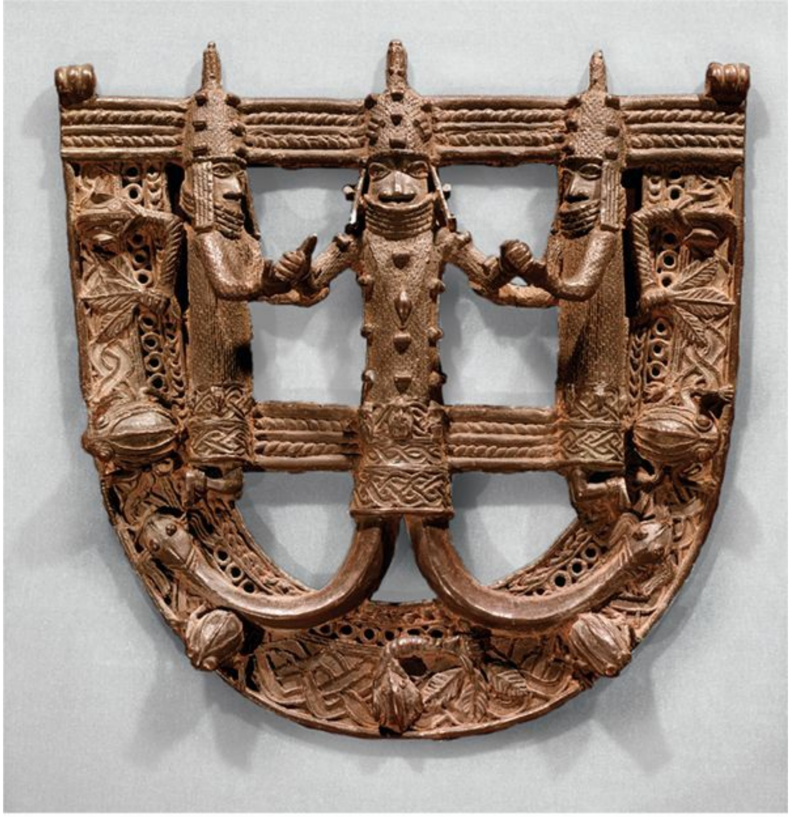
age-grade systems Among the societies of Senegambia, groups of teenage males and females whom the society initiated into adulthood at the same time.

The typical Senegambian community was a small, self-supporting agricultural village of closely related families. The average six- to eight-acre farm supported a moderate-size family. Millet and sorghum were the staple grains in northern Senegambia; farther south, forest dwellers cultivated yams as a staple. Social life centered on the family, and government played a limited role, interceding mostly to resolve family disputes and conflicts between families.

Alongside West African stateless societies like Senegambia were kingdoms and states ruled by kings who governed defined areas through bureaucratic hierarchies. The great forest kingdom of Benin emerged in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in what is now southern Nigeria (see

Map 20.1). Over time, the position of its **oba** , or king, was exalted, bringing stability to the state. In the later fifteenth century the oba Ewuare strengthened his army and pushed Benin's borders as far as the Niger River in the east, westward into Yoruba country, and south to the Gulf of Guinea. During the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the office of the oba evolved from a warrior-kingship to a position of spiritual leadership.

oba The title of the king of Benin.



National Museum, Lagos, Nigeria/photo: André Held/akg-images

The Oba of Benin The oba's palace walls were decorated with bronze plaques that date from about the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. This plaque vividly conveys the oba's power, majesty, and authority. The two attendants holding his arms also imply that the oba needs the support of his people. The oba's legs are mudfish, which represent fertility, peace, well-being, and prosperity, but their elongation, suggesting electric eels, relates the oba's terrifying and awesome power to the eel's jolting shock.

At its height in the late sixteenth century, Benin controlled a vast territory, and European visitors described a sophisticated society. A Dutch visitor in the early 1600s, possibly Dierick Ruiters, described the capital, Benin City, as possessing a great, wide, and straight main avenue down the middle, with many side streets crisscrossing it. The visitor entered the city through a high, well-guarded gate framed on each side by a very tall earthen bulwark, or wall, with an accompanying moat. There was also an impressive royal palace, with at least four large courtyards surrounded by galleries leading up to it. William Bosman, another Dutch visitor writing a hundred years later, in 1702, described the prodigiously long and broad streets "in which continual Markets are kept, either of Kine [cattle], Cotton, Elephants Teeth, European Wares; or, in short, whatever is to be come at in this Country."[2] Visitors also noted that Benin City was kept scrupulously clean and had no beggars and that public security was so effective that theft was unknown. The period also witnessed remarkable artistic creativity in ironwork, carved ivory, and especially bronze portrait busts. Over nine hundred brass plaques survive, providing important information about Benin court life, military triumphs, and cosmological ideas.

In 1485 Portuguese and other Europeans began to appear in Benin in pursuit of trade, and over the next couple of centuries Benin grew rich from the profits made through the slave trade and the export of tropical products, particularly pepper and ivory. Its main European trading partners along this stretch of the so-called slave coast were the Dutch and Portuguese. In the early eighteenth century tributary states and stronger neighbors nibbled at Benin's frontiers, challenging its power. Benin, however, survived as an independent entity until the British conquered and burned Benin City in 1898 as part of the European imperialist seizure of Africa (see "The Scramble for Africa, 1880–1914" in Chapter 25).

The Sudan: Songhai, Kanem-Bornu, and Hausaland

The Songhai kingdom, a successor state of the kingdoms of Ghana (ca. 900–1100) and Mali (ca. 1200–1450), dominated the whole Niger region of the western and central Sudan (see Map 20.1). The imperial expansion of Songhai began during the reign of the Songhai king Sonni Ali (r. ca. 1464–1492) and continued under his eventual successor, Muhammad Toure (TOO-ray) (r. 1493–1528). From his capital at Gao, Toure extended his rule as far north as the salt-mining center at **Taghaza** (tah-GAHZ-ah) in the western Sahara and as far east as Agadez (AH-gah-dez) and Kano (KA-no). A convert to Islam, Toure returned from a pilgrimage to Mecca impressed by what he had seen there. He tried to bring about greater centralization in his own territories by building a strong army, improving taxation procedures, and replacing local Songhai officials with more efficient Arabs in an effort to substitute royal institutions for ancient kinship ties.

Taghaza A settlement in the western Sahara, the site of the main salt-mining center.

We know little about daily life in Songhai society because of the paucity of written records and surviving artifacts. Some information is provided by Leo Africanus (ca. 1493–1554), a Moroccan who published an account in 1526 of his many travels, which included a stay in the Songhai kingdom.

As a scholar, Africanus was naturally impressed by Timbuktu, the second-largest city of the empire, which he visited in 1513. “Here [is] a great store of doctors, judges, priests, and other learned men, that are bountifully maintained at the King’s court,” he reported.[3] Many of these Islamic scholars had studied in Cairo and other Muslim learning centers. They gave Timbuktu a reputation for intellectual sophistication, religious piety, and moral justice. (See “Global Viewpoints: European Descriptions of Timbuktu and Jenne,” page 569.)

Songhai under Muhammad Toure seems to have enjoyed economic prosperity. Leo Africanus noted the abundant food supply, which was produced in the southern savanna and carried to Timbuktu by a large fleet of canoes. The elite had immense wealth, and expensive North African and European luxuries — clothes, copperware, glass and stone beads, perfumes, and horses — were much in demand. The existence of many shops and markets implies the development of an urban culture. In Timbuktu merchants, scholars, judges, and artisans constituted a distinctive bourgeoisie, or middle class. The presence of many foreign merchants, including Jews and Italians, gave the city a cosmopolitan atmosphere.

Slavery played an important role in Songhai’s economy. On the royal farms scattered throughout the kingdom, enslaved people produced rice for the royal granaries. Slaves could possess their own slaves, land, and cattle, but they could not bequeath any of this property; the king inherited all of it. Muhammad Toure greatly increased the number of royal slaves. He bestowed slaves on favorite Muslim scholars, who thus gained a steady source of income. Slaves were also sold at the large market at Gao, where traders from North Africa bought them to resell later in Cairo, Constantinople, Lisbon, Naples, Genoa, and Venice.

Despite its considerable economic and cultural strengths, Songhai had serious internal problems. Islam never took root in the countryside, and Muslim officials alienated the king from his people. Muhammad Toure's reforms were a failure. He governed diverse peoples — Tuareg, Mandinka, and Fulani as well as Songhai — who were often hostile to one another, and no cohesive element united them. Finally, the Songhai never developed an effective method of transferring power. Revolts, conspiracies, and palace intrigues followed the death of every king, and only three of the nine rulers in the dynasty begun by Muhammad Toure died natural deaths. Muhammad Toure himself was murdered by one of his sons. His death began a period of political instability that led to the kingdom's slow disintegration. The empire came to an end in 1591 when a Moroccan army of three thousand soldiers — many of whom were slaves of European origin equipped with European muskets — crossed the Sahara and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Songhai at Tondibi.

East of Songhai lay the kingdoms of Kanem-Bornu and Hausaland (see Map 20.1). Under the dynamic military leader Idris Alooma (IH-dris ah-LOW-mah) (r. 1571–1603), Kanem-Bornu subdued weaker peoples and gained jurisdiction over an extensive area. Well drilled and equipped with firearms, his standing army and camel-mounted cavalry decimated warriors fighting with spears and arrows. Idris Alooma perpetuated a form of feudalism by granting land to able fighters in return for loyalty and the promise of future military assistance. Kanem-Bornu also shared in the trans-Saharan trade, shipping eunuchs and young girls to North Africa in return for horses and firearms.

A devout Muslim, Idris Alooma elicited high praise from ibn-Fartura, who wrote a history of his reign called *The Kanem Wars*:

> Among the most surprising of his acts was the stand he took against obscenity and adultery, so that no such thing took place openly in his time. Formerly the people had been indifferent to such offences. . . . In fact he was a power among his people and from him came their strength.
>
> The Sultan was intent on the clear path laid down by the Qur'an . . . in all his affairs and actions.[4]

Idris Alooma built mosques at his capital city of N'gazargamu and substituted Muslim courts and Islamic law for African tribunals and ancient customary law. His eighteenth-century successors lacked his vitality and military skills, however, and the empire declined.

Between Songhai and Kanem-Bornu were the lands of the Hausa (HOUSE-uh). Hausa merchants carried on a sizable trade in slaves and kola nuts with North African communities across the Sahara. Obscure trading posts evolved into important Hausa city-states like Kano and Katsina (kat-SIN-ah), through which Islamic influences entered the region. Kano and Katsina became Muslim intellectual centers and in the fifteenth century attracted scholars from Timbuktu. The Muslim chronicler of the reign of King Muhammad Rimfa (RIMP-fah) (r. 1463–1499) of Kano records that the king introduced the Muslim practices of purdah (PUR-dah), or seclusion of women; Eid al-Fitr (eed-al-FITR), the festival after the fast of Ramadan; and the assignment of eunuchs to high state offices.[5] As in Songhai and Kanem-Bornu, however, Islam made no strong imprint on the Hausa masses until the nineteenth century.

GLOBAL VIEWPOINTS

European Descriptions of Timbuktu and Jenne

Timbuktu and Jenne were important cities in the West African empires of Ghana, Mali, and Songhai. The writings of al-Hassan Ibn Muhammad al-Wezaz al-Fasi, also known as Leo Africanus (ca. 1493–1554), provide the most authoritative accounts of West Africa between the writings of Ibn Battuta in the fourteenth century and the writings of European travelers in the nineteenth century. The *Tarikh al-Sudan* (*History of the Sudan*), written by Abd al-Rahman al-Sadi (1594–after 1656), is one of the most important histories of the Mali and Songhai Empires in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries.

Leo Africanus on Timbuktu

■ [Timbuktu] is situated within twelve miles of a certaine branch of Niger [River], all the houses whereof are now changed into cottages built of chalke, and covered with thatch. There is a most stately temple to be seene, the wals thereof are made of stone and lime; and a princely palace . . . built by a most excellent workeman of Granada. Here are many shops of artificiers, and merchants, and especially of such as weave linen and cotton cloth. And hither do the Barbarie-merchants bring cloth of Europe. All the women of this region except maid-servants go with their faces covered. . . .

The inhabitants, & especially strangers there residing, are exceeding rich, insomuch, that the king that now is, married both his daughters unto two rich merchants. Here are many wels, containing most sweete water; and so often as the river Niger overfloweth, they conveigh the water thereof by certaine sluces into the towne.

Corne, cattle, milke, and butter this region yeeldeth in great abundance: but salt is verie scarce here; for it is brought hither by land from Tegaza, which is five hundred miles distant. When I myself was here, I saw one camels loade of salt sold for 80 ducates. The rich king of Tombuto hath many plates and scepters of gold, some whereof weigh 1300 pounds: and he keeps a magnificent and well furnished court. . . .

Here are great store of doctors, judges, priests, and other learned men, that are bountifully maintained at the kings cost and charges. And hither are brought divers manuscripts or written books out of Barbarie, which are sold for more money than any other merchandize.

Al-Sadi on Jenne

■ Jenne is a large . . . city, characterized by prosperity, good fortune and compassion. . . . It is the nature of Jenne's inhabitants to be kind and charitable, and solicitous for one another. . . .

Jenne is one of the great markets of the Muslims. Those who deal in salt from the mine of Taghaza meet there with those who deal in gold from the mine of Bitu. These two blessed mines have no equal in the entire world. . . . Jenne is the reason why caravans come to Timbuktu from all quarters — north, south, east and west. Jenne is situated to the south and west of Timbuktu beyond the two rivers. . . .

Jenne was founded as a pagan town in the middle of the second century of the *hijira* of the Prophet [150 anno hegirae (A.H.), the Islamic calendar, or 767–768 C.E.]. . . . Its people became Muslims at the end of the sixth century [A.H., or eleventh to twelfth century C.E.]. First, Sultan Kunburu became a Muslim, then people followed his example. When he made up his mind to embrace Islam he ordered that all the Muslim scholars within the city should be assembled. They totaled 4,200, and he made a profession of Islam before them, and told them to call upon God Most High to grant the city three things: firstly, that anyone who fled there from his homeland in poverty and distress should have this translated by God into luxury and ease, so that he may forget his homeland; secondly, that more strangers than local folk should settle there; and thirdly, that those who came to trade there should lose patience and grow weary over selling their goods, and so dispose of them cheaply, allowing the people of Jenne to make a profit.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. During the colonial era, and even to the present day, Africa and its inhabitants were described in the most denigrating terms, such as pagan, savage, illiterate, poor, and uncivilized. How do the descriptions of these two African market and learning centers conform to those characterizations?
2. How important was Islam to the success of these two cities? In what ways?

Sources: Al-Hassan ibn-Mohammad al-Wezaz al-Fasi, *The History and Description of Africa*. Done into English in 1600 by John Pory. Robert Brown, ed. (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896), vol. 3, pp. 824–825; John O. Hunwick, *Timbuktu and the Songhay Empire: Al-Sadi’s Tarikh al-Sudan Down to 1613 and Other Contemporary Documents*. Reproduced by permission of BRILL ACADEMIC PUBLISHERS in the format Republish in a book via Copyright Clearance Center.

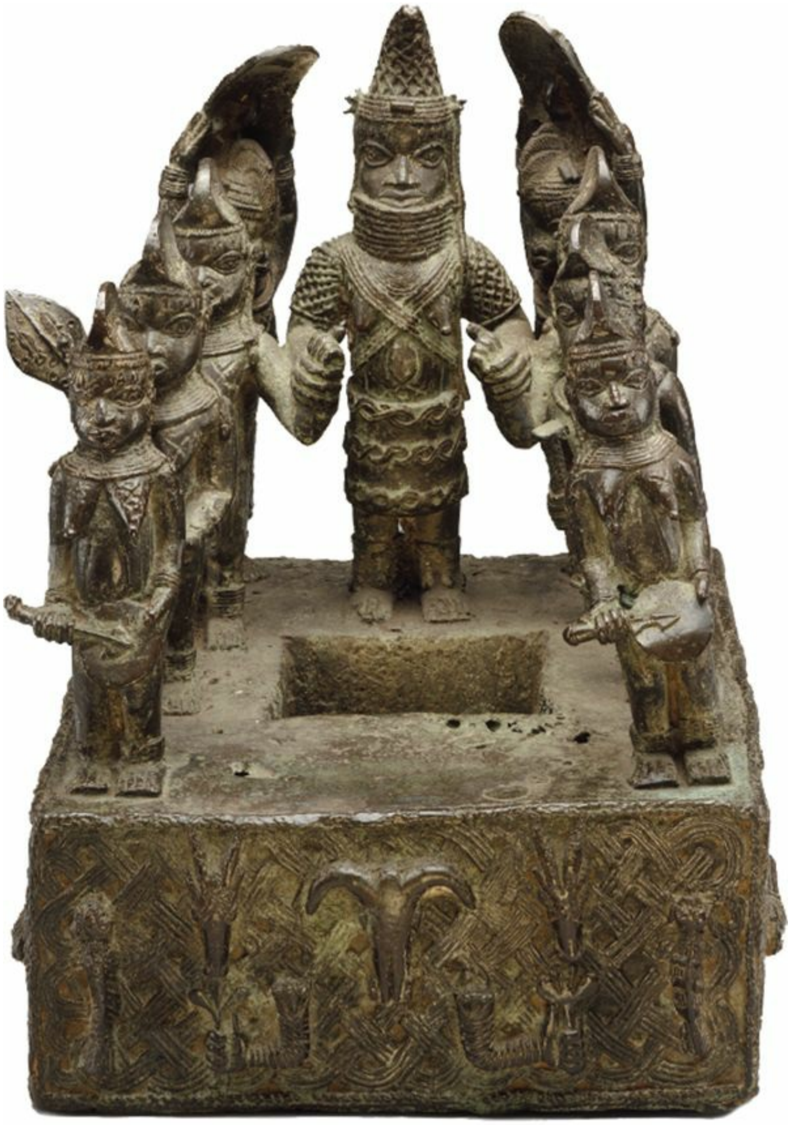
The Lives of the People of West Africa

Wives and children were highly desired in African societies because they could clear and cultivate the land and because they brought prestige, social support, and security in old age. The results were intense competition for women, inequality of access to them, an emphasis on male virility and female fertility, and serious tension between male generations. Polygyny was almost universal.

Men acquired wives in two ways. In some cases, couples simply eloped and began their union. More commonly, a man's family gave bride wealth to the bride's family as compensation for losing the fruits of her productive and reproductive abilities. She was expected to produce children, to produce food through her labor, and to pass on the culture in the raising of her children. Because it took time for a young man to acquire the bride wealth, all but the richest men delayed marriage until about age thirty. Women married at about the onset of puberty.

The easy availability of land in Africa reduced the kinds of generational conflict that occurred in western Europe, where land was scarce. Competition for wives between male generations, however, was fierce. On the one hand, myth and folklore stressed respect for the elderly, and the older men in a community imposed their authority over the younger ones. On the other hand, young men possessed the powerful asset of their labor, which could easily be turned into independence where so much land was available.

"Without children you are naked" goes a Yoruba (YORE-uh-bah) proverb, and children were the primary goal of marriage. Just as a man's virility determined his honor, so barrenness damaged a woman's status. A wife's infidelity was considered a less serious problem than her infertility. A woman might have six widely spaced pregnancies in her fertile years; the universal practice of breast-feeding infants for two, three, or even four years may have inhibited conception. Long intervals between births due to food shortages also may have limited pregnancies and checked population growth. Harsh climate, poor nutrition, and infectious diseases also contributed to a high infant mortality rate.



Culture: Edo peoples. Culture: Court of Benin. Altar Tableau: Queen Mother and Attendants, 18th century. Brass. Front, view #1. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Klaus G. Perls, 1991 [1991.17.111]. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York/Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Image source: Art Resource, NY

Queen Mother and Attendants As in Ottoman, Chinese, and European societies, the mothers of African rulers sometimes exercised considerable political power because of their influence on their sons. African kings granted the title Queen Mother as a badge of honor. In this figure, the long beaded cap, called "chicken's beak," symbolizes the mother's rank, as do her elaborate neck jewelry and attendants.

Both nuclear and extended families were common in West Africa. Nuclear families averaged only five or six members, but the household of a Big Man (a local man of power) included his wives, married and unmarried sons, unmarried daughters, poor relations, dependents, and scores of children. Extended families were common among the Hausa and Mandinka peoples. On the Gold Coast in the seventeenth century, a well-to-do man's household might number 150 people; in the Kongo region in west-central Africa, several hundred.

In agriculture men did the heavy work of felling trees and clearing the land; women then planted, weeded, and harvested. Between 1000 and 1400, cassava (manioc), bananas, and plantains came to West Africa from Asia. In the sixteenth century the Portuguese introduced maize (corn), sweet potatoes, and new varieties of yams from the Americas. Fish supplemented the diets of people living near bodies of water. According to former slave Olaudah Equiano, the Ibo people in the mid-eighteenth century ate plantains, yams, beans, and Indian corn, along with stewed poultry, goat, or bullock (castrated steer) seasoned with peppers.[6] However, such a protein-rich diet was probably exceptional.

Disease posed perhaps the biggest obstacle to population growth. Malaria, spread by mosquitoes and rampant in West Africa, was the greatest killer, especially of infants. West Africans developed a relatively high degree of immunity to malaria and other parasitic diseases. Acute strains of smallpox introduced by Europeans certainly did not help population growth, nor did venereal syphilis, which possibly originated in Latin America. As in Chinese and European communities in the early modern period, the sick depended on folk medicine. African medical specialists administered a variety of treatments. Still, disease was common where the diet was poor and lacked adequate vitamins.

The devastating effects of famine represented another major check on population growth. Drought, excessive rain, swarms of locusts, and rural wars that prevented land cultivation all meant later food shortages. In the 1680s famine extended from the Senegambian coast to the Upper Nile, and many people sold themselves into slavery for food. In the eighteenth century “slave exports” reached their peak in times of famine, and ships could fill their cargo holds simply by offering food. The worst disaster occurred from 1738 to 1756, when, according to one chronicler, the poor were reduced literally to cannibalism, also considered a metaphor for the complete collapse of civilization.[7]

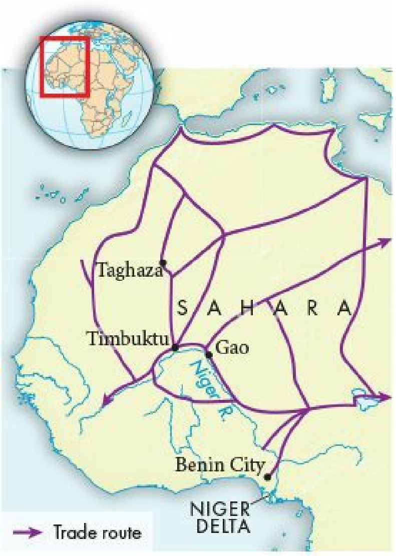
Because the Americas had been isolated from the Eurasian-African landmass for thousands of years, parasitic diseases common in Europe, Africa, and Asia were unknown in the Americas before the Europeans’ arrival. Enslaved Africans taken to the Americas brought with them the diseases common to tropical West Africa, such as yellow fever, dengue fever, malaria, and hookworm. Thus the hot, humid disease environment in the American tropics, where the majority of enslaved Africans lived and worked, became more “African.” On the other hand, cold-weather European diseases, such as chicken pox, mumps, measles, and influenza, prevailed in the northern temperate zone in North America and the southern temperate zone in South America. This difference in disease environment partially explains why Africans made up the majority of the unskilled labor force in the tropical areas of the Americas, and Europeans made up the majority of the unskilled labor force in the Western Hemisphere temperate zones, such as the northern United States and Canada.

Trade and Industry

As in all premodern societies, West African economies rested on agriculture. There was some trade and industry, but population shortages encouraged local self-sufficiency, slowed transportation, and hindered exchange. There were very few large markets, and their relative isolation from the outside world and failure to attract large numbers of foreign merchants limited technological innovation.

For centuries black Africans had exchanged goods with North African merchants in centers such as Gao and Timbuktu. This long-distance trans-Saharan trade was conducted and controlled by Muslim-Berber merchants using camels. The two primary goods exchanged were salt, which came from salt mines in North Africa, and gold, which came mainly from gold mines in modern-day Mali, and later, modern Ghana.

As elsewhere around the world, water was the cheapest method of transportation, and many small dugout canoes and larger trading canoes plied the Niger and its delta region (see Map 20.1). On land West African peoples used pack animals (camels or donkeys) rather than wheeled vehicles; only a narrow belt of land in the Sudan was suitable for animal-drawn carts. When traders reached an area infested with tsetse flies, they transferred each animal’s load to human porters. Such difficulties in transport severely restricted long-distance trade, so most people relied on the regional exchange of local specialties.



Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

West African Trade Routes

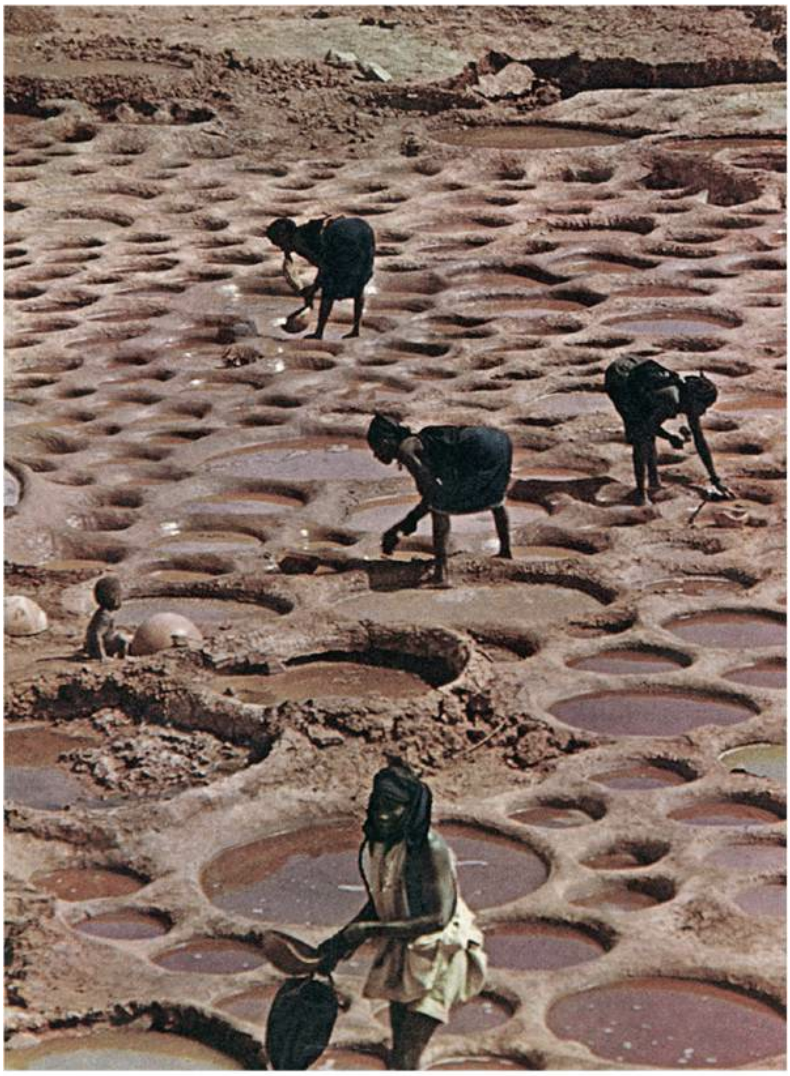
West African communities had a well-organized market system. At informal markets on riverbanks, fishermen bartered fish for local specialties. More formal markets existed within towns and villages or on neutral ground between them. Markets also rotated among neighboring villages on certain days. Local sellers were usually women; traders from afar were men.

Salt had long been one of Africa's most critical trade items. Salt is essential to human health; the Hausa language has more than fifty words for it. The salt trade dominated the West African economies in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. The main salt-mining center was at Taghaza (see Map 20.1) in the western Sahara. In the most wretched conditions, slaves dug the salt from desiccated lakes and loaded heavy blocks onto camels' backs. Nomadic **Tuareg** (Berber) peoples and later Moors (peoples of Berber and Arab descent) traded their salt south for gold, grain, slaves, and kola nuts. **Cowrie (COW-ree) shells**, imported from the Maldives in the Indian Ocean and North Africa, served as the medium of exchange. Gold continued to be mined and shipped from Mali until South American bullion flooded Europe in the sixteenth century. Thereafter, gold production in Mali steadily declined until the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, when it revived.

Tuareg Major branch of the nomadic Berber peoples who controlled the north-south trans-Saharan trade in salt.

cowrie shells Imported from the Maldives, they served as the medium of exchange in West Africa.

West African peoples engaged in many crafts, but the textile industry had the greatest level of specialization. The earliest fabric in West Africa was made of vegetable fiber. Muslim traders introduced cotton and its weaving in the ninth century. By the fifteenth century the Wolof and Mandinka regions had professional weavers producing beautiful cloth, but this cloth was too expensive to compete in the Atlantic and Indian Ocean markets after 1500. Although the relatively small quantities of cloth produced on very narrow looms (one to two inches wide) could not compete in a world market, they are the source of the famous multicolored African kente cloth made from threads of cotton, or cotton and silk, by the Akan people of Ghana and the Ivory Coast. The area around Kano, in northern Nigeria, is famous for the deeply dyed blue cloth produced on the narrowest looms in the world and favored by the Tuareg Berber peoples of North Africa.



Visual Connection Archive

Salt Making in the Central Sahara For centuries camel caravans transported salt south across the Sahara to the great West African kingdoms, where it was exchanged for gold. Here at Tegguida-n-Tessum, Niger, in the central Sahara, salt is still collected by pouring spring water into small pools dug out of the saline soil. The water leaches out the salt before evaporating in the desert sun, leaving deposits of pure salt behind, which are then shaped into blocks for transport. (Visual Connection Archive)

Cross-Cultural Encounters Along the East African Coast

How did the arrival of Europeans and other foreign cultures affect the East African coast, and how did Ethiopia and the Swahili city- states respond to these incursions?

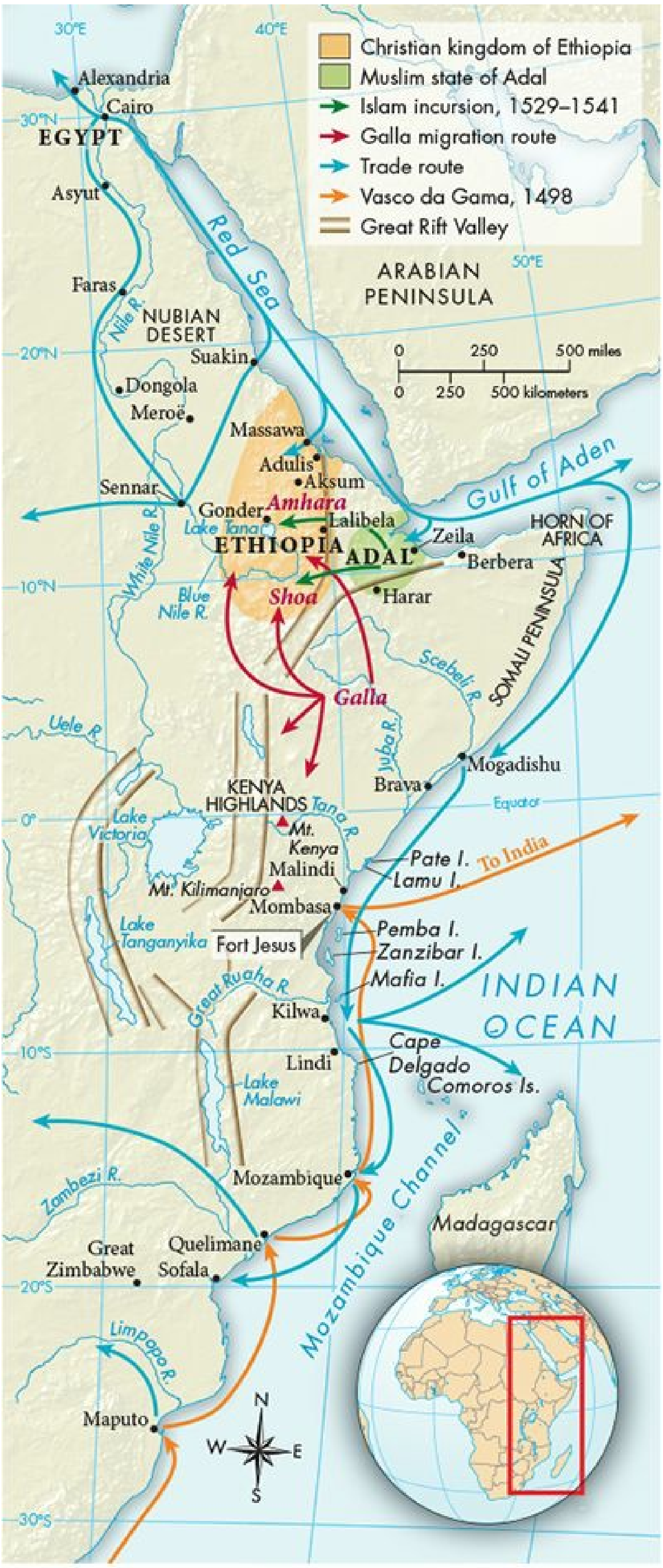
East Africa in the early modern period faced repeated incursions from foreign powers. At the beginning of the sixteenth century Ethiopia faced challenges from the Muslim state of Adal, and then from Europeans. Jesuit attempts to substitute Roman Catholic liturgical forms for the Coptic Christian liturgies (see below) met with fierce resistance and ushered in a centuries-long period of hostility to foreigners. The wealthy Swahili city-states along the southeastern African coast also resisted European intrusions in the sixteenth century, with even more disastrous results. Cities such as Mogadishu, Kilwa, and Sofala used Arabic as the language of communication, and their commercial economies had long been tied to the Indian Ocean trade. The arrival of the Portuguese in 1498 proved catastrophic for those cities, and the Swahili coast suffered economic decline as a result.

Muslim and European Incursions in Ethiopia, ca. 1500–1630

At the beginning of the sixteenth century the powerful East African kingdom of Ethiopia extended from Massawa in the north to several tributary states in the south (Map 20.2), but the ruling Solomonic dynasty in Ethiopia, in power since the thirteenth century, faced serious external threats. Alone among the states in northeast and eastern Africa, Ethiopia was a Christian kingdom that practiced **Coptic Christianity**, an orthodox form of the Christian faith that originated in Egypt in about 42–45. By the early 1500s Ethiopia was an island of Christianity surrounded by a sea of Muslim states.

Coptic Christianity Orthodox form of Christianity from Egypt practiced in Ethiopia.

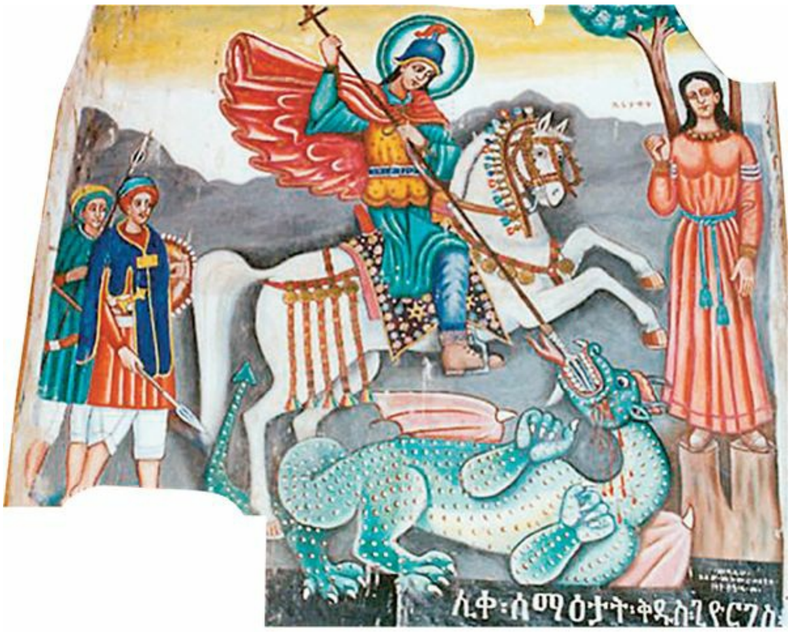
Adal, a Muslim state along the southern base of the Red Sea, began incursions into Ethiopia, and in 1529 the Adal general Ahmad ibn-Ghazi inflicted a disastrous defeat on the Ethiopian emperor Lebna Dengel (r. 1508– 1540). Ibn-Ghazi followed up his victory with systematic devastation of the land; destruction of many Ethiopian artistic and literary works, churches, and monasteries; and the forced conversion of thousands to Islam. Lebna Dengel fled to the mountains and appealed to Portugal for assistance. The Portuguese came to his aid, but Dengel was killed in battle before the Portuguese arrived. The Muslim occupation of Christian Ethiopia, which began around 1531, ended in 1543, after a joint Ethiopian and Portuguese force defeated a larger Muslim army at the Battle of Wayna Daga.


Christian kingdom of Ethiopia
Muslim state of Adal
Islam incursion, 1529–1541
Galla migration route
Trade route
Vasco da Gama, 1498
Great Rift Valley
30°E
40°E
50°E
30°N
20°N
10°N
0°
10°S
20°S
30°S
Equator
Alexandria
Cairo
EGYPT
Asyut
Faras
Nile R.
NUBIAN DESERT
Suakin
Dongola
Meroë
Red Sea
ARABIAN PENINSULA
0 250 500 miles
0 250 500 kilometers
Massawa
Adulis
Aksum
Sennar
Gonder
Amhara
Lalibela
Lake Tana
ETHIOPIA
ADAL
Zeila
Berbera
Harar
Gulf of Aden
HORN OF AFRICA
SOMALI PENINSULA
White Nile R.
Blue Nile R.
Shoa
Galla
Scebeli R.
Uele R.
Juba R.
Mogadishu
Brava
KENYA HIGHLANDS
Tana R.
Lake Victoria
Mt. Kenya
Malindi
Pate I.
Lamu I.
To India
Mt. Kilimanjaro
Mombasa
Lake Tanganyika
Fort Jesus
Pemba I.
Zanzibar I.
Mafia I.
Great Ruaha R.
Kilwa
INDIAN OCEAN
Cape Delgado
Lindi
Comoros Is.
Lake Malawi
Zambezi R.
Mozambique
Mozambique Channel
Madagascar
Quelimane
Great Zimbabwe
Sofala
Limpopo R.
Maputo
N
W
E
S

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 20.2 East Africa in the Sixteenth Century In early modern times, the Christian kingdom of Ethiopia, first isolated and then subjected to Muslim and European pressures, played an insignificant role in world affairs. But the East African city-states, which stretched from Sofala in the south to Mogadishu in the north, had powerfully important commercial relations with Mughal India, China, the Ottoman world, and southern Europe.

In the late twelfth century tales of Prester John, rumored to be a powerful Christian monarch ruling a vast and wealthy African empire, reached western Europe. The search for Prester John, as well as for gold and spices, spurred the Portuguese to undertake a series of trans-African expeditions that reached Timbuktu and Mali in the 1480s and the Ethiopian court by 1508. Although Prester John was a mythical figure, Portuguese emissaries triumphantly but mistakenly identified the Ethiopian emperor as Prester John.[8] It was their desire to convert Ethiopians from Coptic Christianity to Roman Catholicism that motivated the Portuguese to aid the Ethiopians in defeating Adal's Muslim forces in 1543.



Galen R. Frysinger

Saint George in Ethiopian Art This wall painting of Saint George slaying a dragon resides in the stone-carved Church of Saint George in Lalibela, Ethiopia, and attests to the powerful and pervasive Christian influence on Ethiopian culture.

No sooner had the Muslim threat ended than Ethiopia encountered three more dangers. The Galla, now known as the Oromo, moved northward in great numbers in the 1530s, occupying portions of Harar, Shoa, and Amhara. The Ethiopians could not defeat them militarily, and the Galla were not interested in assimilation. For the next two centuries the two peoples lived together in an uneasy truce. Simultaneously, the Ottoman Turks seized Massawa and other coastal cities. Then the Jesuits arrived and attempted to force Roman Catholicism on a proud people whose Coptic form of Christianity long antedated the European version. Since Ethiopian national sentiment was closely tied to Coptic Christianity, violent rebellion and anarchy ensued.

In 1633 the Jesuit missionaries were expelled. For the next two centuries hostility to foreigners, weak political leadership, and regionalism characterized Ethiopia. Civil conflicts between Galla and Ethiopians erupted continually. The Coptic Church, though lacking strong authority, survived as the cornerstone of Ethiopian national identity.

The Swahili City-States and the Arrival of the Portuguese, ca. 1500–1600

The word **Swahili** means "People of the Coast" and refers to the people living along the East African coast and on the nearby islands. Although predominantly a Bantu-speaking people, the Swahili have incorporated significant aspects of Arab culture. The Arabic alphabet was used for the first written works in Swahili (although the Latin alphabet is now standard), and roughly 35 percent of Swahili words come from Arabic. Surviving texts in Swahili — from the earliest known Swahili documents dating from 1711 — provide historians with a glimpse of early Swahili history that is not possible when studying early nonliterate African societies. By the eleventh century the Swahili had accepted Islam, which provided a common identity and unifying factor for all the peoples along coastal East Africa. Living on the Indian Ocean coast, the Swahili also felt the influences of Indians, Indonesians, Persians, and even the Chinese.

Swahili Meaning "People of the Coast," the term used for the people living along the East African coast and on nearby islands.

Swahili civilization was overwhelmingly maritime. A fertile, well-watered, and intensely cultivated stretch of land extending down the coast yielded valuable crops. The region's considerable prosperity, however, rested on trade and commerce. The Swahili acted as middlemen in an Indian Ocean–East African economy that might be described as early capitalism. They exchanged cloves, ivory, rhinoceros horn, tortoise shells, inlaid ebony chairs, copra (dried coconut meat that yields coconut oil), and inland slaves for Arabian and Persian perfumes, toilet articles, ink, and paper; for Indian textiles, beads, and iron tools; and for Chinese porcelains and silks. In the fifteenth century the cosmopolitan city-states of Mogadishu, Pate, Lamu, Mombasa, and especially Kilwa enjoyed a worldwide reputation for commercial prosperity and high living standards.[9] (See “Analyzing the Evidence: Lamu Old Town, Lamu Island, Kenya,” page 576.)

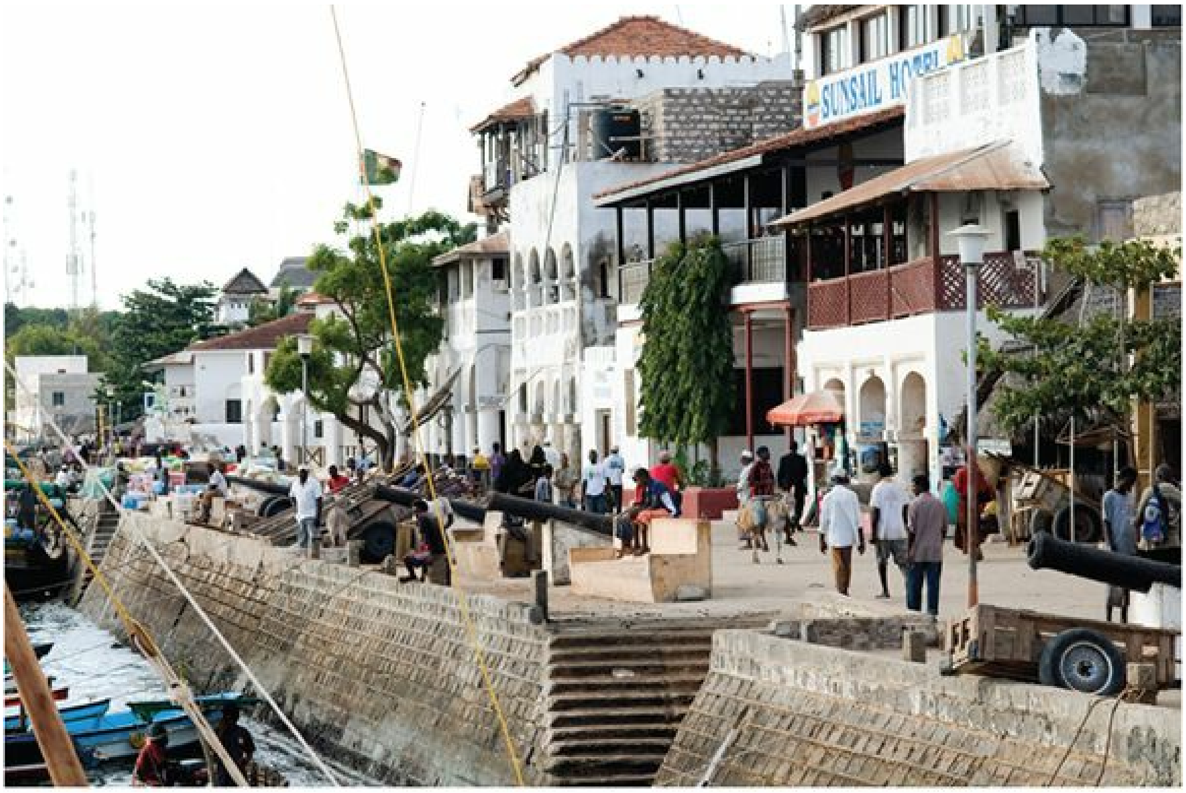
The arrival of the Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama (VAS-ko dah GAH-ma) (see Map 16.2) in 1498 spelled the end of the Swahili cities' independence. Lured by the spice trade, da Gama wanted to build a Portuguese maritime empire in the Indian Ocean. Some Swahili rulers, such as the sultan of Malindi (ma-LIN-dee), quickly agreed to a trading alliance with the Portuguese. Others, such as the sultan of Mombasa (mahm-BAHS-uh), were tricked into commercial agreements. Swahili rulers who rejected Portuguese overtures saw their cities bombarded and attacked. To secure alliances made between 1502 and 1507, the Portuguese erected forts at the southern port cities of Kilwa, Zanzibar (ZAN-zuh-bahr), and Sofala. These fortified markets and trading posts served as the foundation of Portuguese commercial power on the Swahili coast. (See “Analyzing the Evidence: Duarte Barbosa on the Swahili City-States,” page 578.) The better-fortified northern cities, such as Mogadishu, survived as important entrepôts for goods to India.

The Portuguese presence in the south did not yield the expected commercial fortunes. Rather than accept Portuguese commercial restrictions, the residents deserted the towns, and the town economies crumbled. Large numbers of Kilwa's people, for example, immigrated to northern cities. The gold flow from inland mines to Sofala (so-FALL-ah) slowed to a trickle. Swahili noncooperation successfully prevented the Portuguese from gaining control of the local coastal trade.

In the late seventeenth century pressures from the northern European maritime powers — the Dutch, French, and English, aided greatly by Omani Arabs — combined with local African rebellions to bring about the collapse of Portuguese influence in Africa. A Portuguese presence remained only at Mozambique in the far south and Angola (ahng-GO-luh) on the west coast.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

Lamu Old Town, Lamu Island, Kenya



© Thomas Cockrem/Alamy Stock Photo

The old town of Lamu is the oldest and best-preserved Swahili community along the East African coast, and it is a wonderful example of the mixture of African, Arab, and European influences that shaped Swahili culture. Lamu was founded in 1370 by Arab traders, and the majority of its inhabitants are Muslims. It became wealthy from the East African slave trade, as evidenced by a few remaining large merchants' houses, made from coral stone and fitted with elaborately carved wooden doors. These homes had running water and indoor plumbing three hundred or more years ago, at a time when Europeans were still tossing the contents of chamber pots out into the street. Some houses were three stories or more high, like some of the buildings in this photo, with open-walled rooms at the top through which cool breezes blew. The upper stories of some houses had passageways connecting to other buildings so that Muslim women could visit neighbors without going out into the street. On display inside were costly Indian Ocean trade items, including fine porcelain from China, set into elaborate recesses in the walls.

Besides Arab and African influences, there is also evidence of the European presence on the island. The Portuguese controlled Lamu's trade from 1505 to 1652. The Germans claimed Lamu as part of their East German Protectorate in 1885, and the island fell under British colonial rule in 1890. The British closed the slave market and built a number of buildings along the waterfront, some of which you can see in this image, including the residence and offices of the local British colonial administrator. During the British colonial period, the road along the harbor, seen in this photo, was the only proper road on the island, and the colonial officer owned the only car. Each day he would drive his car from one end of the harbor to the other along this road in a grand display of the imperial presence.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. How many different examples of the varying Arab, African, and European influences on Lamu can you identify in this image?
2. The buildings in this image are all set very close together, with only a narrow alley between them. Why do you think this was so? What would be the advantages of such an arrangement?

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

Duarte Barbosa on the Swahili City-States

The Portuguese writer, government agent, and traveler Duarte Barbosa made two voyages to India. Arriving first in 1500, he acted for five years as an interpreter and translator in Cochin and Cannanore in Kerala (in southwestern India on the Malabar coast), returning to Lisbon in 1506. On his second trip to India in 1511, he served the Portuguese government as chief scribe in the factory of Cannanore (a factory was a warehouse for the storage of goods, not a manufacturing center) and as the liaison with the local Indian rajah (prince). Barbosa returned to Portugal around 1516. In September 1519 he began his greatest adventure, setting off with Ferdinand Magellan to circumnavigate the globe. After Magellan was killed in a battle with native forces in the Philippines, Barbosa took joint command of the expedition, but was himself killed in the Philippines less than a week after Magellan, on May 1, 1521.

On the basis of his trips around the Indian Ocean in 1518, Barbosa completed his *Libro de Duarte Barbosa* (*The Book of Duarte Barbosa*), a geographical and ethnographic survey of peoples, lands, and commerce from the Cape of Good Hope to China. It was based largely on his personal observations. First published in Italian, the book won wide acclaim in Europe, and modern scholars consider its geographical information very accurate. The excerpts below describe some of the Swahili city-states along the East African coast.

Sofala

And the manner of their traffic was this: they came in small vessels named *zambucos* from the kingdoms of Kilwa, Mombasa, and Malindi, bringing many cotton cloths, some spotted and others white and blue, also some of silk, and many small beads, grey, red, and yellow, which things come to the said kingdoms from the great kingdom of Cambaya [in northwest India] in other greater ships. And these wares the said Moors who came from Malindi and Mombasa paid for in gold at such a price that those merchants departed well pleased; which gold they gave by weight.

The Moors of Sofala kept these wares and sold them afterwards to the Heathen of the Kingdom of Benametapa, who came thither laden with gold which they gave in exchange for the said cloths without weighing it. These Moors collect also great store of ivory which they find hard by Sofala, and this also they sell in the Kingdom of Cambaya at five or six cruzados the quintal. They also sell some ambergris, which is brought to them from the Hucicas, and is exceeding good. These Moors are black, and some of them tawny; some of them speak Arabic, but the more part use the language of the country. They clothe themselves from the waist down with cotton and silk cloths, and other cloths they wear over their shoulders like capes, and turbans on their heads. Some of them wear small caps dyed in grain in chequers and other woollen clothes in many tints, also camlets and other silks.

Their food is millet, rice, flesh and fish. In this river as far as the sea are many sea horses, which come out on the land to graze, which horses always move in the sea like fishes; they have tusks like those of small elephants in size, and the ivory is better than that of elephants, being whiter and harder, and it never loses colour. In the country near Sofala are many wild elephants, exceeding great (which the country-folk know not how to tame) lions, ounces [African lynx], deer and many other wild beasts. It is a land of plains and hills with many streams of sweet water.

Kilwa

■ Going along the coast from this town of Mozambique, there is an island hard by the mainland which is called Kilwa, in which is a Moorish town with many fair houses of stone and mortar, with many windows after our fashion, very well arranged in streets, with many flat roofs. The doors are of wood, well carved, with excellent joinery. Around it are streams and orchards and fruit-gardens with many channels of sweet water. It has a Moorish king over it. From this place they trade with Sofala, whence they bring back gold, and from here they spread all over . . . the seacoast [which] is well-peopled with villages and abodes of Moors.

Before the King our Lord sent out his expedition to discover India the Moors of Sofala, Cuama, Angoya and Mozambique were all subject to the King of Kilwa, who was the most mighty king among them. And in this town was great plenty of gold, as no ships passed towards Sofala without first coming to this island. . . .

This town was taken by force from its king by the Portuguese, as, moved by arrogance, he refused to obey the King our Lord. There they took many prisoners and the king fled from the island, and His Highness ordered that a fort should be built there, and kept it under his rule and governance. Afterwards he ordered that it should be pulled down, as its maintenance was of no value nor profit to him, and it was destroyed by Antonio de Saldanha.

Malindi

■ Journeying along the coast towards India, there is a fair town on the mainland lying along a strand, which is named Malindi. It pertains to the Moors and has a Moorish king over it; the which place has many fair stone and mortar houses of many storeys, with great plenty of windows and flat roofs, after our fashion. The place is well laid out in streets. The folk are both black and white; they go naked, covering only their private parts with cotton and silk cloths. Others of them wear cloths folded like cloaks and waist-bands, and turbans of many rich stuffs on their heads.

They are great barterers, and deal in cloth, gold, ivory, and divers other wares with the Moors and Heathen of the great kingdom of Cambaya; and to their haven come every year many ships with cargoes of merchandize, from which they get great store of gold, ivory and wax. In this traffic the Cambay merchants make great profits, and thus, on one side and the other, they earn much money. There is great plenty of food in this city (rice, millet, and some wheat which they bring from Cambaya), and divers sorts of fruit, inasmuch as there is here abundance of fruit-gardens and orchards. Here too are plenty of round-tailed sheep, cows and other cattle and great store of oranges, also of hens.

The king and people of this place ever were and are friends of the King of Portugal, and the Portuguese always find in them great comfort and friendship and perfect peace, and there the ships, when they chance to pass that way, obtain supplies in plenty.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What seems to have impressed Barbosa? What was his attitude toward the various peoples he saw? What Portuguese or Western prejudices do you discern?
2. What was the Portuguese relationship to the Swahili city-states at the time Barbosa saw them?
3. What was the source of Sofala’s gold? Of Sofala’s and Malindi’s ivory? What did the Indian kingdom of Cambaya use ivory for?

Source: Mansel Longworth Dames, trans., *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, vol. 1 (London: Bedford Press, 1918).

The African Slave Trade

What role did slavery play in African societies before the transatlantic slave trade began, and what was the effect of European involvement?

The exchange of peoples captured in local and ethnic wars within sub-Saharan Africa, the trans-Saharan slave trade with the Mediterranean Islamic world beginning in the seventh century, and the slave traffic across the Indian Ocean all testify to the long tradition and continental dimensions of the African slave trade before European intrusion. The enslavement of human beings was practiced in some form or another all over Africa — indeed, all over the world. Sanctioned by law and custom, enslaved people served critical and well-defined roles in the social, political, and economic organization of many African societies. Domestically these roles ranged from concubines and servants to royal guards and advisers. As was the case later in the Americas, some enslaved people were common laborers. In terms of economics, slaves were commodities for trade, no more or less important than other trade items, such as gold and ivory.

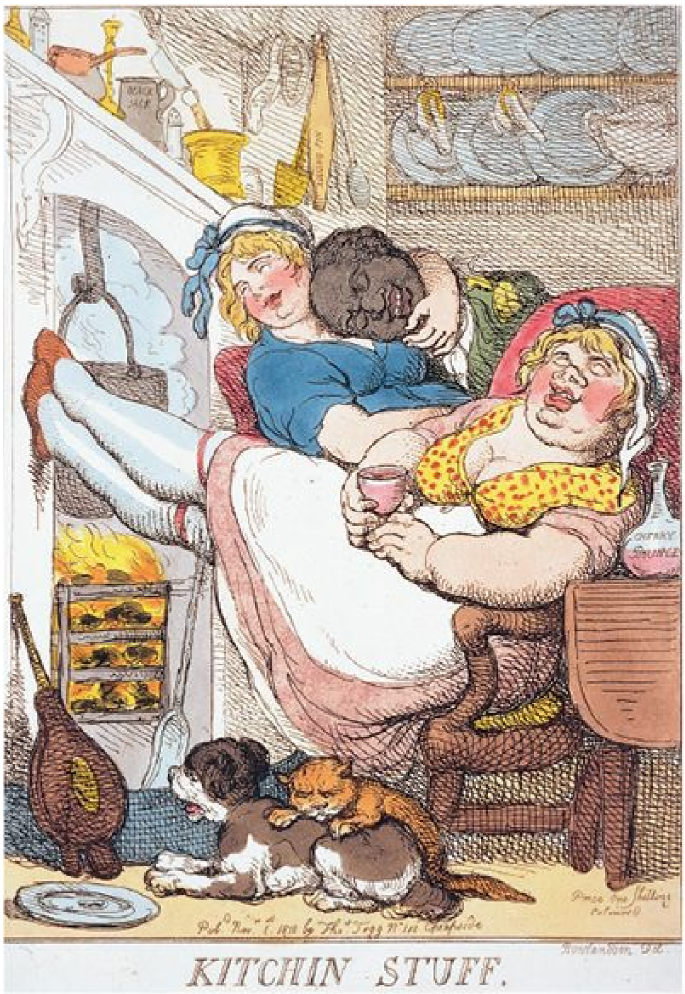
Over time, the trans-Saharan slave trade became less important than the transatlantic trade, which witnessed an explosive growth during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The millions of enslaved Africans forcibly exported to the Americas had a lasting impact on African society and led ultimately to a wider use of slaves within Africa itself.

The Institution of Slavery in Africa

Islamic practices strongly influenced African slavery. African rulers justified enslavement with the Muslim argument that prisoners of war could be sold and that captured people were considered chattel, or personal possessions, to be used any way the owner saw fit. Between 650 and 1600 Muslims transported perhaps as many as 4.82 million black slaves across the trans-Saharan trade route.[10] In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the rulers and elites of Mali and Benin imported thousands of white Slavic slave women, symbols of wealth and status, who had been seized in slave raids from the Balkans and Caucasus regions of the eastern Mediterranean by Turks, Mongols, and others.[11] In 1444, when Portuguese caravels landed 235 slaves at Algarve in southern Portugal, a contemporary observed that they seemed “a marvelous (extraordinary) sight, for, amongst them, were some white enough, fair enough, and well-proportioned; others were less white, like mulattoes; others again were black as Ethiops."[12]

Meanwhile, the flow of black people to Europe, begun during the Renaissance, continued. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as many as two hundred thousand Africans entered European societies. Some arrived as slaves, others as servants; the legal distinction was not always clear. Eighteenth-century London, for example, had more than ten thousand blacks, most of whom arrived as sailors on Atlantic crossings or as personal servants brought from the West Indies. In England most were free, not slaves. Initially, a handsome black person was a fashionable accessory, a rare status symbol. Later, English aristocrats considered black servants too ordinary. The duchess of Devonshire offered her mother an eleven-year-old boy, explaining that the duke did not want a Negro servant because "it was more original to have a Chinese page than to have a black one; everybody had a black one."[13]

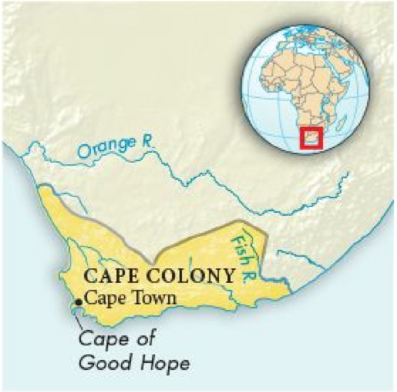
London's black population constituted a well-organized, self-conscious subculture, with black pubs, black churches, and black social groups assisting the black poor and unemployed. Some black people attained wealth and position, the most famous being Francis Barber, manservant of the sixteenth-century British literary giant Samuel Johnson and heir to Johnson's papers and to most of his sizable fortune.


KITCHIN STUFF.

© The Trustees of The British Museum/Art Resource, NY

Below Stairs The prints and cartoons of Thomas Rowlandson (1756–1827) testify to the sizable numbers of blacks in eighteenth-century London, where they worked in naval and military service as well as domestic service. Here the household cook, maid, and footman relax before the kitchen fire. Interracial marriages were not uncommon.

In 1658 the Dutch East India Company began to allow the importation of slaves into the Cape Colony, which the company had founded on the southern tip of Africa at the Cape of Good Hope in 1652. Over the next century and a half about 75 percent of the slaves brought into the colony came from Dutch East India Company colonies in India and Southeast Asia or from Madagascar; the remaining 25 percent came from Africa. Most worked long and hard as field hands and at any other menial or manual forms of labor needed by their European masters. The Dutch East India Company was the single largest slave owner in the Cape Colony, employing its slaves on public works and company farms, but by 1780 half of all white men at the Cape had at least one slave. Slave ownership fostered a strong sense of racial and economic solidarity in the white master class.



Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Cape Colony, ca. 1750

Although in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Holland enjoyed a Europe-wide reputation for religious tolerance and intellectual freedom, in the Cape Colony the Dutch used a strict racial hierarchy and heavy-handed paternalism to maintain control over enslaved native and foreign-born peoples. In Muslim society the offspring of a free man and an enslaved woman were free, but in southern Africa such children remained enslaved. Because enslaved males greatly outnumbered enslaved females in the Cape Colony, marriage and family life were almost nonexistent for slaves. Because there were few occupations requiring special skills, those enslaved in the colony lacked opportunities to earn manumission, or freedom. And in contrast with North and South America and with Muslim societies, in the Cape Colony only a very small number of those enslaved won manumission; most of these were women.[14]

The slave trade expanded greatly in East Africa's savanna and Horn regions in the late eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century. Why this increased demand? Merchants and planters wanted slaves to work the sugar plantations on the Mascarene Islands, located east of Madagascar; the clove plantations on Zanzibar and Pemba; and the food plantations along the Kenyan coast. The eastern coast also exported enslaved people to the Americas, particularly to Brazil. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, precisely when the slave trade to North America and the Caribbean declined, the Arabian and Asian markets expanded.

The Transatlantic Slave Trade

Although the trade in African people was a worldwide phenomenon, the transatlantic slave trade involved the largest number of enslaved Africans. This forced migration of millions of human beings, extending from the early sixteenth to the late nineteenth centuries, represents one of the most inhumane, unjust, and shameful tragedies in human history. It also immediately provokes a troubling question: why, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, did enslavement in the Americas become almost exclusively African?

European settlers first enslaved indigenous peoples, the Amerindians, to work on the sugar plantations in the New World (see “Sugar and Early Transatlantic Slavery” in Chapter 16). When they proved ill suited to the harsh rigors of sugar production, the Spaniards brought in Africans.

One scholar has argued that a pan-European insider-outsider ideology prevailed across Europe. This cultural attitude permitted the enslavement of outsiders but made the enslavement of white Europeans taboo. Europeans could not bear the sight of other Europeans doing plantation slave labor. According to this theory, a similar pan-African ideology did not exist, as Africans had no problem with selling Africans to Europeans.[15] Several facts argue against the validity of this theory. English landlords exploited their Irish peasants with merciless severity, French aristocrats often looked on their peasantry with cold contempt, and Russian boyars treated their serfs with casual indifference and harsh brutality. These and other possible examples contradict the existence of a pan-European ideology or culture that opposed the enslavement of white Europeans. Moreover, the flow of white enslaved Slavic peoples from the Balkans into the eastern Mediterranean continued unabated during the same period.

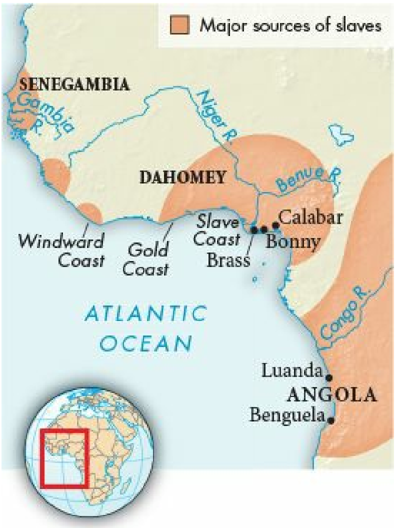
Another theory holds that in the Muslim and Arab worlds by the tenth century, an association had developed between blackness and menial slavery. The Arab word *abd*, or “black,” had become synonymous with *slave*. Although the great majority of enslaved persons in the Islamic world were white, a racial element existed in Muslim perceptions: not all slaves were black, but blacks were identified with slavery. In Europe, after the arrival of tens of thousands of sub-Saharan Africans in the Iberian Peninsula during the fifteenth century, Christian Europeans also began to make a strong association between slavery and black Africans. Therefore, Africans seemed the “logical” solution to the labor shortage in the Americas.[16]

Another important question relating to the African slave trade is this: why were African peoples enslaved in a period when serfdom was declining in western Europe, and when land was so widely available and much of the African continent had a labor shortage? The answer seems to lie in a technical problem related to African agriculture. Partly because of the tsetse fly, which causes sleeping sickness and other diseases, and partly because of easily leached lateritic soils (containing high concentrations of oxides), farmers had great difficulty using draft animals. Tropical soils responded poorly to plowing, and most work had to be done with the hoe. Productivity, therefore, was low. Thus, in precolonial Africa the individual's agricultural productivity was low, so his or her economic value to society was less than the economic value of a European peasant in Europe. Enslaved persons in the Americas were more productive than free producers in Africa. And European slave dealers were very willing to pay a price higher than the value of an African's productivity in Africa.

The incidence of disease in the Americas also helps explain African enslavement. Smallpox took a terrible toll on Native Americans, and between 30 and 50 percent of Europeans exposed to malaria succumbed to that sickness. Africans had developed some immunity to both diseases, and in the Americas they experienced the lowest mortality rate of any people, making them, ironically, the most suitable workers for the environment.

Portuguese colonization of Brazil began in the early 1530s, and in 1551 the Portuguese founded a sugar colony at Bahia. Between 1551 and 1575, before the North American slave traffic began, the Portuguese delivered more African slaves to Brazil than ever reached British North America (Figure 20.1). Portugal essentially monopolized the slave trade until 1600 and continued to play a significant role in the seventeenth century, though the trade was increasingly taken over by the Dutch, French, and English. From 1690 until the British House of Commons abolished the slave trade in 1807, England was the leading carrier of African slaves.

Population density and supply conditions along the West African coast and the sailing time to New World markets determined the sources of slaves. As the demand for slaves rose, slavers moved down the West African coast from Senegambia to the more densely populated hinterlands of the Bight of Benin and the Bight of Biafra. The abundant supply of Africans to enslave in Angola, the region south of the Congo River, and the quick passage from Angola to Brazil and the Caribbean established that region as the major coast for]Portuguese slavers.


▨ Major sources of slaves
SENEGAMBIA
Gambia R.
Niger R.
DAHOMEY
Benue R.
Calabar
Bonny
Slave Coast
Brass
Windward Coast
Gold Coast
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Congo R.
Luanda
ANGOLA
Benguela

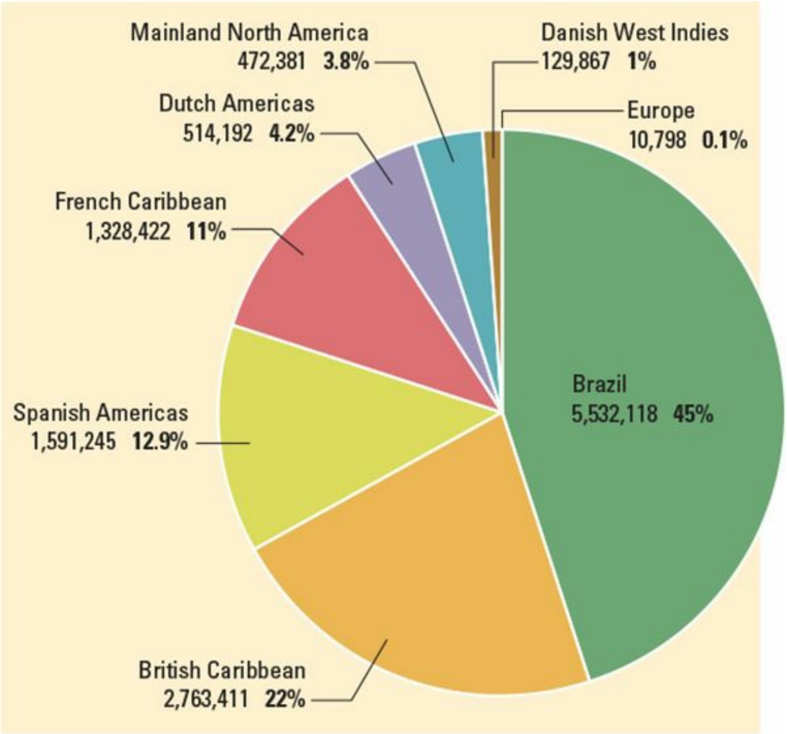
Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

The Slave Coast of West Africa

Transatlantic wind patterns partly determined exchange routes. Shippers naturally preferred the swiftest crossing — that is, from the African port nearest the latitude of the intended American destination. Thus Portuguese shippers carried their cargoes from Angola to Brazil, and British merchants sailed from the Bight of Benin to the Caribbean. The great majority of enslaved Africans were intended for the sugar and coffee plantations extending from the Caribbean islands to Brazil. Angola produced 26 percent of all African slaves and 70 percent of all Portuguese slaves. Trading networks extending deep into the interior culminated at two major ports on the Angolan coast, Luanda (loo-AHN-da) and Benguela. The Portuguese acquired a few slaves through warfare but secured the vast majority through trade with African dealers. Whites did not participate in the inland markets, which were run solely by Africans.

Almost all Portuguese shipments went to satisfy the virtually insatiable Brazilian demand for slaves. The so-called **Middle Passage** was the horrific voyage under appalling and often deadly conditions of enslaved Africans across the Atlantic to the Americas.

Middle Passage Enslaved Africans' horrific voyage across the Atlantic to the Americas, under appalling and often deadly conditions.

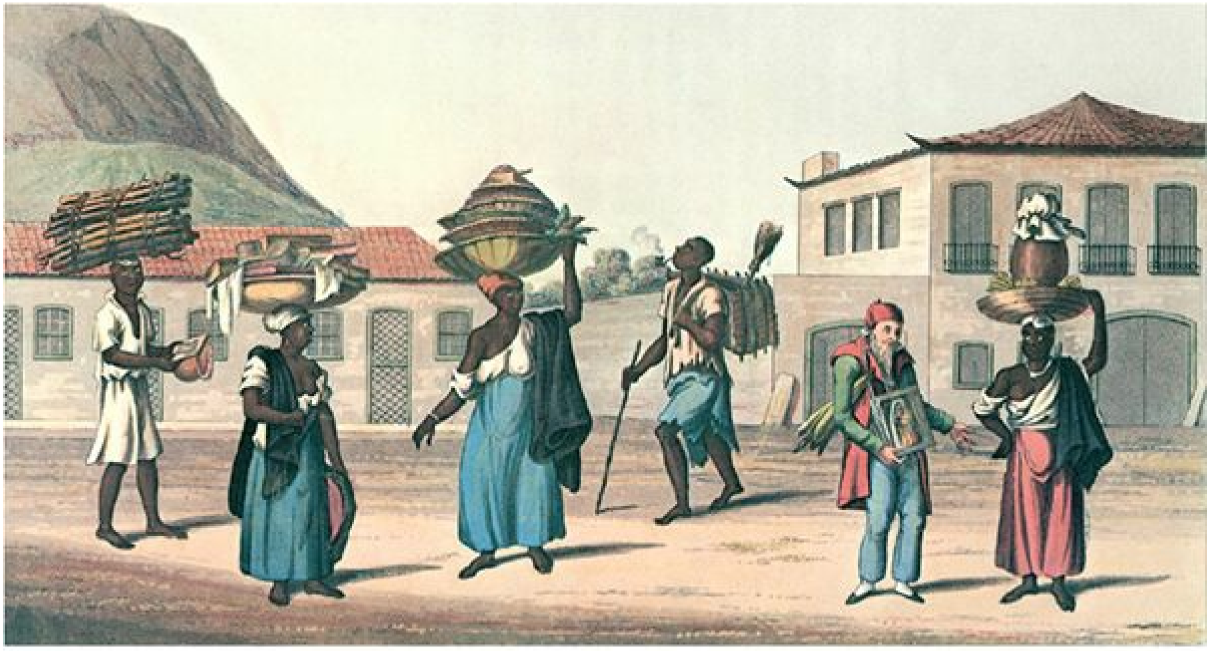


Source: Data from Emory University. "Assessing the Slave Trade: Estimates," in *Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database*. 2009. http://www.slavevoyages.org.

FIGURE 20.1 Estimated Slave Imports by Destination, 1501–1866 Brazil was the single largest importer of African slaves from 1501 to 1866. But when taken cumulatively, the British, French, Dutch, and Danish colonies of the Caribbean rivaled the much larger colony of Brazil for numbers of slaves imported from Africa.

Olaudah Equiano (see "Individuals in Society: Olaudah Equiano," page 582) describes the experience of his voyage as a captured slave from Benin to Barbados in the Caribbean:

> The stench of the hold while we were on the coast was so intolerably loathsome that it was dangerous to remain there for any time, and some of us had been permitted to stay on the deck for the fresh air; but now that the whole ship's cargo were confined together it became absolutely pestilential. The closeness of the place and the heat of the climate, added to the number in the ship, which was so crowded that each had scarcely room to turn himself, almost suffocated us. This produced copious perspirations, so that the air soon became unfit for respiration from a variety of loathsome smells, and brought on a sickness among the slaves, of which many died. . . . This wretched situation was again aggravated by the galling of the chains, now become insupportable, and the filth of the necessary tubs [of human waste], into which the children often fell and were almost suffocated. The shrieks of the women and the groans of the dying rendered the whole a scene of horror almost inconceivable.[17]



From *Drawings Taken by Lieutenant Henry Chamberlain, During the Years 1819 and 1820* [London: Columbian Press, 1822]/Visual Connection Archive

Peddlers in Rio de Janeiro A British army officer sketched this early-nineteenth-century scene of everyday life in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The ability to balance large burdens on the head meant that the person’s hands were free for other use. Note the player (on the left) of a musical instrument originating in the Congo. On the right a woman gives alms to the man with the holy image in return for being allowed to kiss the image as an act of devotion. We do not know whether the peddlers were free and self-employed or were selling for their owners. (From *Drawings Taken by Lieutenant Henry Chamberlain, During the Years 1819 and 1820* [London: Columbian Press, 1822]/Visual Connection Archive)

Although the demand was great, Portuguese merchants in Angola and Brazil sought to maintain only a steady trickle of slaves from the African interior to Luanda and across the ocean to Bahia and Rio de Janeiro: a flood of slaves would have depressed the American market. Planters and mine operators from the provinces traveled to Rio to buy slaves. Between 1795 and 1808 approximately 10,000 Angolans per year stood in the Rio slave market. In 1810 the figure rose to 18,000; in 1828 it reached 32,000.[18]

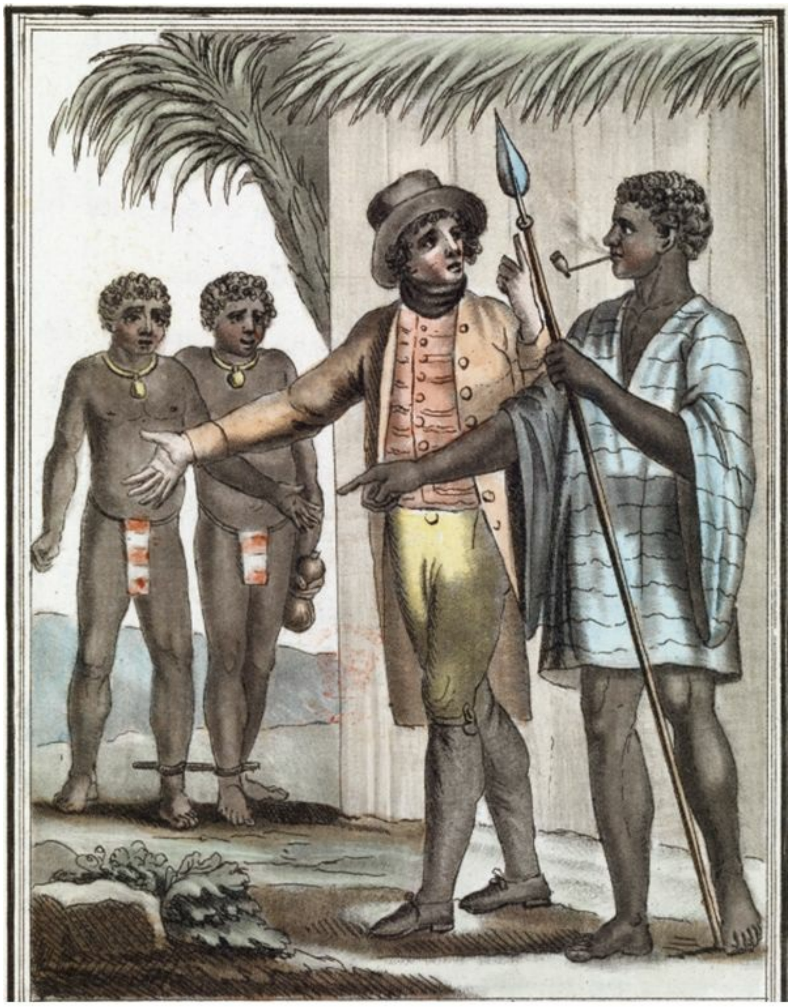
The English ports of London, Bristol, and particularly Liverpool dominated the British slave trade. In the eighteenth century Liverpool was the world’s greatest slave-trading port. In all three cities, small and cohesive merchant classes exercised great public influence. The cities also had huge stores of industrial products for export, growing shipping industries, and large amounts of ready cash for investment abroad.

Slaving ships from Bristol plied back and forth along the Gold Coast, the Bight of Benin, Bonny, and Calabar looking for African traders who were willing to supply them with slaves. Liverpool’s ships drew enslaved people from Gambia, the Windward Coast, and the Gold Coast. British ships carried textiles, gunpowder and flint, beer and spirits, British and Irish linens, and woolen cloth to Africa. A collection of goods was grouped together into what was called the **sorting** . An English sorting might include bolts of cloth, firearms, alcohol, tobacco, and hardware; this batch of goods was traded for an enslaved individual or a quantity of gold, ivory, or dyewood.[19]

sorting A collection or batch of British goods that would be traded for a slave or for a quantity of gold, ivory, or dyewood.

European traders had two systems for exchange. First, especially on the Gold Coast, they established factory-forts. (For more on factory-forts, see "European Rivalry for Trade in the Indian Ocean" in Chapter 17.) These fortified trading posts were expensive to maintain but proved useful for fending off European rivals. Second, they used **shore trading** , in which European ships sent boats ashore or invited African dealers to bring traders and enslaved Africans out to the ships. (See "Thinking Like a Historian: Perspectives on the African Slave Trade," page 586.)

shore trading A process for trading goods in which European ships sent boats ashore or invited African dealers to bring traders and slaves out to the ships.



The British Library, London, UK/akg-images

The African Slave Trade A European slave trader discusses the exchange of goods for slaves brought to him by the African on the right at Gorée Island off the coast of Senegal.

The shore method of buying slaves allowed the ship to move easily from market to market. The final prices of those enslaved depended on their ethnic origin, their availability when the shipper arrived, and their physical health when offered for sale in the West Indies or the North or South American colonies.

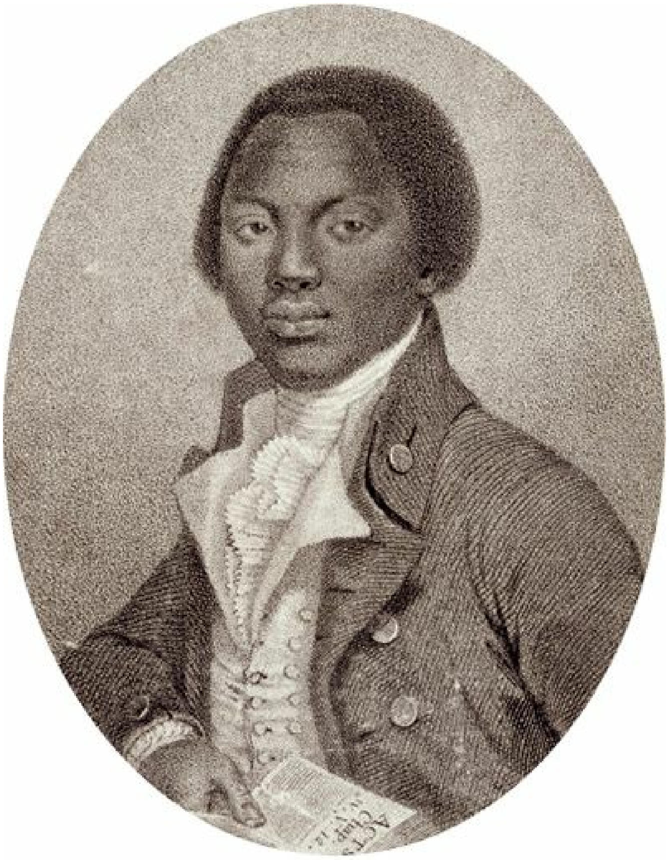
The supply of slaves for the foreign market was controlled by a small, wealthy African merchant class or by a state monopoly. By contemporary standards, slave raiding was a costly operation, and only black African entrepreneurs with sizable capital and labor could afford to finance and direct raiding drives.

The transatlantic slave trade that the British, as well as the Dutch, Portuguese, French, Americans, and others, participated in was part of a much larger trading network that is known as the triangle trade. European merchants sailed to Africa on the first leg of the voyage to trade European manufactured goods for enslaved Africans. When they had filled their ships’ holds with enslaved people, they headed across the Atlantic on the second leg of the voyage, the Middle Passage. When they reached the Americas, the merchants unloaded and sold their human cargoes and used the profits to purchase raw materials — such as cotton, sugar, and indigo — that they then transported back to Europe, completing the third leg of the commercial triangle.

Enslaved African people had an enormous impact on the economies and cultures of the Portuguese and Spanish colonies of South America and the Dutch, French, and British colonies of the Caribbean and North America. For example, on the sugar plantations of Mexico and the Caribbean; on the North American cotton, rice, and tobacco plantations; and in Peruvian and Mexican silver and gold mines, enslaved Africans not only worked in the mines and fields but also filled skilled, supervisory, and administrative positions and performed domestic service. In the United States enslaved Africans and their descendants influenced many facets of American culture, such as language, music (ragtime and jazz), dance, and diet. Even the U.S. White House and Capitol building, where Congress meets, were built partly by slave labor.[20] But the importance of the slave trade extended beyond the Atlantic world. Both the expansion of capitalism and the industrialization of Western societies; Egypt; and the nations of West, Central, and South Africa were related in one way or another to the traffic in African people.

INDIVIDUALS IN SOCIETY

Olaudah Equiano



British Library, London, UK/© British Library Board.
All Rights Reserved./The Bridgeman Art Library

In this 1789 portrait, Olaudah Equiano holds his Bible, open to the book of Acts.

MOST OF THE LIVES OF PEOPLE TRAFFICKED IN THE transatlantic slave trade remain hidden to us. Olaudah Equiano (1745–1797) is probably the best-known African slave. His autobiography, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano* (1789), represents a rare window into the slaves' obscurity.

In his autobiography, Equiano says that he was born in Benin (modern Nigeria) of Ibo ethnicity.* In his village all people shared in the cultivation of family lands. One day, when the adults were in the fields, strangers broke into the family compound and kidnapped the eleven-year-old Olaudah and his sister. As it took six months to walk to the coast, Olaudah's home must have been far inland. The sea, the slave ship, and the strange appearance of the white crew terrified the boy. Equiano's first master took him to Jamaica, to Virginia, and then to England, where he placed him in the custody of a kind family. They gave him the rudiments of an education, and he was baptized a Christian.

Equiano eventually went to sea as a captain's boy (servant), serving in the Royal Navy. Back on shore in Portsmouth, England, Equiano's master urged him to read, study, and learn basic mathematics. He later sold Equiano to a Philadelphia Quaker, Robert King, who was a rum and sugar merchant. King paid Equiano to work as a clerk in King's warehouse, as a longshoreman loading and unloading cargo ships, and at sea where he developed good navigational skills. Equiano became an entrepreneur himself, buying and selling small goods in the islands and mainland ports. Equiano had amassed enough money by 1766 to buy his freedom, and King signed the deed of manumission. Equiano was twenty-one years old; he had been a slave for ten years.

Equiano's *Narrative* reveals a complex and sophisticated man. He had a strong constitution and an equally strong character. His Christian faith undoubtedly sustained him. On his book's title page, he cited a verse from Isaiah (12:2): "The Lord Jehovah is my strength and my song."

Equiano loathed the brutal slavery he saw in the West Indies and the vicious racism he experienced in the North American colonies. He respected Robert King's fairness, admired British navigational and industrial technologies, and had many close white friends. He once described himself as "almost an Englishman." He was also involved in the black communities in the West Indies and in London.

Olaudah Equiano's *Narrative*, with its horrific descriptions of slavery, proved influential, and after its publication Equiano became active in the abolition movement. He spoke to large crowds in the industrial cities of Manchester and Birmingham in England, arguing that it was in the business interests of manufacturers to support abolition, as Africa was a huge, virtually untapped market for English cloth. Though he died in 1797, ten years before its passage, Equiano significantly advanced the abolitionist cause that led to the Slave Trade Act of 1807.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. How typical was Olaudah Equiano's life as a slave? How atypical?
2. Describe Equiano's culture and his sense of himself.

Source: *Equiano's Travels: The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano*, ed. Paul Edwards (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 1996).

---

[*] Recent scholarship has re-examined Equiano’s life and raised some questions about his African origins and his experience of the Middle Passage. To explore the debate over Equiano’s authorship of the African and Middle Passage portions of his autobiography, see Vincent Carretta, *Equiano, the African: Biography of a Self-Made Man* (New York: Penguin, 2007).

THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN

Perspectives on the African Slave Trade

Before enslaved Africans began their horrific Middle Passage across the Atlantic, they were captured by African slavers in the interior and then traded to European merchants and slave-ship captains along the coast. Some African kingdoms, such as Benin or initially the Kongo, made enormous profits from the slave trade, while other societies, such as the Ibo, were the unfortunate victims.

1 **Nzinga Mbemba (Affonso I), letter to the king of Portugal, July 6, 1526.** Portuguese priests brought Christianity to the Kongo Kingdom in 1491, and King Affonso I (r. 1509–1543) of the Kongo and the entire royal family converted. Nevertheless, slavery had existed in the Kongo before the Portuguese arrived. King Affonso I initially profited from the transatlantic slave trade, but by the 1520s the trade threatened the kingdom's survival. Here Affonso begs the Portuguese king, João VI, to halt the trade.

■ July 6, 1526
To Dom João, King our Brother

Sir, Your Highness should know how our Kingdom is being lost . . . caused by the excessive freedom given by your factors and officials to the men and merchants who are allowed to come to this Kingdom. . . .

And we cannot reckon how great the damage is, since the mentioned merchants are taking every day our natives, . . . they grab them and get them to be sold; and . . . our country is being completely depopulated. . . . We beg of Your Highness to help and assist us in this matter, . . . because it is *our will that in these Kingdoms there should not be any trade of slaves nor outlet for them*. . . . Otherwise we cannot remedy such an obvious damage. Pray Our Lord in His mercy to have Your Highness under His guard. . . . I kiss your hands many times.

At the town of Congo,
The King, Dom Affonso

2 **William Bosman, description of the coast of Guinea, 1705.** William Bosman, who arrived in West Africa in 1688, was employed by the Dutch East India Company at Elmina Castle (in modern Elmina, Ghana). He provides a detailed, first-person account of the African slave trade around the port city of Fida (modern Ouidah in Benin).

■ The first business of one of our Factors when he comes to Fida, is to satisfie the Customs of the King . . . , about 100 Pounds in Guinea value. . . . After which we have free License to Trade. . . .

Before we can deal with any Person, we are obliged to buy the King's whole stock of Slaves at a set price; which is commonly one third or one fourth higher than ordinary: After which we [may] deal with all his Subjects. . . . But if there happen to be no stock of Slaves, the Factor must [trust] the Inhabitants with Goods to the value of one or two hundred Slaves; which Commodities they send into the In-land Country, in order to buy with them Slaves at all Markets, and that sometimes two hundred Miles deep in the Country. . . . Most of the Slaves that are offered to us are Prisoners of War, which are sold by the Victors as their Booty.

The Invalides . . . being thrown out, . . . the remainder are numbered, and it is entered who delivered them. In the meanwhile, a burning Iron, with the Arms or Name of the Companies, lies in the Fire; with which ours are marked on the Breast . . . that we may distinguish them from the Slaves of the English, French, or others (which are also marked with their Mark).

3 **John Adams, description of the shore trade at Bonny, 1822.** John Adams, an English ship captain who made ten voyages to Africa between 1786 and 1800, describes the shore method of trading at Bonny.

■ This place is the wholesale market for slaves, as not fewer than 20,000 are annually sold here; 16,000 of whom are natives of one nation called Ibo. . . .

Fairs where the slaves of the Ibo nation are obtained are held every five or six weeks at several villages, which are situated on the banks of the rivers and creeks in the interior, and to which the African traders of Bonny resort to purchase them.

. . . The [African] traders augment the quantity of their merchandise by obtaining from their friends, the captains of the slave ships, a considerable quantity of goods on credit. . . . Evening is the period chosen for the time of departure, when they proceed in a body, accompanied by the noise of drums, horns, and gongs. At the expiration of the sixth day, they generally return, bringing with them 1,500 or 2,000 slaves, who are sold to Europeans the evening after their arrival, and taken on board the ships.

4 **Portuguese doctor, report on the slave trade in Luanda, 1793.** An anonymous Portuguese doctor offers a detailed account of the conditions of enslaved Africans in Luanda. Be sure to note how the enslaved peoples are clearly considered, and treated, as chattel.

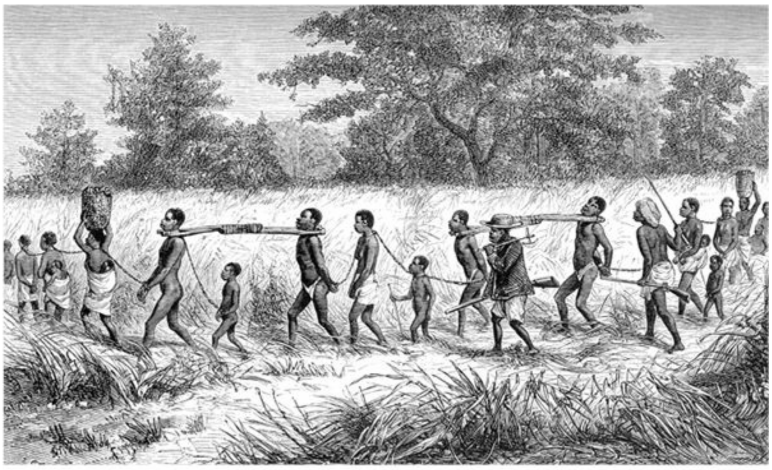
■ The dwelling place of the slave is simply the dirt floor of the compound, and he remains there exposed to harsh conditions and bad weather, and at night there are only a lean-to and some sheds . . . , which they are herded into like cattle.

Their food continues scarce as before, . . . limited at times to badly cooked beans, at other times to corn. . . . And when they reach a port . . . they are branded on the right breast with the coat of arms of the king and nation, of whom they have become vassals. . . . This mark is made with a hot silver instrument in the act of paying the king’s duties, and this brand mark is called a *carimbo*. . . .

In this miserable and deprived condition the terrified slaves remain for weeks and months, and the great number of them who die is unspeakable. With some ten or twelve thousand arriving at Luanda each year, it often happens that only six or seven thousand are finally transported to Brazil.

Gang of captives met at Mbame’s on their way to Tette. This engraving is based on

5 a sketch made by the Scottish missionary David Livingstone, who observed these enslaved African men, women, and children. Captured in the interior, the slaves were passing through the village of an African chief, Mbame, on their way to Tete, in modern Mozambique. Their African captors carry guns obtained from Europeans in the slave trade. Livingstone included the image in his account of his travels in central east Africa, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi . . . 1858–1864*. The engraving was published in 1865–1866 in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*.



Armory of the Kremlin, Moscow, Russia/Scala/Art Resource, NY

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. According to King Affonso's letter in Source 1, how were Portuguese merchants and foreign goods weakening his control over his people and depopulating his country?
2. In Sources 2 and 3, William Bosman and John Adams describe some of the rules and procedures followed by Africans and Europeans while engaging in the slave trade. What were some of these, and how did they advantage one side or the other, or both?
3. According to Adams's account in Source 3, how did the European ship captains and the African traders work together to obtain slaves?
4. Based on these sources, what assumptions can you make about how Africans viewed the slave trade?
5. In the image in Source 5, how do the African traders ensure that their captives, especially the men, will not rebel or run away?

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

Using the sources above, along with what you have learned in class and in this chapter, write a short essay about the nature of the slave trade along the African coast. How did it operate, and what were the different roles that Europeans and Africans played in it?

Sources: (1) Basil Davidson, ed. *The African Past: Chronicles from Antiquity to Modern Times* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1964), pp. 191–192; Copyright © 1964 by Basil Davidson. Reprinted by permission of Curtis Brown, Ltd.; (2) William Bosman, *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea, Divided into the Gold, the Slave, and the Ivory Coasts* (London: J. Knapton, 1705), pp. 363–365; (3) John Adams, *Sketches Taken During Ten Voyages to Africa Between the Years 1786 and 1800* (London: Hurst, Robinson, and Co., 1822), pp. 38–39; (4) R. E. Conrad, *Children of God's Fire: A Documentary History of Black Slavery in Brazil* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1983), pp. 20–23.

Impact on African Societies

What economic impact did European trade have on African societies? Africans possessed technology well suited to their environment. Over the centuries they had cultivated a wide variety of plant foods; developed plant and animal husbandry techniques; and mined, smelted, and otherwise worked a great variety of metals. Apart from a handful of items, most notably firearms, American tobacco and rum, and Portuguese brandy, European goods presented no novelty to Africans, but were desirable because of their low prices. Africans exchanged slaves, ivory, gold, pepper, and animal skins for those goods. African states eager to expand or to control commerce bought European firearms, although the difficulty of maintaining guns often gave gun owners only marginal superiority over skilled bowmen.[21]

© akg-images/The Image Works

Sapi-Portuguese Saltcellar

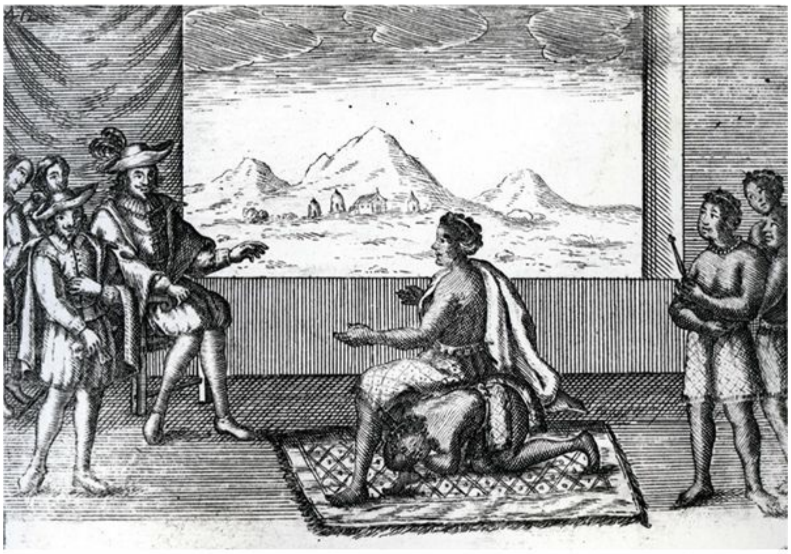
Contact with the Sapi people of present-day Sierra Leone in West Africa led sixteenth-century Portuguese traders to commission this ivory saltcellar, for which they brought Portuguese designs. But the object’s basic features — a spherical container and separate lid on a flat base, with men and/or women supporting, or serving as, beams below — are distinctly African. Here a Portuguese caravel sits on top with a man in the crow’s nest. Four men stand below: two finely carved, regally dressed, and fully armed noblemen facing forward and two attendants in profile.

The African merchants who controlled the production of exports gained the most from foreign trade. The king of Dahomey (duh-HO-mee) (modern-day Benin in West Africa), for example, had a gross income in 1750 of £250,000 (almost U.S. $33 million today) from the overseas export of his fellow Africans. A portion of his profit was spent on goods that improved his people’s living standard. Slave-trading entrepôts, which provided opportunities for traders and for farmers who supplied foodstuffs to towns, caravans, and slave ships, prospered. But such economic returns did not spread very far.[22] International trade did not lead to Africa’s economic development. Africa experienced neither technological growth nor the gradual spread of economic benefits in early modern times.

As in the Islamic world, women in sub-Saharan Africa also engaged in the slave trade. In Guinea these women slave merchants and traders were known as *nhara*. They acquired considerable riches, often by marrying the Portuguese merchants and serving as go-betweens for these outsiders who were not familiar with the customs and languages of the African coast. One of them, Mae Aurélia Correia (1810?–1875?), led a life famous in the upper Guinea coastal region for its wealth and elegance. Between the 1820s and 1840s she operated her own trading vessels and is said to have owned several hundred slaves. Some of them she hired out as skilled artisans and sailors. She and her sister (or aunt) Julia amassed a fortune in gold, silver jewelry, and expensive cloth while living in European-style homes. Julia and her husband, a trader from the Cape Verde Islands, also owned their own slave estates where they produced peanuts.

The intermarriage of French traders and Wolof women in Senegambia created a métis, or mulatto, class. In the emerging urban centers at Saint-Louis, members of this small class adopted the French language, the Roman Catholic faith, and a French manner of life, and they exercised considerable political and economic power. However, European cultural influences did not penetrate West African society beyond the seacoast.

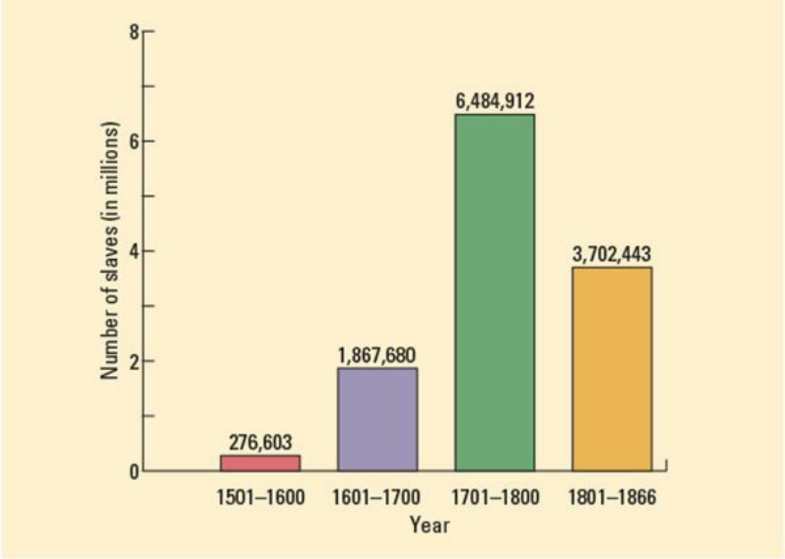
The political consequences of the slave trade varied from place to place. The trade enhanced the power and wealth of some kings and warlords in the short run but promoted conditions of instability and collapse over the long run. In the Kongo kingdom the perpetual Portuguese search for Africans to enslave undermined the monarchy, destroyed political unity, and led to constant disorder and warfare; power passed to the village chiefs. Likewise in Angola, the slave trade decimated and scattered the population and destroyed the local economy. By contrast, the military kingdom of Dahomey, which entered into the slave trade in the eighteenth century and made it a royal monopoly, prospered enormously. Dahomey’s economic strength rested on the slave trade. The royal army raided deep into the interior, and in the late eighteenth century Dahomey became one of the major West African sources of slaves. When slaving expeditions failed to yield sizable catches and when European demand declined, the resulting depression in the Dahomean economy caused serious political unrest. Iboland, inland from the Niger Delta, from whose great port cities of Bonny and Brass the British drained tens of thousands of enslaved Africans, experienced minimal political effects. A high birthrate kept pace with the incursions of the slave trade, and Ibo societies remained demographically and economically strong.



Private Collection/Bridgeman Images

Queen Nzinga of Ndongo and Matamba Queen Ana Nzinga (ca. 1583–1663) ruled the Ndongo and Matamba kingdoms of the Mbundu people in modern-day Angola. Here she meets with the Portuguese governor at his offices in Luanda in 1622. Tradition says that the governor offered her only a floor mat to sit on, which would have placed her in a subordinate position to him, so she ordered one of her servants down onto the floor so she could sit on his back. She is recognized as a brilliant military strategist who personally led her troops into battle against the Portuguese.

What demographic impact did the slave trade have on Africa? Between approximately 1501 and 1866 more than 12 million Africans were forcibly exported to the Americas, 6 million were traded to Asia, and 8 million were retained as slaves within Africa. Figure 20.2 shows the estimated number of slaves shipped to the Americas in the transatlantic slave trade. Export figures do not include the approximately 10 to 15 percent who died during procurement or in transit.



Source: Data from Emory University. "Assessing the Slave Trade: Estimates," in *Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database*. 2009. http://www.slavevoyages.org.

FIGURE 20.2 The Transatlantic Slave Trade, 1501–1866 The volume of slaves involved in the transatlantic slave trade peaked during the eighteenth century. These numbers show the slaves who embarked from Africa and do not reflect the 10 to 15 percent of enslaved Africans who died in transit.

The early modern slave trade involved a worldwide network of relationships among markets in the Middle East, Africa, Asia, Europe, and the Americas. But Africa was the crucible of the trade. There is no small irony in the fact that Africa, which of all the continents was most desperately in need of population because of its near total dependence on labor-intensive agriculture and pastoralism, lost so many millions to the trade. Although the British Parliament abolished the slave trade in 1807 and traffic in Africans to Brazil and Cuba gradually declined, within Africa the trade continued at the levels of the peak years of the transatlantic trade, 1780–1820. In the later nineteenth century developing African industries, using slave labor, produced a variety of products for domestic consumption and export. Again, there is irony in the fact that in the eighteenth century European demand for slaves expanded the trade (and wars) within Africa, yet in the nineteenth century European imperialists defended territorial aggrandizement by arguing that they were "civilizing" Africans by abolishing slavery. But after 1880 European businessmen (and African governments) did not push abolition; they wanted cheap labor.

Markets in the Americas generally wanted young male slaves. Asian and African markets preferred young females. Women were sought for their reproductive value, as sex objects, and because their economic productivity was not threatened by the possibility of physical rebellion, as might be the case with young men. Consequently, two-thirds of those exported to the Americas were male, one-third female. As a result, the population on Africa's western coast became predominantly female; the population in the East African savanna and Horn regions was predominantly male. The slave trade therefore had significant consequences for the institutions of marriage, the local trade in enslaved people (as these local populations became skewed with too many males or too many females), and the sexual division of labor. Although Africa's overall population may have shown modest growth from roughly 1650 to 1900, that growth was offset by declines in the Horn and on the eastern and western coasts. While Europe and Asia experienced considerable demographic and economic expansion in the eighteenth century, Africa suffered a decline.[23]

The political and economic consequences of the African slave trade are easier to measure than the human toll taken on individuals and societies. While we have personal accounts from many slaves, ships' captains and crews, slave masters, and others of the horrors of the slave-trading ports along Africa's coasts, the brutality of the Middle Passage, and the inhuman cruelty enslaved Africans endured once they reached the Americas, we know much less about the beginning of the slave's journey in Africa. Africans themselves carried out much of the "man stealing," the term used by Africans to describe capturing enslaved men, women, and children and marching them to the coast, where they were traded to Arabs, Europeans, or others. Therefore, we have few written firsthand accounts of the pain and suffering these violent raids inflicted, either on the person being enslaved or on the families and societies they left behind.

Chapter Summary

In the early modern world, West African kingdoms and stateless societies existed side by side. Both had predominantly agricultural economies. Stateless societies revolved around a single village or group of villages without a central capital or ruler. Kings ruled over defined areas through bureaucratic hierarchies. The Sudanic empires controlled the north-south trans-Saharan trade in gold, salt, and other items. Led by predominantly Muslim rulers, these kingdoms belonged to a wider Islamic world, allowing them access to vast trade networks and some of the most advanced scholarship in the world. Still, Muslim culture affected primarily the royal and elite classes, seldom reaching the masses.

Europeans believed a wealthy (mythical) Christian monarch named Prester John ruled the Christian kingdom of Ethiopia. This fable attracted Europeans to Ethiopia, and partly explains why the Portuguese helped the Ethiopians fight off Muslim incursions. Jesuit missionaries tried to convert Ethiopians to Roman Catholicism but were fiercely resisted and expelled in 1633.

Swahili city-states on Africa's southeastern coast possessed a Muslim and mercantile culture. The Swahili acted as middlemen in the East African–Indian Ocean trade network, which in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries Portugal sought to conquer and control. Swahili rulers who refused to form trading alliances with the Portuguese were attacked. The Portuguese presence caused the economic decline and death of many Swahili cities.

Slavery existed across Africa before Europeans arrived. Enslaved people were treated relatively benignly in some societies but elsewhere as chattel possessions, suffering harsh and brutal treatment. European involvement in the slave trade began around 1550, when the Portuguese purchased Africans to work in Brazil. The Dutch East India Company used enslaved Africans and southeast Asians in their Cape Colony. African entrepreneurs and merchants partnered in the trade, capturing people in the interior and exchanging them for firearms, liquor, and other goods with European slave ships. Though some kingdoms experienced a temporary rise of wealth and power, over time the slave trade was largely destabilizing. The individual suffering and social disruption in Africa caused by the enslavement of millions of Africans is impossible to estimate.

CONNECTIONS

During the period from 1400 to 1800 many parts of Africa experienced a profound transition with the arrival of Europeans all along Africa's coasts. Ancient trade routes, such as those across the Sahara Desert or up and down the East African coast, were disrupted. In West Africa trade routes that had been purely internal now connected with global trade networks at European coastal trading posts. Along Africa's east coast the Portuguese attacked Swahili city-states in their effort to take control of the Indian Ocean trade nexus.

The most momentous consequence of the European presence along Africa's coast, however, was the introduction of the transatlantic slave trade. For more than three centuries Europeans, with the aid of African slave traders, enslaved millions of African men and women. Although many parts of Africa were untouched by the transatlantic slave trade, at least directly, areas where Africans were enslaved experienced serious declines in agricultural production, little progress in technological development, and significant increases in violence.

As we saw in Chapter 17 and will see in Chapter 21, early European commercial contacts with the empires of the Middle East and of South and East Asia were similar in many ways to those with Africa. Initially, the Portuguese, and then the English, Dutch, and French, did little more than establish trading posts at port cities and had to depend on the local people to bring them trade goods from the interior. Tropical diseases, particularly in India and Southeast Asia, took heavy death tolls on the Europeans, as they did in tropical Africa. What is more, while it was possible for the Portuguese to attack and conquer the individual Swahili city-states, Middle Eastern and Asian empires — such as the Ottomans in Turkey, the Safavids in Persia, the Mughals in India, and the Ming and Qing Dynasties in China — were, like the West African kingdoms, economically and militarily powerful enough to dictate terms of trade with the Europeans.

Resistance to enslavement took many forms on both sides of the Atlantic. In Haiti, as discussed in Chapter 22, resistance led to revolution and independence, marking the first successful uprising of non-Europeans against a colonial power. At the end of the nineteenth century, as described in Chapter 25, Europeans used the ongoing Arab-Swahili slave raids from Africa's eastern coast far into the interior as an excuse to invade and eventually colonize much of central and eastern Africa. The racial discrimination that accompanied colonial rule in Africa set the stage for a struggle for equality that led to eventual independence after World War II.

CHAPTER 20 Review and Explore

Identify Key Terms

Identify and explain the significance of each item below.

chattel (p. 567)
age-grade systems (p. 567)
oba (p. 567)
Taghaza (p. 568)
Tuareg (p. 572)
cowrie shells (p. 572)
Coptic Christianity (p. 573)
Swahili (p. 574)
Middle Passage (p. 581)
sorting (p. 583)
shore trading (p. 583)

Review the Main Ideas

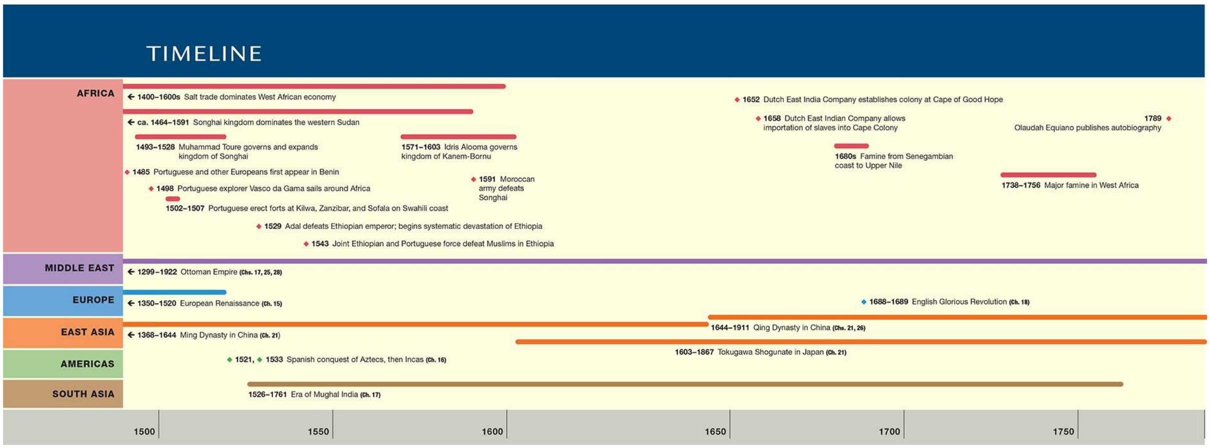
Answer the focus questions from each section of the chapter.

1. What types of economic, social, and political structures were found in the kingdoms and states along the west coast and in the Sudan? (p. 566)
2. How did the arrival of Europeans and other foreign cultures affect the East African coast, and how did Ethiopia and the Swahili city-states respond to these incursions? (p. 573)
3. What role did slavery play in African societies before the transatlantic slave trade began, and what was the effect of European involvement? (p. 577)

Make Comparisons and Connections

Analyze the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters.

1. In what ways did Islam enrich the Sudanic empires of West Africa?
2. Discuss the ways in which Africa came into greater contact with a larger world during the period discussed in this chapter.
3. How did the transatlantic slave trade affect West African society?



Suggested Resources

Books

Berger, Iris, E. Frances White, and Cathy Skidmore-Heiss. *Women in Sub-Saharan Africa: Restoring Women to History*. 1999. Necessary reading for a complete understanding of African history.

Cooper, Frederick. *Plantation Slavery on the East Coast of Africa*. 1997. Useful study of slavery as practiced in Africa.

Fredrickson, G. M. *Racism: A Short History*. 2002. Contains probably the best recent study of the connection between African slavery and Western racism.

Klein, Martin, and Claire C. Robertson. *Women and Slavery in Africa*. 1997. Written from the perspective that most slaves in Africa were women.

Law, Robin. *Oyo Empire, c. 1600–c. 1836: A West African Imperialism in the Era of the Atlantic Slave Trade*. 1977. Remains the definitive study of the powerful Oyo Empire in what is today southwestern Nigeria.

Lovejoy, Paul E. *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa*, 3d ed. 2012. Essential for an understanding of slavery in an African context.

Middleton, John. *The World of the Swahili: An African Mercantile Civilization*. 1992. Introduction to East Africa and the Horn region.

Northrup, David. *Africa's Discovery of Europe, 1450–1850*, 3d ed. 2013. Offers a unique perspective on African-European contact.

Oliver, Roland, and Anthony Atmore. *Medieval Africa, 1250–1800*. 2001. A history of premodern Africa by two renowned historians of the continent.

Pearson, Michael N. *Port Cities and Intruders: The Swahili Coast, India, and Portugal in the Early Modern Era*. 2002. Comprehensive introduction to the Swahili coast and the Indian Ocean trade network.

Powell, Eve Troutt, and John O. Hunwick. *The African Diaspora in the Mediterranean Lands of Islam*. 2002. Important study of Islam and the African slave trade.

Robinson, David. *Muslim Societies in African History*. 2004. Valuable introduction to Islam in Africa by a renowned Africanist.

Shell, Robert C.-H. *Children of Bondage: A Social History of the Slave Society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652–1838*. 1994. A massive study of Cape slave

society filled with much valuable statistical data.

Shillington, Kevin. *History of Africa*, 3d ed. 2012. A soundly researched, highly readable, and well-illustrated survey.

Thornton, John. *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400–1680*, 2d ed. 1998. Places African developments in an Atlantic context.

Documentary

Africa: A Voyage of Discovery with Basil Davidson (Home Vision, 1984). An eight-part series about African history and society. See particularly episode 2, “Mastering the Continent”; episode 3, “Caravans of Gold”; and episode 4, “Kings and Cities.” Run times are about fifty minutes for each program.

Feature Films

Amistad (Steven Spielberg, 1997). An award-winning film recounting the true story of a successful slave rebellion aboard *La Amistad*, a slave ship that was later seized by the United States, and the resulting legal battle over the status of the enslaved Africans that eventually reached the U.S. Supreme Court.

12 Years a Slave (Steve McQueen, 2013). Critically acclaimed, Academy Award–winning film adaptation of an 1853 slave narrative by Solomon Northup, a freeborn African American who was kidnapped and sold into slavery.

Websites

Internet African History Sourcebook. A valuable reference site for historical sources on African history. **sourcebooks.fordham.edu/halsall/africa/africasbook.asp**

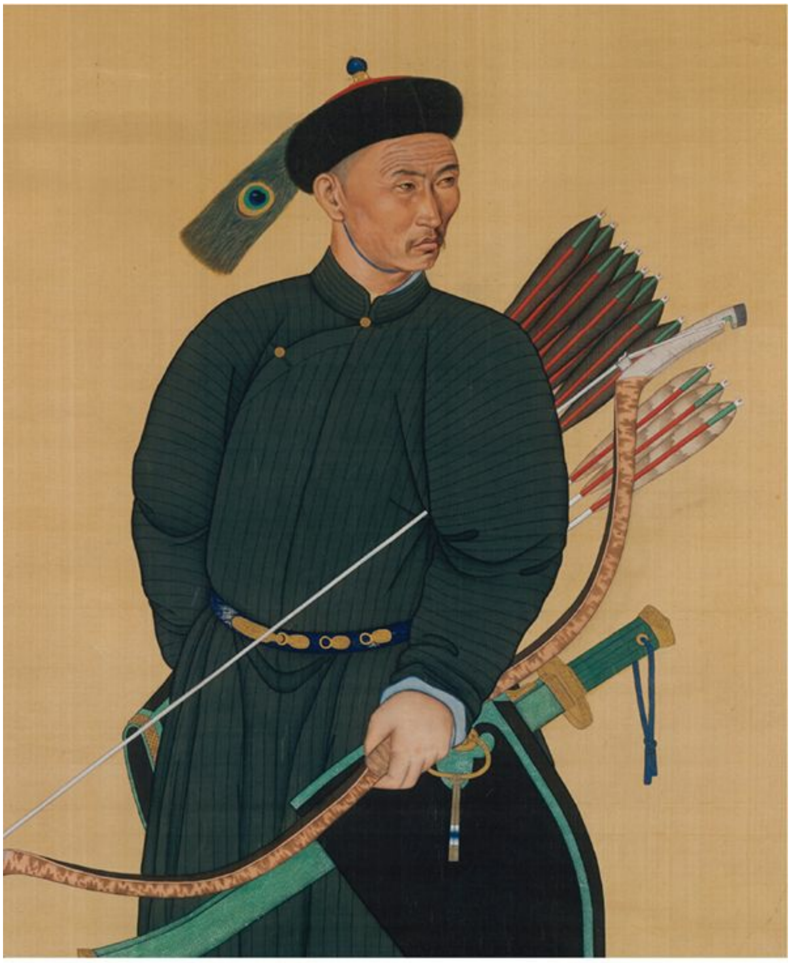
The Story of Africa. Some of the world’s top Africanists have contributed to this BBC website’s discussion of African history from an African perspective. **www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/africa/features/storyofafrica/**

Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database. The premier database site for information about the transatlantic slave trade, including information and maps about nearly 36,000 slaving voyages, estimates of the number of enslaved Africans, and the identity of 91,491 Africans found in the slave records. **www.slavevoyages.org**

21

Continuity and Change in East Asia

1400–1800



Detail, *Portrait of the Imperial Bodyguard Zhanyinbao*, China, 18th century, Qing Dynasty (1644–1911). Hanging scroll; ink and color on silk. Purchase, The Dillon Fund Gift, 1986 (1986.206)/The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York/Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Image source Art Resource, NY

The Manchu Imperial Bodyguard Zhanyinbao

Commissioned by the Qianlong emperor (r. 1736–

1796), this portrait of imperial bodyguard Zhanyinbao was part of a large set that hung in the hall where the emperor received foreign emissaries.

The four centuries from 1400 to 1800 were a time of growth and dynamic change throughout East Asia. Although both China and Japan suffered periods of war, each ended up with expanded territories. The age of exploration brought New World crops to the region, leading to increased agricultural output and population growth. It also brought new opportunities for foreign trade and new religions. Another link between these countries was the series of massive Japanese invasions of Korea in the late sixteenth century, which led to war between China and Japan.

In China the native Ming Dynasty (1368–1644) brought an end to Mongol rule. Under the Ming, China saw agricultural reconstruction, commercial expansion, and the rise of a vibrant urban culture. In the early seventeenth century, after the Ming Dynasty fell into disorder, the non-Chinese Manchus founded the Qing Dynasty (1644–1911) and added Taiwan, Mongolia, Tibet, and Xinjiang to their realm. The Qing Empire thus was comparable to the other multiethnic empires of the early modern world, such as the Ottoman, Russian, and Habsburg Empires. In China itself the eighteenth century was a time of peace and prosperity.

In the Japanese islands the fifteenth century saw the start of civil war that lasted a century. At the end of the sixteenth century the world seemed to have turned upside down when a commoner, Hideyoshi, became the supreme ruler. He did not succeed in passing on his power to an heir, however. Power was seized by Tokugawa Ieyasu. Under the Tokugawa Shogunate (1603–1867), Japan restricted contact with the outside world and social mobility among its own people. Yet Japan thrived, as agricultural productivity increased and a lively urban culture developed.

CHAPTER PREVIEW

MING CHINA, 1368–1644
What sort of state and society developed in China after the Mongols were ousted?

THE MANCHUS AND QING CHINA, TO 1800
Did the return of alien rule with the Manchus have any positive consequences for China?

JAPAN’S MIDDLE AGES, CA. 1400–1600
How did Japan change during this period of political instability?

THE TOKUGAWA SHOGUNATE, TO 1800

What was life like in Japan during the Tokugawa peace?

MARITIME TRADE, PIRACY, AND THE ENTRY OF EUROPE INTO THE ASIAN MARITIME SPHERE

How did the sea link the countries of East Asia, and what happened when Europeans entered this maritime sphere?

Ming China, 1368–1644

What sort of state and society developed in China after the Mongols were ousted?

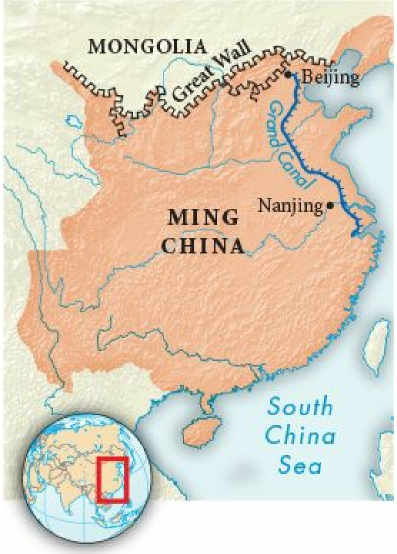
The founding of the Ming Dynasty ushered in an era of peace and prosperity. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, however, the Ming government was beset by fiscal, military, and political problems.

The Rise of Zhu Yuanzhang and the Founding of the Ming Dynasty

The founder of the **Ming Dynasty**, Zhu Yuanzhang (JOO yoowan-JAHNG) (1328–1398), began life in poverty during the last decades of the Mongol Yuan Dynasty. His home region was hit by drought and then plague in the 1340s, and when he was only sixteen years old, his father, oldest brother, and that brother's wife all died, leaving two penniless boys with three bodies to bury. With no relatives to turn to, Zhu Yuanzhang asked a monastery to accept him as a novice. The monastery itself was short of funds, and the monks soon sent Zhu out to beg for food. For three or four years he wandered through central China. Only after he returned to the monastery did he learn to read.

Ming Dynasty The Chinese dynasty in power from 1368 to 1644; it marked a period of vibrant urban culture.

A few years later, in 1351, members of a religious sect known as the Red Turbans rose in rebellion against the government. Red Turban teachings drew on Manichaean ideas about the incompatibility of the forces of good and evil as well as on the cult of the Maitreya Buddha, who according to believers would in the future bring his paradise to earth to relieve human suffering. When the temple where Zhu Yuanzhang was living was burned down in the fighting, Zhu joined the rebels and rose rapidly.



Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Ming China, ca. 1600

Zhu and his followers developed into brilliant generals, and gradually they defeated one rival after another. In 1356 Zhu took the city of Nanjing and made it his base. In 1368 his armies took Beijing, which the Mongol emperor and his closest followers had vacated just days before. Then forty years old, Zhu Yuanzhang declared himself emperor of the Ming (Bright) Dynasty. As emperor, he is known as Taizu (TIGH-dzoo) or the Hongwu emperor.

Taizu started his reign wanting to help the poor. To lighten the weight of government taxes and compulsory labor, he ordered a full-scale registration of cultivated land and population so that these burdens could be assessed more fairly. He also tried persuasion. He issued instructions to be read aloud to villagers, telling them to be obedient to their parents, live in harmony with their neighbors, work contentedly at their occupations, and refrain from evil.

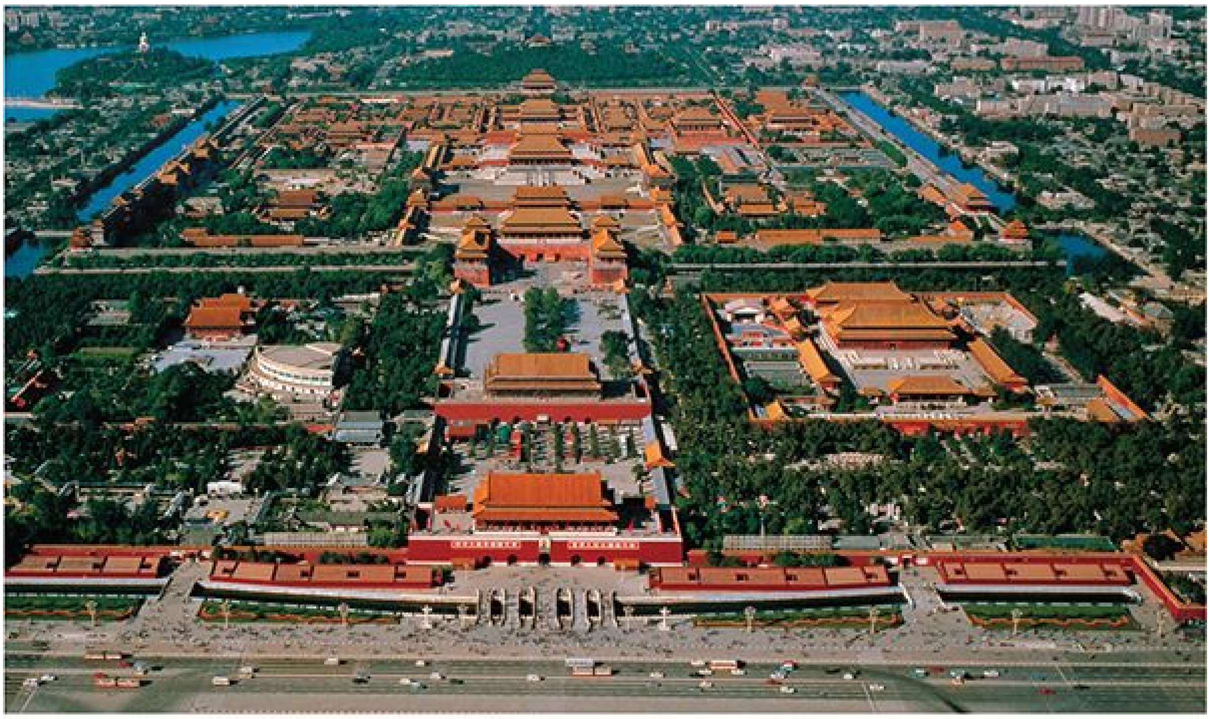
Although in many ways anti-Mongol, Taizu retained some Yuan practices. One was setting up provinces as the administrative layer between the central government and the prefectures (local governments a step above counties). Another was the hereditary service obligation for both artisan and military households.

Garrisons were concentrated along the northern border and near the capital at Nanjing. Each garrison was allocated a tract of land that the soldiers took turns cultivating to supply their own food. Although in theory this system should have provided the Ming with a large but inexpensive army, the reality was less satisfactory. Garrisons were rarely self-sufficient. Furthermore, men compelled to become soldiers did not necessarily make good fighting men, and desertion was difficult to prevent. Consequently, like earlier dynasties, the Ming turned to non-Chinese northerners for much of its armed forces.

Taizu had deeply ambivalent feelings about men of education and sometimes brutally humiliated them in open court. His behavior was so erratic that it is most likely that he suffered from some form of mental illness. When literary men began to avoid official life, Taizu made it illegal to turn down appointments or to resign from office. He began falling into rages that only the empress could stop, and after her death in 1382 no one could calm him. In 1376 Taizu had thousands of officials killed because they were found to have taken shortcuts in their handling of paperwork for the grain tax. In 1380 Taizu concluded that his chancellor was plotting to assassinate him, and thousands only remotely connected to the chancellor were executed. From then on, Taizu acted as his own chancellor, dealing directly with the heads of departments and ministries.

The next important emperor, called Chengzu or the Yongle emperor (r. 1403–1425), was also a military man. One of Taizu's younger sons, he took the throne by force from his nephew and often led troops into battle against the Mongols. Like his father, Chengzu was willing to use terror to keep government officials in line.

Early in his reign, Chengzu decided to move the capital from Nanjing to Beijing, which had been his own base as a prince and the capital during Mongol times. Constructed between 1407 and 1420, Beijing was a planned city. Like Chang'an in Sui and Tang times (581–907), it was arranged like a set of boxes within boxes and built on a north-south axis. The main outer walls were forty feet high and nearly fifteen miles around. Inside was the Imperial City, with government offices, and within that the palace itself, called the Forbidden City, with close to ten thousand rooms.



View Stock/age-fotostock

Forbidden City The palace complex in Beijing, commonly called the Forbidden City, was built in the early fifteenth century when the capital was moved from Nanjing to Beijing. Audience halls and other important state buildings are arranged on a north-south axis with huge courtyards between them, where officials would stand during ceremonies.

The areas surrounding Beijing were not nearly as agriculturally productive as those around Nanjing. To supply Beijing with grain, the Yuan Grand Canal connecting the city to the rice basket of the Yangzi River regions was broadened, deepened, and supplied with more locks and dams. The 15,000 boats and the 160,000 soldiers of the transport army who pulled loaded barges from the towpaths along the canal became the lifeline of the capital.

Problems with the Imperial Institution

Taizu had decreed that succession should go to the eldest son of the empress or to the son's eldest son if the son predeceased his father, the system generally followed by earlier dynasties. In Ming times, the flaws in this system became apparent as one mediocre, obtuse, or erratic emperor followed another.

Because Taizu had abolished the position of chancellor, emperors turned to secretaries and eunuchs to manage the paperwork. Eunuchs were essentially slaves who had been captured as boys and castrated. Society considered eunuchs the basest of servants, and Confucian scholars heaped scorn on them. Yet Ming emperors, like rulers in earlier dynasties, often preferred the always-compliant eunuchs to high-minded, moralizing civil service officials.

In Ming times, the eunuch establishment became huge. By the late fifteenth century the eunuch bureaucracy had grown as large as the civil service, with each having roughly twelve thousand positions. After 1500 the eunuch bureaucracy grew even more rapidly, and by the mid-sixteenth century seventy thousand eunuchs were in service throughout the country, with ten thousand in the capital. Tension between the two bureaucracies was high. In 1420 Chengzu set up a eunuch-run secret service to investigate cases of suspected corruption and sedition in the regular bureaucracy. Eunuch control over vital government processes became a severe problem.

In hope of persuading emperors to make reforms, many Ming officials risked their careers and lives by speaking out. To give an example, in 1519, when an emperor announced plans to make a tour of the southern provinces, over a hundred officials staged a protest by kneeling in front of the palace. The emperor ordered the officials to remain kneeling for three days, then had them flogged; eleven died. Rarely, however, did such acts move an emperor to change his mind.

Although the educated public complained about the performance of emperors, no one proposed or even imagined alternatives to imperial rule. High officials were forced to find ways to work around uncooperative emperors, but they were not able to put in place institutions that would limit the damage an emperor could do.

The Mongols and the Great Wall

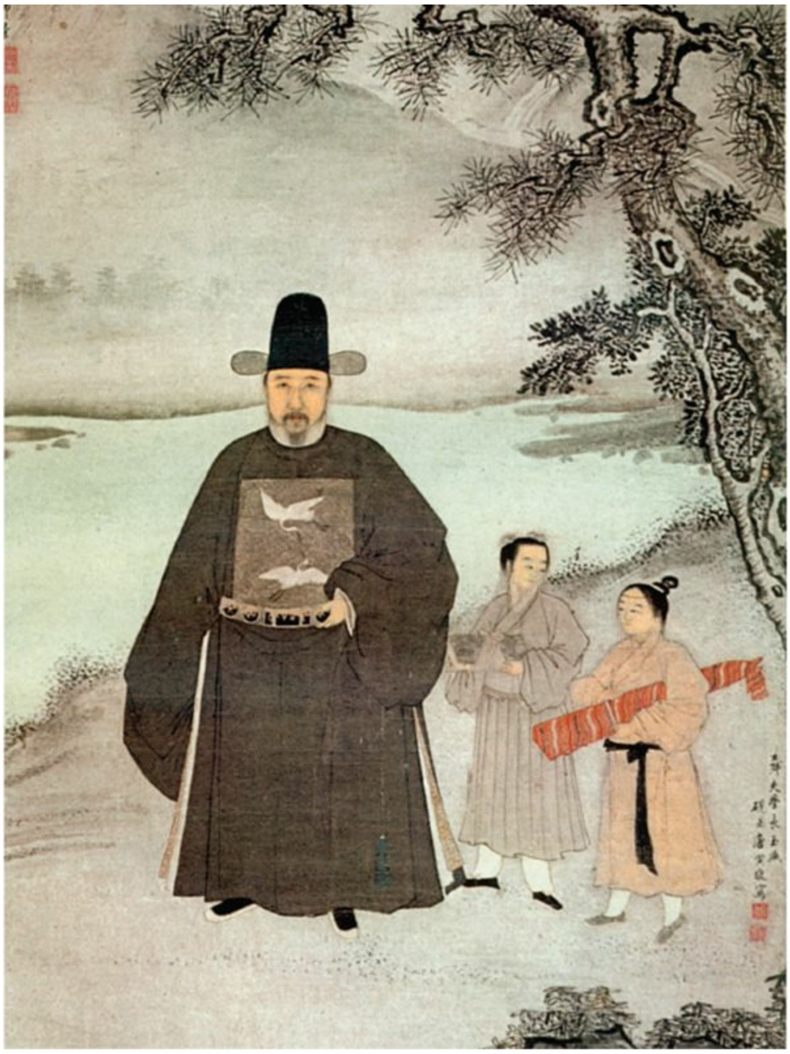
The early Ming emperors held Mongol fighting men in awe and feared they might form another great military machine of the sort Chinggis Khan (ca. 1162–1227) had put together two centuries earlier. Although in Ming times the Mongols were never united in a pan-Mongol federation, groups of Mongols could and did raid. Twice they threatened the dynasty: in 1449 the khan of the western Mongols captured the Chinese emperor, and in 1550 Beijing was surrounded by the forces of the khan of the Mongols in Inner Mongolia. Fearful of anything that might strengthen the Mongols, Ming officials were reluctant to grant any privileges to Mongol leaders, such as trading posts along the borders. Instead they wanted the different groups of Mongols to trade only through the formal tribute system. When trade was finally liberalized in 1570, friction was reduced.

Two important developments shaped Ming-Mongol relations: the construction of the Great Wall and closer relations between Mongolia and Tibet. The Great Wall, much of which survives today, was built as a compromise when Ming officials could agree on no other way to manage the Mongol threat. The wall extends about 1,500 miles from northeast of Beijing into Gansu province. In the eastern 500 miles, the wall averages about 35 feet high and 20 feet across, with lookout towers every half mile.

Whether the wall did much to protect Ming China from the Mongols is still debated. Perhaps of more significance was the spread of Tibetan Buddhism among the Mongols. Tibet in this period was dominated by the major Buddhist monasteries, which would turn to competing Mongol leaders when they needed help. In 1577 the third Dalai Lama accepted the invitation of Altan Khan to visit Mongolia, and the khan declared Tibetan Buddhism to be the official religion of all the Mongols. The Dalai Lama gave the khan the title “King of Religion,” and the khan swore that the Mongols would renounce blood sacrifice. When the third Dalai Lama’s reincarnation was found to be the great-grandson of Altan Khan, the ties between Tibet and Mongolia, not surprisingly, became even stronger. From the perspective of Ming China, the growing influence of Buddhism among the Mongols seemed a positive development, as Buddhist emphasis on nonviolence was expected to counter the Mongols’ love of war (though in fact the development of firearms was probably more crucial in the Mongols’ loss of military advantage over their neighbors).

The Examination Life

In sharp contrast to Europe in this era, Ming China had few social barriers. It had no hereditary aristocracy that could have limited the emperor’s absolute power. Although China had no titled aristocracy, it did have an elite whose status was based above all on government office acquired through education. Unlike in many European countries of the era, China’s merchants did not become a politically articulate class of the well-to-do. Instead the politically active class was that of the scholars who Confucianism taught should aid the ruler in running the state. Merchants tried to marry into the scholar class in order to rise in the world.



Visual Connection Archive

Portrait of a Scholar-Official The official Jiang Shunfu arranged to have his portrait painted wearing an official robe and hat and followed by two boy attendants, one holding a lute wrapped in cloth. During Ming and Qing times, the rank of an official was made visible by the badges he wore on his robes. The pair of cranes on Jiang's badge shows he held a first-rank post in the civil service hierarchy.

Thus, despite the harsh and arbitrary ways in which the Ming emperors treated their civil servants, educated men were eager to enter the government. Reversing the policies of the Mongol Yuan Dynasty, the Ming government recruited almost all its officials through **civil service examinations**. Candidates had to study the Confucian classics and the interpretations of them by the twelfth-century Neo-Confucian scholar Zhu Xi (joo shee) (1130–1200), whose teachings were declared orthodox. To become officials, candidates had to pass examinations at the prefectural, the provincial, and the capital levels. To keep the wealthiest areas from dominating the exams, quotas were established for the number of candidates that each province could send on to the capital.

civil service examinations A highly competitive series of written tests held at the prefecture, province, and capital levels in China to select men to become officials.

Of course, boys from well-to-do families had a significant advantage because their families could start their education with tutors at age four or five, though less costly schools were becoming increasingly available as well. Families that for generations had pursued other careers — for example, as merchants or physicians — had more opportunities than ever for their sons to become officials through the exams. (See “Individuals in Society: Tan Yunxian, Woman Doctor,” page 600.) Clans sometimes operated schools for their members. Most of those who attended school stayed only a few years, but students who seemed most promising moved on to advanced schools where they practiced essay writing and studied the essays of men who had succeeded in the exams.

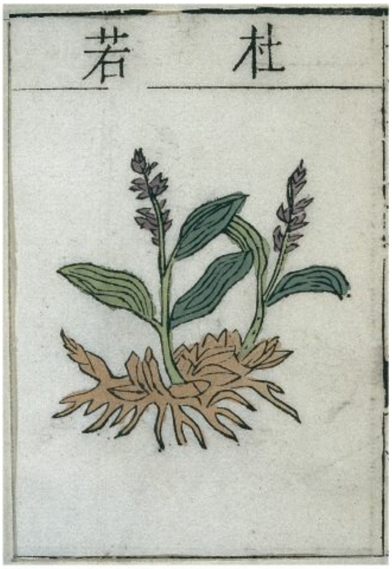
The examinations at the prefecture level lasted a day and drew hundreds if not thousands of candidates. The government compound would be taken over to give all candidates places to sit and write. The provincial and capital examinations were given in three sessions spread out over a week. In the first session, candidates wrote essays on passages from the classics. In the second and third sessions, candidates had to write essays on practical policy issues and on a passage from the *Classic of Filial Piety* (a brief text celebrating devotion to parents and other superiors). In addition, they had to show that they could draft state papers such as edicts, decrees, and judicial rulings. Reading the dynastic histories was a good way to prepare for policy questions and state paper exercises.

The provincial examinations were major local events. From five thousand to ten thousand candidates descended on the city and filled up its hostels. To prevent cheating, no written material could be taken into the cells, and candidates were searched before being admitted. Anyone caught wearing a cheat-sheet (an inner gown covered with the classics in minuscule script) was thrown out of the exam and banned from the next session as well. During the sessions candidates had time to write rough drafts of their essays, correct them, and then copy neat final versions. Throughout this time, tension was high.

After the papers were handed in, clerks recopied them and assigned them numbers to preserve anonymity. Proofreaders checked the copying before handing the papers to the assembled examiners, who divided them up to grade, which generally took about twenty days. Those 2 to 10 percent who passed could not spend long celebrating, however, because they had to begin preparing for the capital exams, less than a year away.

INDIVIDUALS IN SOCIETY

Tan Yunxian, Woman Doctor



Wellcome Library, London, UK

Tan Yunxian would have consulted traditional herbals, like this one, with sketches of plants of medicinal value and descriptions of their uses.

THE GRANDMOTHER OF TAN YUNXIAN (1461–1554) was the daughter of a physician, and her husband had married into her home to learn medicine himself. At least two of their sons — including Yunxian's father — passed the civil service examination and became officials, raising the social standing of the family considerably. The grandparents wanted to pass their medical knowledge down to someone, and because they found Yunxian very bright, they decided to teach it to her.

Tan Yunxian married and raised four children but also practiced medicine, confining her practice to women. At age fifty she wrote an autobiographical account, *Sayings of a Female Doctor*. In the preface she described how, under her grandmother's tutelage, she had first memorized the *Canon of Problems* and the *Canon of the Pulse*. Then when her grandmother had time, she asked her granddaughter to explain particular passages in these classic medical treatises.

Tan Yunxian began the practice of medicine by treating her own children, asking her grandmother to check her diagnoses. When her grandmother was old and ill, she gave Yunxian her notebook of prescriptions and her equipment for making medicines, telling her to study them carefully. Later, Yunxian herself became seriously ill and dreamed of her grandmother telling her on what page of which book to find the prescription that would cure her. When she recovered, she began her medical career in earnest.

Tan Yunxian's book records the cases of thirty-one patients she treated, most of them women with chronic complaints rather than critical illnesses. Many of the women had what the Chinese classed as women's complaints, such as menstrual irregularities, repeated miscarriages, barrenness, and postpartum fatigue. Some had ailments that men too could suffer, such as coughs, nausea, insomnia, diarrhea, rashes, and swellings. Like other literati physicians, Yunxian regularly prescribed herbal medications. She also practiced moxibustion, the technique of burning moxa (dried artemisia) at specified points on the body with the goal of stimulating the circulation of qi (life energy). Because the physician applying the moxa had to touch the patient, male physicians could not perform moxibustion on women.

Yunxian's patients included working women, and Yunxian seems to have thought that their problems often sprang from overwork. One woman came to her because she had had vaginal bleeding for three years. When questioned, the woman told Yunxian that she worked all day with her husband at their kiln making bricks and tiles. Yunxian's diagnosis was overwork, and she gave the woman pills to replenish her yin energies. A boatman's wife came to her complaining of numbness in her hands. When the woman told Yunxian that she worked in the wind and rain handling the boat, the doctor advised some time off. In another case Yunxian explained to a servant girl that she had gone back to work too soon after suffering a wind damage fever.

By contrast, when patients came from upper-class families, Tan Yunxian believed negative emotions were the source of their problems, particularly if a woman reported that her mother-in-law had scolded her or that her husband had recently brought a concubine home. Yunxian told two upper-class women who had miscarried that they lost their babies because they had hidden their anger, causing fire to turn inward and destabilize the fetus.

Tan Yunxian herself lived a long life, dying at age ninety-three.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Why do you think Tan Yunxian treated only women? Why might she

have been more effective with women patients than a male physician would have been?

2. What do you think of Yunxian’s diagnoses? Do you think she was able to help many of her patients?

Source: Based on Charlotte Furth, *A Flourishing Yin: Gender in China’s Medical History, 960–1665* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), pp. 285–295.

Everyday Life in Ming China

For civil servants and almost everyone else, everyday life in Ming China followed patterns established in earlier periods. The family remained central to most people's lives, and almost everyone married. Beyond the family, people's lives were shaped by the type of work they did and where they lived.

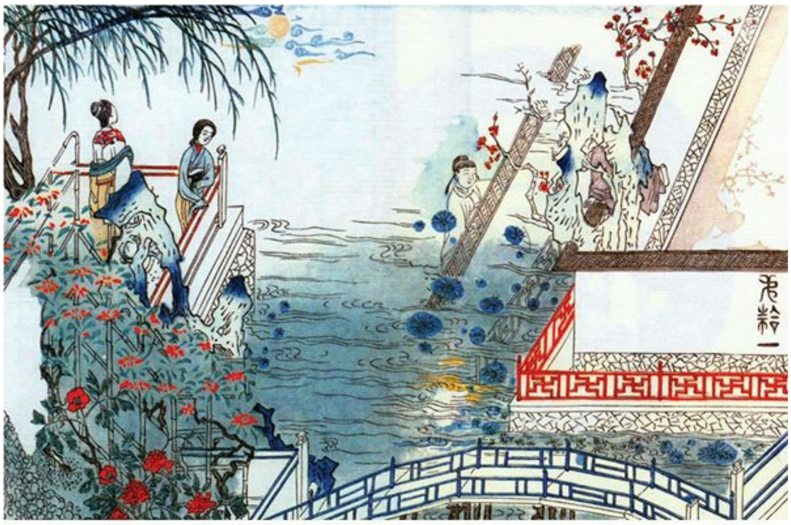
Large towns and cities proliferated in Ming times and became islands of sophistication in the vast sea of rural villages. In these urban areas small businesses manufactured textiles, paper, and luxury goods such as silks and porcelains. The southeast became a center for the production of cotton and silks; other areas specialized in the grain and salt trades and in silver.

Printing reached the urban middle classes by the late Ming period, when publishing houses were putting out large numbers of books aimed at general audiences. To make their books attractive in the marketplace, entrepreneurial book publishers commissioned artists to illustrate them. By the sixteenth century more and more books were being published in the vernacular language (the language people spoke), especially short stories, novels, and plays. Ming vernacular short stories depicted a world much like that of their readers, full of shop clerks and merchants, monks and prostitutes, students and matchmakers. (See "Global Viewpoints: Chinese and European Commentators on Urban Amusements," page 602.)

The full-length novel made its first appearance during the Ming period. The plots of the early novels were heavily indebted to story cycles developed by oral storytellers over the course of several centuries. Competing publishers brought out their own editions of these novels, sometimes adding new illustrations or commentaries.

The Chinese found recreation and relaxation in many ways besides reading. The affluent indulged in an alcoholic drink made from fermented and distilled rice, and once tobacco was introduced from the Americas, both men and women took up pipes. Plays were also very popular. Owners of troupes would purchase young children and train them to sing and perform. Jesuit missionary Matteo Ricci, who lived in China from 1582 to 1610, thought too many people were addicted to these performances:

> These groups of actors are employed at all imposing banquets, and when they are called they come prepared to enact any of the ordinary plays. The host at the banquet is usually presented with a volume of plays and he selects the one or several he may like. The guests, between eating and drinking, follow the plays with so much satisfaction that the banquet at times may last for ten hours.[1]



Pictures from History/CPA Media

Popular Romance Literature Women were among the most avid readers of the scripts for plays, especially romantic ones like *The Western Chamber,* a story of a young scholar who falls in love with a well-educated girl he encounters by chance. In this scene, the young woman looks up at the moon as her maid looks at its reflection in the pond. Meanwhile, her young lover scales the wall. This multicolor woodblock print, made in 1640, was one of twenty-one created to illustrate the play.

Rice supplied most of the calories of the population in central and south China. (In north China, wheat, made into steamed or baked bread or into noodles, served as the dietary staple.) Farmers began to stock the rice paddies with fish, which continuously fertilized the rice fields, destroyed malaria-bearing mosquitoes, and enriched the diet. Farmers also grew cotton, sugarcane, and indigo as commercial crops. New methods of crop rotation allowed for continuous cultivation and for more than one harvest per year from a single field.

The Ming rulers promoted the repopulation and colonization of war-devastated regions through reclamation of land and massive transfers of people. Immigrants to these areas received large plots and exemption from taxation for many years. Reforestation played a dramatic role in the agricultural revolution. In 1391 the Ming government ordered 50 million trees planted in the Nanjing area to produce lumber for the construction of a maritime fleet. In 1392 each family holding a land grant in Anhui province had to plant two hundred mulberry, jujube, and persimmon trees. In 1396 peasants in the present-day provinces of Hunan and Hubei in central China planted 84 million fruit trees. Historians have estimated that 1 billion trees were planted during Taizu’s reign.

Increased food production led to steady population growth and the multiplication of markets, towns, and small cities. Larger towns had permanent shops; smaller towns had periodic markets convening every five or ten days. They sold essential goods — such as pins, matches, oil for lamps, candles, paper, incense, and tobacco — to country people from the surrounding hamlets. Markets usually offered essential goods such as lamp oil and matches as well as the services of moneylenders, pawnbrokers, and craftsmen such as carpenters, barbers, joiners, and locksmiths.

GLOBAL VIEWPOINTS

Chinese and European Commentators on Urban Amusements

Zhang Dai (1597–1684?) lived the life of a well-to-do urban aesthete in Nanjing in the last decades of the Ming Dynasty, and then saw that life destroyed by the Manchu invasion. In later years, in much reduced circumstances, he wrote with nostalgia about the pleasures of his youth. His account of a popular storyteller can be compared to a Swiss visitor's account of the London theater scene in 1599.

Zhang Dai on a Nanjing Storyteller

■ Pockmarked Liu of Nanjing . . . is an excellent storyteller.

He tells one episode a day, and his fee is one ounce of silver. To engage him you have to make your booking, and forward his retainer, ten days in advance, and even then you may be out of luck. . . . I heard him tell the story of Wu Song killing the tiger on Jingyang Ridge. His version diverged greatly from the original text. He will describe things in the minutest particular, but his choice of what to put in and leave out is nice and neat, and he is never wordy. His bellow is like the boom of a mighty bell, and when he gets to some high point in the action he will let loose such a peal of thunder that the building will shake on its foundations. I remember that when Wu Song goes into the inn to get a drink and finds no one there to serve him, he suddenly gave such a roar as to set all the empty vessels humming and vibrating. To make dull patches come to life like this is typical of his passion for detail.

When he goes to perform in someone's house, he will not loosen his tongue until his hosts sit quietly, hold their breath, and give him their undivided attention. If he spots the servants whispering, or if his listeners yawn or show any signs of fatigue, he will come to an abrupt halt, and be impervious to persuasion to continue. He will often talk till past midnight, still keeping up an unhurried flow, while the servants wipe the tables, trim the lamp, and silently serve tea in cups of tasteful porcelain. His pacing and his inflexions, his articulation and his cadences, are exactly suited to the situation, and lay bare the very body and fibre of the matter. If one plucked all the other storytellers alive by the ear and made them listen to him, I do not doubt but they would be struck dumb with wonder and give up the ghost on the spot.

Thomas Platter on London Theater

■ On September 21st after lunch, about two o'clock, I and my party crossed the water, and there in the house with the thatched roof witnessed an excellent performance of the tragedy of the first Emperor Julius Caesar with a cast of some fifteen people; when the play was over, they danced very marvelously and gracefully together as is their wont, two dressed as men and two as women. . . . Thus daily at two in the afternoon, London has two, sometimes three plays running in different places, competing with each other, and those which play best obtain most spectators. The playhouses are so constructed that they play on a raised platform, so that everyone has a good view. There are different galleries and places, however, where the seating is better and more comfortable and therefore more expensive. For whoever cares to stand below only pays one English penny, but if he wishes to sit he enters by another door and pays another penny, while if he desires to sit in the most comfortable seats, which are cushioned, where he not only sees everything well, but can also be seen, then he pays yet another English penny at another door. And during the performance food and drink are carried round the audience, so that for what one cares to pay one may also have refreshment.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What similarities do you see in the way the performers in these descriptions entertained their audiences? What differences do you see?
2. What makes foreign visitors' accounts useful? What advantage do local observers have?

Sources: David Pollard, trans. and ed., *The Chinese Essay* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), pp. 89–90. Reproduced with permission of C. HURST & CO. LTD. in the format Book via Copyright Clearance Center; Clare Williams, trans., *Thomas Platter's Travels in England, 1599* (London: J. Cape, 1937), pp. 166–167.

Ming Decline

Beginning in the 1590s the Ming government was beset by fiscal, military, and political problems. The government went nearly bankrupt helping defend Korea against a Japanese invasion (see “Piracy and Japan’s Overseas Adventures”). Then came a series of natural disasters: floods, droughts, locusts, and epidemics ravaged one region after another. At the same time, a “little ice age” brought a drop in average temperatures that shortened the growing season and reduced harvests. In areas of serious food shortages, gangs of army deserters and laid-off soldiers began scouring the countryside in search of food. Once the gangs had stolen all their grain, hard-pressed farmers joined them just to survive. The Ming government had little choice but to try to increase taxes to deal with these threats, but the last thing people needed was heavier taxes.

Adding to the hardship was a sudden drop in the supply of silver. In place of the paper money that had circulated in Song and Yuan times, silver ingots came into general use as money in Ming times. Much of this silver originated in either Japan or the New World and entered China as payment for the silk and porcelains exported from China. When events in Japan and the Philippines led to disruption of trade, silver imports dropped. This led to deflation in China, which caused real rents to rise. Soon there were riots among urban workers and tenant farmers. In 1642 a group of rebels cut the dikes on the Yellow River, causing massive flooding. A smallpox epidemic soon added to the death toll. In 1644 the last Ming emperor, in despair, took his own life when rebels entered Beijing, opening the way for the start of a new dynasty.

The Manchus and Qing China, to 1800

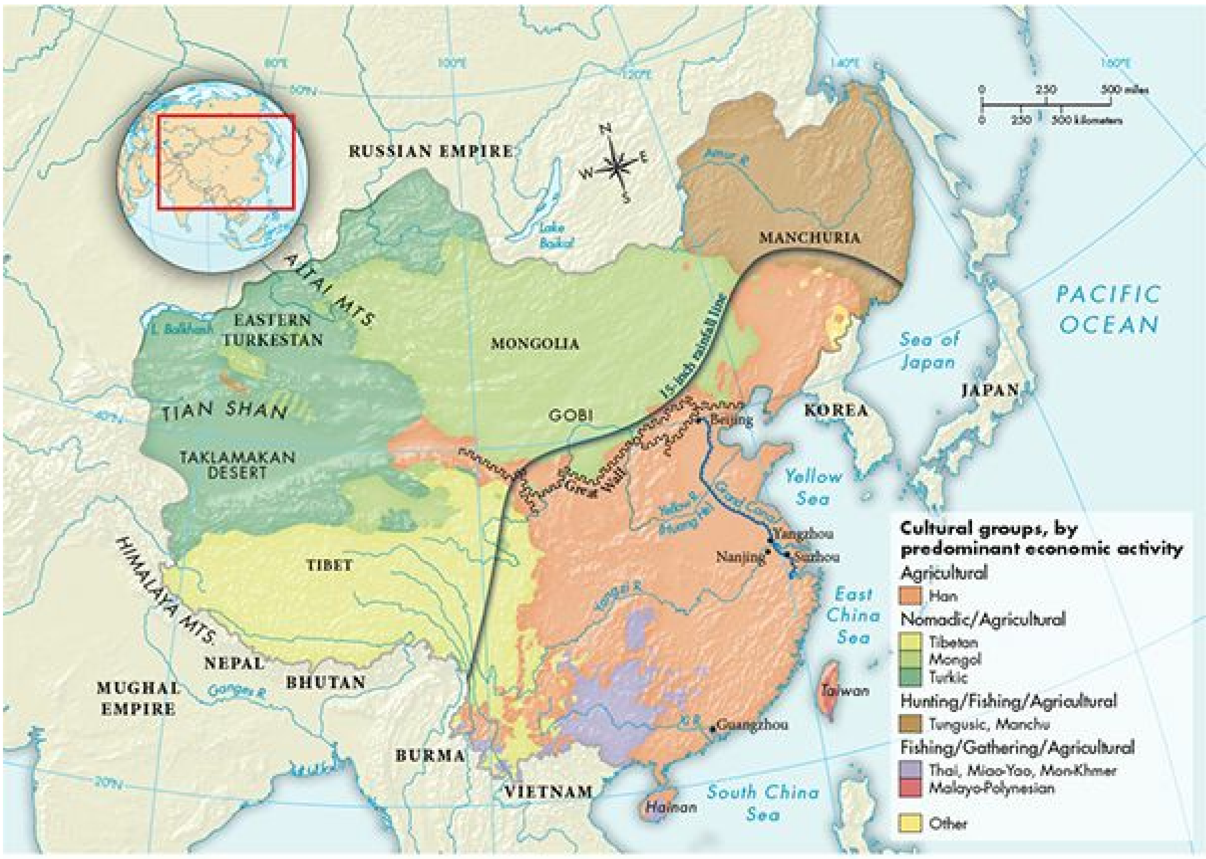
Did the return of alien rule with the Manchus have any positive consequences for China?

The next dynasty, the **Qing Dynasty** (1644–1911), was founded by the Manchus, a non-Chinese people who were descended from the Jurchens. In the late sixteenth century the Manchus began expanding their territories, and in 1644 they founded the Qing (CHING) Dynasty, which brought peace and in time prosperity. Successful Qing military campaigns extended the borders into Mongol, Tibetan, and Uighur regions, creating a multiethnic empire that was larger than any earlier Chinese dynasty.

Qing Dynasty The dynasty founded by the Manchus that ruled China from 1644 to 1911.

The Rise of the Manchus

In the Ming period, the Manchus lived in dispersed communities in what is loosely called Manchuria (the northeast of modern-day China). In the more densely populated southern part of Manchuria, the Manchus lived in close contact with Mongols, Koreans, and Chinese (Map 21.1). They were not nomads but rather hunters, fishers, and farmers. Like the Mongols, they also were excellent horsemen and archers and had a strongly hierarchical social structure, with elites and slaves. Slaves, often Korean or Chinese, were generally acquired through capture. Manchu villages were often at odds with each other over resources, and men did not leave their villages without arming themselves with bows and arrows or swords. Interspersed among these Manchu settlements were groups of nomadic Mongols who lived in tents.


RUSSIAN EMPIRE
MANCHURIA
Amur R.
Lake Baikal
ALTAI MTS.
L. Balkhash
EASTERN TURKESTAN
MONGOLIA
15-inch rainfall line
TIAN SHAN
GOBI
TAKLAMAKAN DESERT
Great Wall
Beijing
KOREA
Sea of Japan
PACIFIC OCEAN
JAPAN
Yellow Sea
Yellow R. (Huang He)
Grand Canal
Yangzhou
Nanjing
Suzhou
Yangzi R.
East China Sea
TIBET
HIMALAYA MTS.
NEPAL
BHUTAN
MUGHAL EMPIRE
Ganges R.
BURMA
VIETNAM
Xi R.
Guangzhou
Taiwan
Hainan
South China Sea
N
E
S
W
80°E
100°E
120°E
140°E
160°E
50°N
40°N
20°N
0
250
500 miles
0
250
500 kilometers
Cultural groups, by predominant economic activity
Agricultural
Han
Nomadic/Agricultural
Tibetan
Mongol
Turkic
Hunting/Fishing/Agricultural
Tungusic, Manchu
Fishing/Gathering/Agricultural
Thai, Miao-Yao, Mon-Khmer
Malayo-Polynesian
Other

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Mapping the Past

MAP 21.1 **The Qing Empire, ca. 1800** The sheer size of the Qing Empire in China almost inevitably led to its profound cultural influence on the rest of Asia.

ANALYZING THE MAP How many different cultural groups are depicted? Which occupied the largest territories? Where was crop agriculture most prevalent?

CONNECTIONS What geographical and political factors limited the expansion of the Qing Empire?

The Manchus credited their own rise to Nurhaci (1559–1626). Over several decades, he united the Manchus and expanded their territories. Like Chinggis Khan, who had reorganized the Mongol armies to reduce the importance of tribal affiliations, Nurhaci created a new social basis for his armies in units called **banners**. Each banner was made up of a set of military companies and included the families and slaves of the soldiers. Each company had a hereditary captain, often from Nurhaci's own lineage. When new groups were defeated, their members were distributed among several banners to lessen their potential for subversion.

banners Units of the Manchu army, composed of soldiers, their families, and slaves.

The Manchus entered China by invitation of the distinguished Ming general Wu Sangui, who was near the eastern end of the Great Wall when he heard that the rebels had captured Beijing. The Manchus proposed to Wu that they join forces and liberate Beijing. Wu opened the gates of the Great Wall to let the Manchus in, and within a couple of weeks they occupied Beijing. When the Manchus made clear that they intended to conquer the rest of the country and take the throne themselves, Wu and many other Chinese generals joined forces with them. Before long, China was again under alien rule.

In the summer of 1645 the Manchus ordered all Chinese men to shave the front of their heads and braid the rest in the Manchu fashion, an order many refused to comply with. Their resistance led Manchu commanders to order the slaughter of defiant cities. After quelling resistance, the Qing put in place policies and institutions that gave China a respite from war and disorder. Most of the political institutions of the Ming Dynasty were taken over relatively unchanged, including the examination system.

After peace was achieved, population growth took off. Between 1700 and 1800 the Chinese population seems to have nearly doubled, from about 150 million to over 300 million. Population growth during the eighteenth century has been attributed to many factors: global warming that extended the growing season, expanded use of New World crops, slowing of the spread of new diseases that had accompanied the sixteenth-century expansion of global traffic, and the efficiency of the Qing government in providing relief in times of famine.

Some scholars have recently argued that China’s overall standard of living in the mid-eighteenth century was comparable to Europe’s and that the standards of China’s most developed regions, such as the lower Yangzi region, compared favorably to those of the most developed regions of Europe at the time, such as England and the Netherlands. Life expectancy, food consumption, and even facilities for transportation were at similar levels.

Competent and Long-Lived Emperors

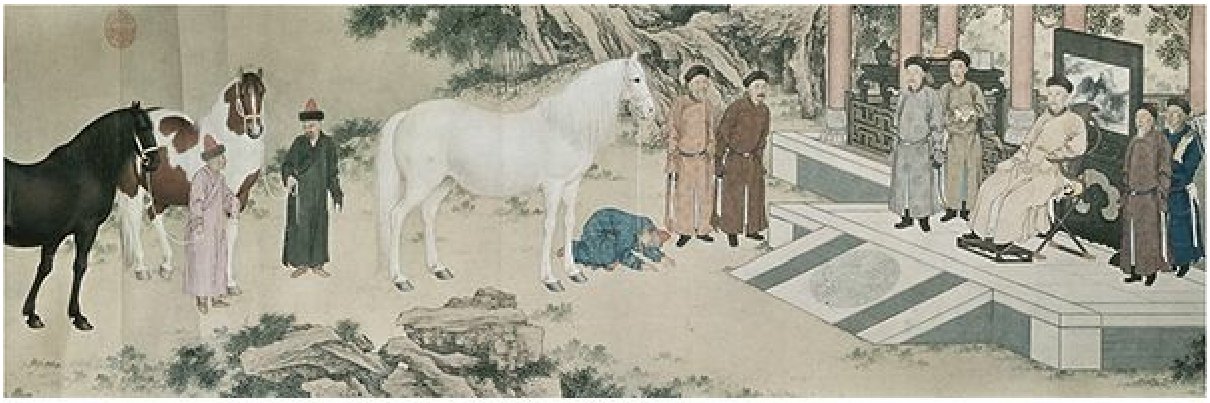
For more than a century, China was ruled by only three rulers, each of them hard-working, talented, and committed to making the Qing Dynasty a success. Two, the Kangxi and Qianlong emperors, had exceptionally long reigns.

Kangxi (KAHNG-shee) (r. 1661–1722) proved adept at meeting the expectations of both the Chinese and the Manchu elites. Kangxi could speak, read, and write Chinese and made efforts to persuade educated Chinese that the Manchus had a legitimate claim to rule, even trying to attract Ming loyalists who had been unwilling to serve the Qing. He undertook a series of tours of the south, where Ming loyalty had been strongest, and he held a special exam to select men to compile the official history of the Ming Dynasty.

Qianlong (chyan-luhng) (r. 1736–1796) understood that the Qing's capacity to hold the multiethnic empire together rested on their ability to appeal to all those they ruled. Besides speaking Manchu and Chinese, Qianlong learned to converse in Mongolian, Uighur, Tibetan, and Tangut, and he addressed envoys in their own languages. He became as much a patron of Tibetan Buddhism as of Chinese Confucianism. He initiated a massive project to translate the Tibetan Buddhist canon into Mongolian and Manchu and had huge multilingual dictionaries compiled.

To demonstrate to the Chinese scholar-official elite that he was a sage emperor, Qianlong worked on affairs of state from dawn until early afternoon and then turned to reading, painting, and calligraphy. He was ostentatious in his devotion to his mother, visiting her daily and tending to her comfort with all the devotion of the most filial Chinese son. He took several tours down the Grand Canal to the southeast, in part to emulate his grandfather, in part to entertain his mother, who accompanied him on these tours.

Despite these displays of Chinese virtues, the Qianlong emperor was alert to any signs of anti-Manchu thoughts or actions. He ordered full searches for books with disparaging references to the Manchus or to previous alien conquerors like the Jurchens and Mongols. Sometimes passages were deleted or rewritten, but when an entire book was offensive, it was destroyed.



Musée des Arts Asiatiques-Guimet, Paris, France/© RMN–Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY

Presenting a Horse to the Emperor This detail from a 1757 hand scroll shows the Qianlong emperor, seated, receiving envoys from the Kazakhs. Note how the envoy, presenting a pure white horse, is kneeling to the ground performing the kowtow, which involved lowering his head to the ground as an act of reverence. The artist was Giuseppe Castiglione, an Italian who worked as a painter in Qianlong's court.

Throughout Qianlong's reign, China remained an enormous producer of manufactured goods and led the way in assembly-line production. The government operated huge textile factories, but some private firms were even larger. Hangzhou had a textile firm that gave work to 4,000 weavers, 20,000 spinners, and 10,000 dyers and finishers. The porcelain kilns at Jingdezhen employed the division of labor on a large scale and were able to supply porcelain to much of the world. The growth of the economy benefited the Qing state, and the treasury became so full that the Qianlong emperor was able to cancel taxes on several occasions.

Imperial Expansion

The Qing Dynasty put together a multiethnic empire that was larger than that of any earlier Chinese dynasty. Taiwan was acquired in 1683. In 1696 Kangxi led an army of eighty thousand men into Mongolia, and within a few years Manchu supremacy was accepted there. Cannon and muskets gave Qing forces military superiority over the Mongols, who were armed only with bows and arrows. Thus the Qing could dominate the steppe cheaply, effectively ending two thousand years of Inner Asian military advantage.

In the 1720s the Qing established a permanent garrison of banner soldiers in Tibet. By this time, the expanding Qing and Russian Empires were nearing each other. In 1689 the Manchu and the Russian rulers approved a treaty — written in Russian, Manchu, Chinese, and Latin — defining their borders in Manchuria and regulating trade. Another treaty in 1727 allowed a Russian ecclesiastical mission to reside in Beijing and a trade caravan to make a trip from Russia to Beijing once every three years.

The last region to be annexed was Chinese Turkestan (the modern province of Xinjiang). Both the Han and the Tang Dynasties had stationed troops in the region, exercising loose overlordship, but neither the Song nor the Ming had tried to control the area. The Qing won the region in the 1750s through a series of campaigns against Uighur and Dzungar Mongol forces.

Japan’s Middle Ages, ca. 1400–1600

How did Japan change during this period of political instability?

In the twelfth century Japan entered an age dominated by military men, an age that can be compared to Europe’s feudal age. The Kamakura Shogunate (1185–1333) had its capital in the east, at Kamakura. It was succeeded by the Ashikaga Shogunate (1338–1573), which returned the government to Kyoto (KYOH-toh) and helped launch, during the fifteenth century, the great age of Zen-influenced Muromachi culture. The sixteenth century brought civil war over succession to the shogunate, leading to the building of massive castles and the emergence of rulers of obscure origins who eventually unified the realm.

Muromachi Culture

The headquarters of the Ashikaga shoguns were on Muromachi Street in Kyoto, and the refined and elegant style that they promoted is often called Muromachi culture. The shoguns patronized Zen Buddhism, the school of Buddhism associated with meditation and mind-to-mind transmission of truth.

Zen ideas of simplicity permeated the arts. The Silver Pavilion built by the shogun Yoshimasa (r. 1449–1473) epitomizes Zen austerity. Yoshimasa was also influential in the development of the tea ceremony, which celebrated the beauty of imperfect objects, such as plain or misshapen cups or pots. Spare monochrome paintings fit into this aesthetic, as did simple asymmetrical flower arrangements.

The shoguns were also patrons of the **Nō theater.** Nō drama originated in popular forms of entertainment, including comical skits and dances directed to the gods. It was transformed into high art by Zeami (1363–1443), an actor and playwright. Nō was performed on a bare stage with a pine tree painted across the backdrop. One or two actors wearing brilliant brocade robes performed, using stylized gestures and stances, one wearing a mask. The actors were accompanied by a chorus and a couple of musicians playing drums and flute. Many of the stories concerned ghosts consumed by jealous passions or the desire for revenge. The performers conveyed emotions and ideas as much through gestures, stances, and dress as through words. Zeami argued that the most meaningful moments came during silence, when the actor’s spiritual presence allowed the audience to catch a glimpse of the mysterious and inexpressible.

Nō theater A type of Japanese theater performed on a bare stage by one or two actors wearing brilliant brocade robes, one actor wearing a mask. The performers conveyed emotions and ideas as much through gestures, stances, and dress as through words.

Civil War

Civil war began in Kyoto in 1467 as a struggle over succession to the shogunate. Rival claimants and their followers used arson as their chief weapon and burned down temples and mansions, destroying much of the city and its treasures. Once Kyoto was laid waste, war spread to outlying areas. When the shogun could no longer protect cities, merchants banded together to hire mercenaries. In the political vacuum, the Lotus League, a commoner-led religious sect united by faith in the saving power of the Lotus Sutra, set up a commoner-run government that collected taxes and settled disputes. In 1536, during eight days of fighting, the powerful Buddhist monastery Enryakuji attacked the League and its temples, burned much of the city, and killed men, women, and children who were thought to be believers.

In these confused and violent circumstances, power devolved to the local level, where warlords, from the **daimyo** (DIGH-myoh) class of regional lords, built their power bases. Many of the most successful daimyo were self-made men who rose from obscurity.

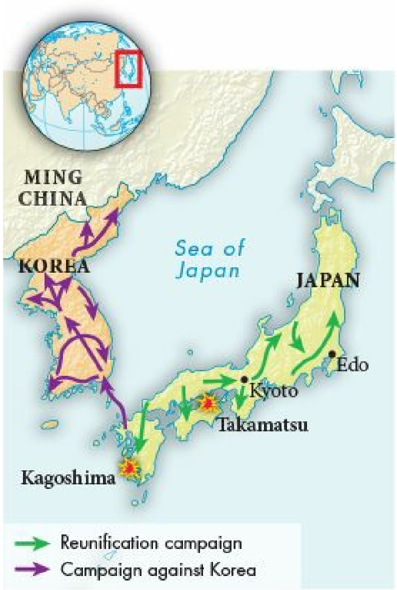
daimyo Regional lords in Japan, many of whom were self-made men.

The violence of the period encouraged castle building. The castles were built not on mountaintops but on level plains, and they were surrounded by moats and walls made from huge stones. Inside a castle was an elegantly decorated many-storied keep. Though relatively safe from incendiary missiles, the keeps were vulnerable to Western-style cannon, introduced in the 1570s.

The Victors: Nobunaga and Hideyoshi

The first daimyo to gain a predominance of power was Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582). A samurai of the lesser daimyo class, he recruited followers from masterless samurai who had been living by robbery and extortion. After he won control of his native province in 1559, he immediately set out to extend his power through central Japan. A key step was destroying the military power of the great monasteries. To increase revenues, he minted coins, the first government-issued money in Japan since 958. He also eliminated customs barriers and opened the little fishing village of Nagasaki to foreign commerce; it soon became Japan's largest port.

In 1582, in an attempted coup, Nobunaga was forced by one of his vassals to commit suicide. His general and staunchest adherent, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537–1598), avenged him and continued the drive toward unification of the daimyo-held lands, finally completed in 1590.

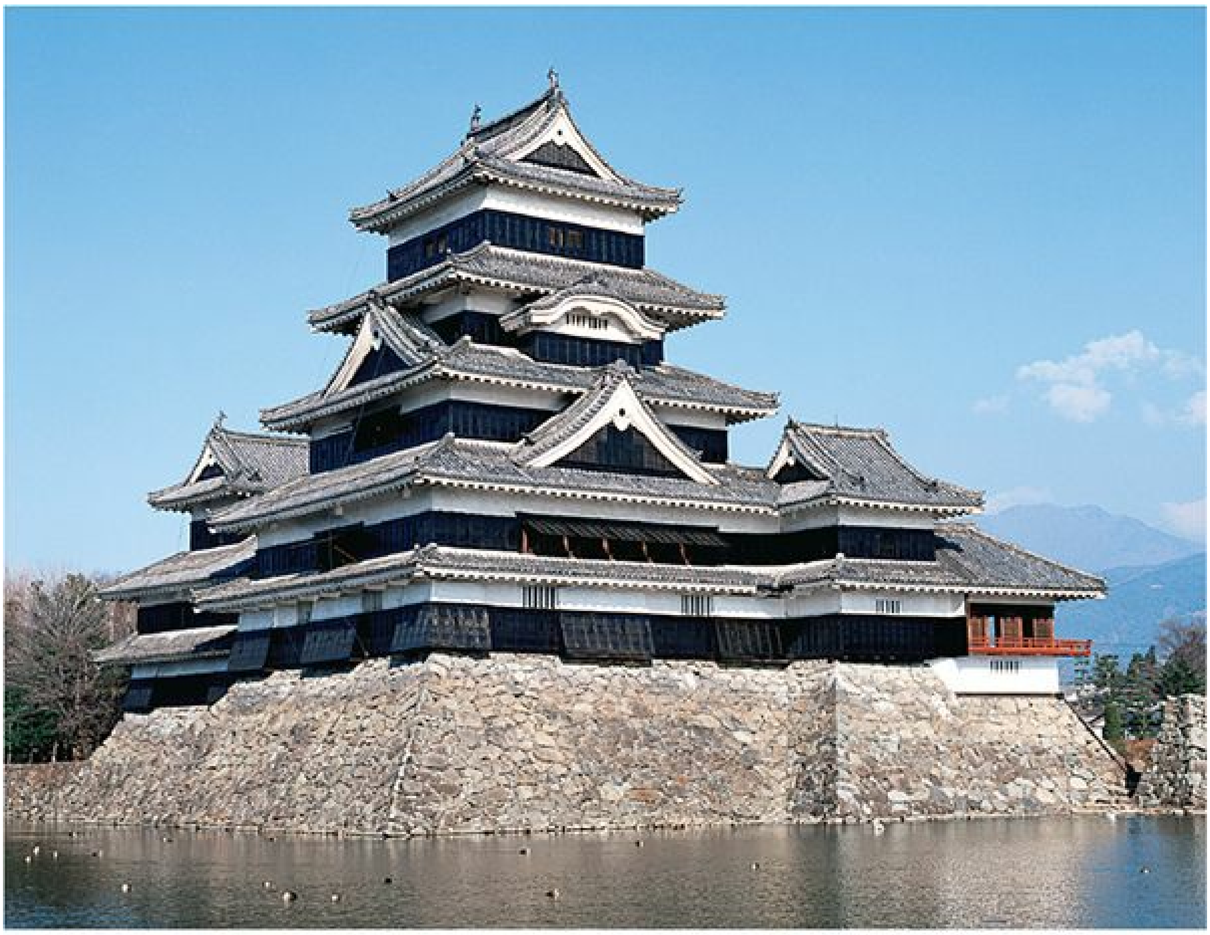


Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Hideyoshi's Campaigns in Japan and Korea, 1592–1598

Like the Ming founder, Hideyoshi (HEE-deh-YOH-shee) was a peasant's son who rose to power through military talent. A series of campaigns brought all of Japan under Hideyoshi's control. Hideyoshi soothed the vanquished daimyo as Nobunaga had done — with lands and military positions — but he also required them to swear allegiance and to obey him down to the smallest particular. For the first time in over two centuries, Japan had a single ruler.

Hideyoshi did his best to ensure that future peasants' sons would not be able to rise as he had. His great sword hunt of 1588 collected weapons from farmers, who were no longer allowed to wear swords. Restrictions were also placed on samurai; they were prohibited from leaving their lord's service or switching occupations. To improve tax collection, Hideyoshi ordered a survey of the entire country that tied each peasant household to the land. With the country pacified, Hideyoshi embarked on an ill-fated attempt to conquer Korea and China that ended only with his death, discussed later in this chapter.



Adina Tovy/Robert Harding World Imagery

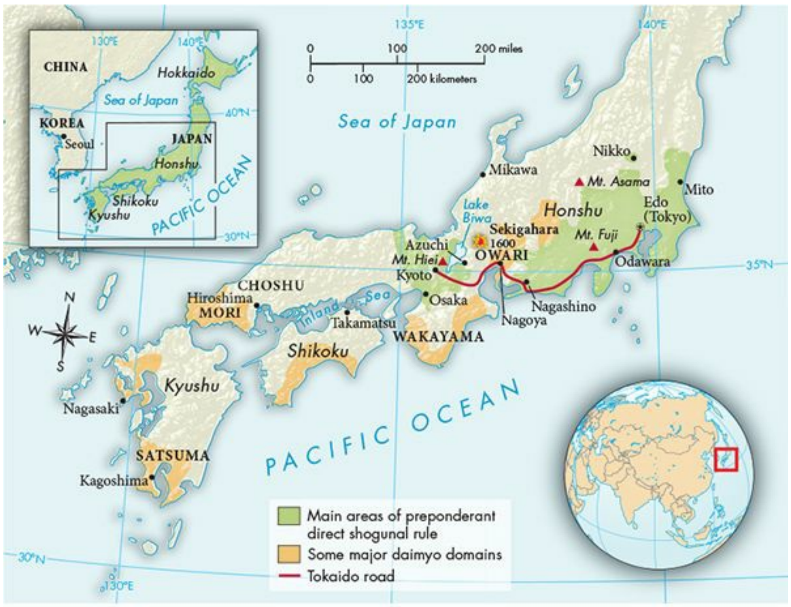
Matsumoto Castle Hideyoshi built Matsumoto Castle between 1594 and 1597. Designed to be impregnable, it was surrounded by a moat and had a base constructed of huge stones. In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries Spanish and Portuguese missionaries compared Japanese castles favorably to European castles of the period.

The Tokugawa Shogunate, to 1800

What was life like in Japan during the Tokugawa peace?

On his deathbed, Hideyoshi set up a council of regents to govern during the minority of his infant son. The strongest regent was Hideyoshi's long-time supporter Tokugawa Ieyasu (toh-koo-GAH-wuh ee-eh-YAH-soo) (1543–1616). In 1600 at Sekigahara, Ieyasu smashed a coalition of daimyo defenders of the heir and began building his own government — thus ending the long period of civil war. In 1603 he took the title "shogun." The **Tokugawa Shogunate** that Ieyasu fashioned lasted until 1867. This era is also called the Edo (AY-doh) period after the location of the shogunate in the city of Edo (now called Tokyo), starting Tokyo's history as Japan's most important city (Map 21.2).

Tokugawa Shogunate The Japanese government in Edo founded by Tokugawa Ieyasu. It lasted from 1603 to 1867.


135°E
140°E
130°E
30°N
35°N
40°N
0
100
200 miles
0
100
200 kilometers
CHINA
Hokkaido
Sea of Japan
KOREA
Seoul
JAPAN
Honshu
Shikoku
Kyushu
PACIFIC OCEAN
N
W
E
S
Nikko
Mikawa
Mt. Asama
Mito
Lake Biwa
Honshu
Edo (Tokyo)
Sekigahara 1600
Mt. Fuji
Azuchi
Mt. Hiei
OWARI
Odawara
Kyoto
CHOSHU
Hiroshima
MORI
Inland Sea
Osaka
Takamatsu
Nagashino
Nagoya
WAKAYAMA
Shikoku
Kyushu
Nagasaki
SATSUMA
Kagoshima
PACIFIC OCEAN
Main areas of preponderant direct shogunal rule
Some major daimyo domains
Tokaido road

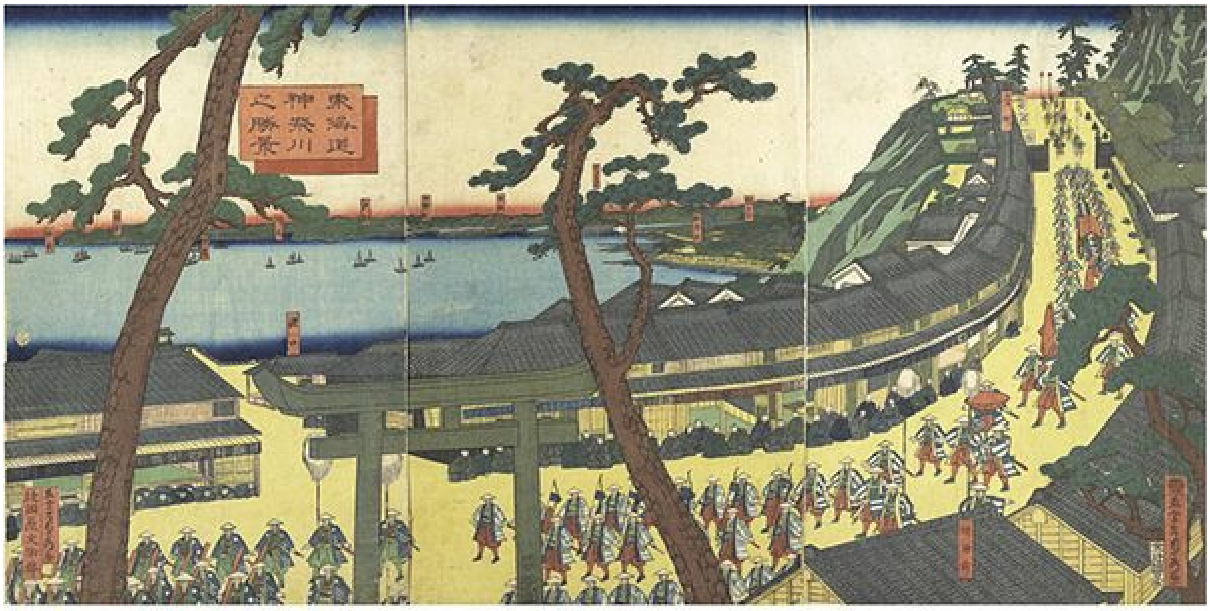
Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 21.2 **Tokugawa Japan, 1603–1867** The lands that the shogunate directly controlled were concentrated near its capital at Edo. The daimyo of distant places, such as the island of Kyushu, were required to make long journeys to and from Edo every year.

Tokugawa Government

Over the course of the seventeenth century the Tokugawa shoguns worked to consolidate relations with the daimyo. In a scheme resembling the later residency requirements imposed by Louis XIV in France (see “The Absolutist Palace” in Chapter 18), Ieyasu set up the **alternate residence system**, which compelled the lords to live in Edo every other year and to leave their wives and sons there — essentially as hostages.

alternate residence system Arrangement in which Japanese lords were required to live in Edo every other year and left their wives and sons there as hostages to the Tokugawa Shogunate.



Daimyo's Processions Passing Along the Tokaido, by Utagawa Sadahide [1807–1873]/triptych of polychrome woodblock prints; ink and color on paper, Edo period [1615–1868]. Bequest of William S. Lieberman, 2005, accession 2007.49.290a–c/Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York/Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Image source: Art Resource, NY

Daimyo Procession The system of alternate residence meant that some daimyo were always on the road. The constant travel of daimyo with their attendants between their domains and Edo, the shogun’s residence, stimulated construction of roads, inns, and castle-towns.

The peace imposed by the Tokugawa Shogunate brought a steady rise in population to about 30 million people by 1800. To maintain stability, the early Tokugawa shoguns froze social status. Daimyo were prohibited from moving troops outside their frontiers, making alliances, and coining money. Samurai and peasants were kept strictly apart. Samurai were defined as those permitted to carry swords. Prohibited from owning land, they had to live in castles (which evolved into castle-towns), and they depended on stipends from their lords, the daimyo. Likewise, merchants and artisans had to live in towns and could not own land.

After 1639 Japan limited its contacts with the outside world because of concerns both about the loyalty of subjects converted to Christianity by European missionaries and about the imperialist ambitions of European powers (discussed below). However, China remained an important trading partner and source of ideas. The Edo period also saw the development of a school of native learning that rejected Buddhism and Confucianism as alien and tried to identify a distinctly Japanese sensibility.

Commercialization and the Growth of Towns

During the civil war period, warfare seems to have promoted social and economic change, much as it had in China during the Warring States Period (403–221 B.C.E.). Trade grew, and greater use was made of coins imported from Ming China. Markets began appearing at river crossings, at the entrances to temples and shrines, and at other places where people congregated. Towns and cities sprang up all around the country, some of them around the new castles. Traders and artisans dealing in a specific product began forming guilds. Foreign trade also flourished, despite chronic problems with pirates who raided the Japanese, Korean, and Chinese coasts (see “Piracy and Japan’s Overseas Adventures”).

In most cities, merchant families with special privileges from the government controlled the urban economy. Frequently, a particular family dominated the trade in a particular product and then branched out into other businesses. Japanese merchant families also devised distinct patterns and procedures for their business operations.

In the seventeenth century underemployed farmers and samurai, not to mention the ambitious and adventurous, thronged to the cities. As a result, Japan’s cities grew tremendously. Kyoto became the center for the manufacture of luxury goods like lacquer, brocade, and fine porcelain. Osaka was the chief market, especially for rice. Edo was a center of consumption by the daimyo, their vassals, and government bureaucrats. Both Osaka and Edo reached about a million residents.

Two hundred fifty towns came into being in this period. Most ranged in size from 3,000 to 20,000 people, but a few, such as Hiroshima, Kagoshima, and Nagoya, had populations of between 65,000 and 100,000. In addition, perhaps two hundred towns along the main road to Edo emerged to meet the needs of men traveling on the alternate residence system. In the eighteenth century perhaps 4 million people, 15 percent of the Japanese population, resided in cities or towns.

The Life of the People in the Edo Period

The Tokugawa shoguns brought an end to civil war by controlling the military. Stripped of power and required to spend alternate years at Edo, many of the daimyo and samurai passed their lives in idle pursuit of pleasure. They spent extravagantly on paintings, concubines, boys, the theater, and the redecoration of their castles. These temptations, as well as more sophisticated pleasures and the heavy costs of maintaining alternate residences at Edo, gradually bankrupted the warrior class.

© Iberfoto/The Image Works

Interior of Nijo Castle To assert control over the imperial court and the city of Kyoto, Tokugawa Ieyasu built palace-like Nijo Castle there in 1601–1603. He had the sliding doors painted by leading artists of the period, making the castle as elegant as the imperial palace.

All major cities contained places of amusement for men — teahouses, theaters, restaurants, and houses of prostitution. Desperately poor parents sometimes sold their daughters to entertainment houses (as they did in China and medieval Europe), and the most attractive or talented girls, trained in singing, dancing, and conversational arts, became courtesans, later called geishas (GAY-shahz), "accomplished persons."

Cities were also the center for commercial publishing. The art of color woodblock printing also was perfected during this period. As in contemporary China, the reading public eagerly purchased fiction and the scripts for plays. Ihara Saikaku (1642–1693) wrote stories of the foibles of townspeople in such books as *Five Women Who Loved Love* and *The Life of an Amorous Man*. One of the puppet plays of Chikamatsu Monzaemon

(1653–1724) tells the story of the son of a business owner who, caught between duty to his family and love of a prostitute, decides to resolve the situation by double suicide. Similar stories were also performed in Kabuki theater, where plays could go on all day, actors wore elaborate makeup, and men trained to impersonate women performed female roles. (See “Analyzing the Evidence: Interior View of a Kabuki Theater,” page 610.)

Almost as entertaining as attending the theater was watching the long processions of daimyo, their retainers, and their luggage as they passed back and forth to and from Edo every year. The shogunate prohibited most travel by commoners, but they could get passports to take pilgrimages, visit relatives, or seek the soothing waters of medicinal hot springs. Setting out on foot, groups of villagers would travel to such shrines as Ise, often taking large detours to visit Osaka or Edo to sightsee or attend the theater.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries daimyo and upper-level samurai paid for their extravagant lifestyles by raising taxes on their subordinate peasants from 30 or 40 percent of the rice crop to 50 percent. Not surprisingly, this angered peasants, and peasant protests became chronic during the eighteenth century. Natural disasters also added to the peasants’ misery. In 1783 Mount Asama erupted, spewing volcanic ash that darkened the skies all summer; the resulting crop failures led to famine. When famine recurred again in 1787, commoners rioted for five days in Edo, smashing merchants’ stores and pouring sake and rice into the muddy streets. The shogunate responded by trying to control the floating population of day laborers without families in the city. At one point they were rounded up and transported to work the gold mines in an island off the north coast, where most of them died within two or three years.

This picture of peasant hardship tells only part of the story. Agricultural productivity increased substantially during the Tokugawa period. Peasants who improved their lands and increased their yields continued to pay the same assessed tax and could pocket the surplus as profit. They could also take on other work. At Hirano near Osaka, for example, 61.7 percent of all arable land was sown in cotton. The peasants ginned the cotton locally before transporting it to wholesalers in Osaka. In many rural places, as many peasants worked in the manufacture of silk, cotton, or vegetable oil as in the production of rice.

In comparison to farmers, merchants had a much easier life, even if they had no political power. In 1705 the shogunate confiscated the property of a merchant in Osaka “for conduct unbecoming a member of the commercial class” (but more likely because too many samurai owed him money). The government seized 50 pairs of gold screens, 360 carpets, several mansions, 48 granaries and warehouses scattered around the country, and hundreds of thousands of gold pieces. Few merchants possessed such fabulous wealth, but many lived very comfortably. (See “Thinking Like a Historian: Attention to Dress in Edo Japan,” page 612.)

Private Collection/Photo © Boltin Picture Library/Bridgeman Images

Edo Craftsman at Work Less than 3 inches tall, this ivory figure shows a parasol maker seated on the floor (the typical Japanese practice) eating his lunch, his tools by his side.

Within a village, some families would be relatively well-off, others barely able to get by. The village headman generally came from the richest family, but he consulted a council of elders on important matters. Women in better-off families were much more likely to learn to read than women in poor families. Daughters of wealthy peasants studied penmanship, the Chinese classics, poetry, and the proper forms of correspondence, and they rounded out their education with travel. By contrast, girls from middle-level peasant families might have had from two to five years of formal schooling, focused on moral instruction.

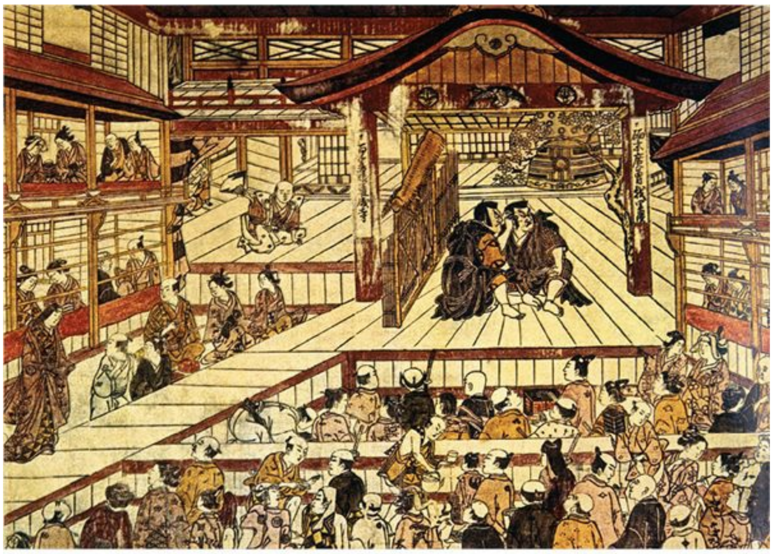
By the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Japan’s family and marriage systems had evolved in the direction of a patrilocal, patriarchal system more like China’s, and Japanese women had lost the prominent role in high society that they had occupied during the Heian period. It became standard for women to move into their husbands’ homes, where they occupied positions subordinate to both their husbands and their mothers-in-law. In addition, elite families stopped dividing their property among all their children; instead they retained it for the sons alone or increasingly for a single son who would continue the family line. Wedding rituals involved both the exchange of betrothal gifts and the movement of the bride from her parents' home to her husband's home. She brought with her a trousseau that provided her with clothes and other items she would need for daily life, but not with land, which would have given her economic autonomy. On the other hand, her position within her new family was more secure, for it became more difficult for a husband to divorce his wife. If her husband fathered children with concubines, she was their legal mother.

A peasant wife shared responsibility for the family's economic well-being with her husband. If of poor or middling status, she worked alongside her husband in the fields, doing the routine work while he did the heavy work. If they were farm hands and worked for wages, the wife invariably earned a third or a half less than her husband. Wives of prosperous farmers never worked in the fields, but they reeled silk, wove cloth, helped in any family business, and supervised the maids. When cotton growing spread to Japan in the sixteenth century, women took on the jobs of spinning and weaving it. Families were growing smaller in this period in response to the spread of single-heir inheritance. Japanese families restricted the number of children they had by practicing abortion and infanticide, turning to adoption when no heir survived.

Widows and divorcées of the samurai elite — where female chastity was the core of fidelity — were not expected to remarry. Among the peasant classes, by contrast, divorce seems to have been fairly common — the divorce rate was at least 15 percent in the villages near Osaka in the eighteenth century. A poor woman wanting a divorce could simply leave her husband's home. Sometimes Buddhist temple priests served as divorce brokers: they went to the village headman and had him force the husband to agree to a divorce. News of the coming of temple officials was usually enough to produce a letter of separation.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

Interior View of a Kabuki Theater



Kabuki Theatre by Okumara Masanobu [1686–1764] [color woodblock print]/Private Collection/Collection/Bridgeman Images

In the Edo period, kabuki theater was one of the most popular forms of entertainment in Japanese cities, where it was patronized by merchants, samurai, and other townspeople. It originated in crude, bawdy skits dealing with love and romance and performed by women. Because actresses were thought to corrupt public morals, the Tokugawa government banned them from the stage in 1629. From that time on, men played all the parts. Male actors in female dress and makeup performed as seductively as possible to entice the men who thronged the theaters. Some moralists complained from time to time about the licentiousness of kabuki, but the Tokugawa government decided to accept both kabuki and prostitution as necessary evils.

Kabuki performances generally took all day and consisted of several short plays or one long five-act play. Historical plays were very popular but were always set far enough in the past so that the government would not see them as a form of political protest. The main characters of historical plays were usually samurai. Ordinary townsmen or farmers could be the main characters in dramas and love stories, which were also popular. Some of these revolved around lovers who cannot overcome the obstacles to life together, leading them to decide to be together in death through double suicide.

The makeup worn by kabuki actors allowed the audience to see from a distance the sort of person being portrayed. Black generally suggested villainy, red passion or heroism, and green the supernatural. Actors became quite famous, and their stage names tied them to lineages of actors known for certain roles or acting styles.

Kabuki theaters had not only a central stage but also a walkway that projected out into the audience and was used for dramatic entrances and exits and other important scenes. Movable scenery and lighting effects made possible the staging of storms, fires, and hurricanes. The theater was not darkened, so the audience also got to see who else was attending the theater and what they were wearing.

Kabuki had a close connection to the art of the colored woodblock print, both of which flourished in the eighteenth century. Artists created not only prints like this one, showing the inside of a theater, but also single-sheet portraits of actors, which increased the performers’ fame.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. How many people are performing in this scene? What are they doing?
2. Are there more men or women in the audience? How do you distinguish them? Are any of the men samurai? How can you tell?
3. What is going on in the audience? Is everyone looking at the actors?

THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN

Attention to Dress in Edo Japan

Japanese woodblock prints of the Edo period show a fascination with the patterns and colors of the clothes that people wore. Textual sources of the period largely confirm this attention to dress among the residents of the large cities, especially Edo (Tokyo), Kyoto, and Osaka. Both moralists and the government saw fine or elaborate clothes as inappropriate for ordinary city residents such as merchants and their employees, who were often rich enough to dress well but expected to display humility in the fixed status system of the time.

1 **Law regulating dress, 1683.** The government issued repeated sumptuary laws to regulate the kinds of clothing townsmen were allowed to wear. This law was issued in 1683.

■ Thin silk crepe
Embroidery
Dapple tie-dye

These materials are prohibited hereafter in women's clothing. Unusual weaving and dyeing must not be done. One length of outer material for a padded robe may not be bought or sold for a higher price than 200 me of silver.

2 **Ihara Saikaku on fashion, 1688 and 1686.** Ihara Saikaku (1642–1693), a member of an Osaka merchant family, wrote about the world he knew in many literary forms. The first passage here is from an essay published in 1688; the second is from a fictional story published in 1686.

■ OSTENTATION

Fashions have changed from those of the past and have become increasingly ostentatious. In everything people have a liking for finery above their station. Women's clothes in particular go to extremes. Because they forget their proper place, extravagant women should be in fear of divine punishment. Even the robes of the awesome high-ranking families used to be of nothing finer than Kyoto habutae. Black clothing with five crests cannot be called inappropriate to anyone from daimyo down to commoner. But in recent years, certain shrewd Kyoto people have started to lavish every manner of magnificence on men's and women's clothes and to put out design books in color. With modish fine-figured patterns, palace style hundred-color prints, and bled dapple tie-dye, they go the limit for unusual designs to suit any taste. Such behavior by wives and the marriages of daughters have drained the household finances and impaired the family business of countless merchants. Prostitutes make a daily display of beautiful clothes toward earning a living. But beautiful wives of commoners, when they are not blossom-viewing in spring or maple-viewing in autumn or going to weddings, should forego these many layers of conspicuous garments. . . .

[Commenting on a clothier's shop in Kyoto] When we look at these garments, we see that the outer material of white figured silk gauze has been folded over and used as the lining as well, with a layer of crimson silk crepe between, making a three-layered summer kimono. Sleeves and collar are padded with silk wadding. There was nothing like this in olden times. To go further than this, they would have to use various materials of Chinese-style weaving as everyday clothes. The recent clothing laws were for all the provinces and all the people. If we give this some thought we realize that we can be grateful for them. It is distressing to see a merchant wearing good silks. Pongee [a lightweight fabric] suits him better and looks better on him. But fine clothes are essential to a samurai's status, and therefore even a samurai who is without attendants should not dress like an ordinary person.

THE BEAUTY CONTEST

There was in the capital a band of four inseparable young men who were known for their handsome appearance and riotous living. Thanks to large inheritances they could spend every day in the year seeking their own pleasure. . . .

After the theatre one evening they were lounging around a tea shop called Matsuya and one of them remarked, "I have never seen so many good-looking local girls as I did today. Do you suppose we could find others who would seem just as beautiful now?" They thought they might, and decided to watch for pretty girls among the people who had gone to see the wisteria blossoms and were now returning to their homes. After a worldly actor in the group had been chosen as chief judge, a "beauty contest" was conducted until the twilight hours, providing a new source of amusement for the jaded gentlemen. . . .

Next they spied a lady of thirty-four or thirty-five with a graceful long neck and intelligent-looking eyes, above which could be seen a natural hairline of rare beauty. Her nose, it was true, stood a little high, but that could easily be tolerated. Underneath she wore white satin, over that light blue satin, and outside — reddish-yellow satin. Each of these garments was luxuriously lined with the same material. On her left sleeve was a hand-painted likeness of the Yoshida monk, along with his passage, "To sit alone under a lamp, and read old books . . ." Assuredly, this was a woman of exquisite taste.

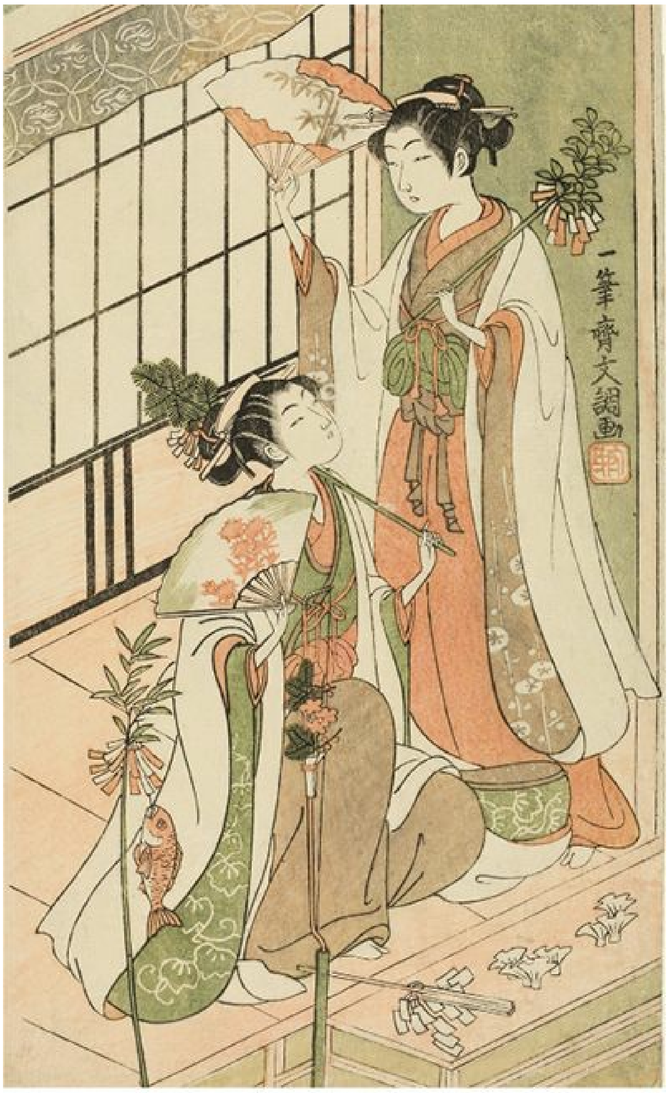
Her sash was of folded taffeta bearing a tile design. Around her head she had draped a veil like that worn by court ladies; she wore stockings of pale silk and sandals with triple-braided straps. She walked noiselessly and gracefully, moving her hips with a natural rhythm. "What a prize for some lucky fellow!" a young buck exclaimed. But these words were hardly uttered when the lady, speaking to an attendant, opened her mouth and disclosed that one of her lower teeth was missing, to the complete disillusionment of her admirers.

3 **Ishida Baigan, Dialogues for the City and the Countryside.** Ishida Baigan (1685–1744), a townsman who had worked for years as a clerk in a dry goods store, committed himself to popular instruction, often giving public sermons. His followers gathered together their records of conversations with him and published them. In this example he argues that it is not only imprudent for ordinary people to spend a lot on clothes but also

morally wrong for them to act above their station.

■ Ostentatious people of the present world not only wear fine clothes themselves but dress their maids in clothing made of thin damask and figured satin with embroidery and applique. Someone from the country seeing them would take them for court nobles or feudal dignitaries, but would wonder why they were not being attended by samurai followers. Lowly townsmen who are so ostentatious are criminals who violate moral principles. . . . They put in disorder the propriety of noble and humble, of honored and despised.

4 **Ippitsusai Buncho, woodblock print of entertainers, 1769.** Here the artist Ippitsusai Buncho (active 1755–1790) depicts two shrine dancers, Ohatsu and Onami. The performers' fans could purchase colorful prints like these for relatively small sums.



The Shrine Dancers [Miko] Ohatsu and Onami, 1769, by Ippitsusai Buncho [1725–1794] [color woodblock print]/ Art Institute of Chicago/Clarence Buckingham Collection/Bridgeman Images

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. In the print in Source 4, how is each of the dancers dressed? How many different patterns and colors are shown?
2. Why would the government and moralists object to people's wearing beautiful clothes (Sources 1 and 3)?
3. Based on Saikaku's writings in Source 2, what distinguished men's and women's clothes? What sorts of observations did people make about clothes? How did they evaluate style?
4. What sort of connection existed between the fixed social hierarchy of Edo period Japan and the emphasis on fashion and style in clothes during the period?

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

Using the sources above, along with the other Japanese woodblock prints in this chapter, as well as what you have learned in class and in this chapter, write a short essay that analyzes the place of clothing in urban culture in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Japan and compares Japanese moralists' positions on clothing to those of moralists in other societies who have objected to clothing that attracts attention.

Sources: (1) Donald H. Shively, "Sumptuary Regulation and Status in Early Tokugawa Japan," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 25 (1964–1965): 126. Used by permission of Mary Elizabeth Berry; (2) "Ostentation" from Shively, "Sumptuary Regulation and Status," 124–125; "The Beauty Contest" from Donald Keene, ed., *Anthology of Japanese Literature*. Copyright © 1955 by Grove Press. Used by permission of Grove/Atlantic, Inc. Any third party use of this material, outside of this publication, is prohibited; (3) Shively, "Sumptuary Regulation and Status," 158.

Maritime Trade, Piracy, and the Entry of Europe into the Asian Maritime Sphere

How did the sea link the countries of East Asia, and what happened when Europeans entered this maritime sphere?

In the period 1400–1800 maritime trade and piracy connected China and Japan to each other and also to Korea, Southeast Asia, and Europe. Both Korea and Japan relied on Chinese coinage, and China relied on silver from Japan. During the fifteenth century China launched overseas expeditions. Japan was a major base for pirates. In the sixteenth century European traders appeared, eager for Chinese porcelains and silks. Christian missionaries followed. Political changes in Europe changed the international makeup of the European traders in East Asia, with the dominant groups first the Portuguese, next the Dutch, and then the British.

Zheng He's Voyages

Early in the Ming period, the Chinese government tried to revive the tribute system of the Han (206 B.C.E.–220 C.E.) and Tang (618–907) Dynasties, when China had dominated East Asia and envoys had arrived from dozens of distant lands. To invite more countries to send missions, the third Ming emperor (Chengzu, or Yongle) authorized an extraordinary series of voyages to the Indian Ocean under the command of the Muslim eunuch Zheng He (juhng huh) (1371–1433).

Zheng He's father had made the trip to Mecca, and the seven voyages that Zheng led between 1405 and 1433 followed old Arab trade routes. The first of the seven was made by a fleet of 317 ships, of which 62 were huge, 440 feet long. Each expedition involved from twenty thousand to thirty-two thousand men. Their itineraries included stops in Vietnam, Malaysia, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, India, and, in the later voyages, Hormuz (on the coast of Persia) and East Africa (see Map 16.1). At each stop Zheng He went ashore to visit rulers, transmit messages of China's peaceful intentions, and bestow lavish gifts. Rulers were invited to come to China or send envoys and were offered accommodation on the return voyages. Near the Straits of Malacca, Zheng's fleet battled Chinese pirates, bringing them under control. Zheng He made other shows of force as well, deposing rulers deemed unacceptable in Java, Sumatra, and Sri Lanka.

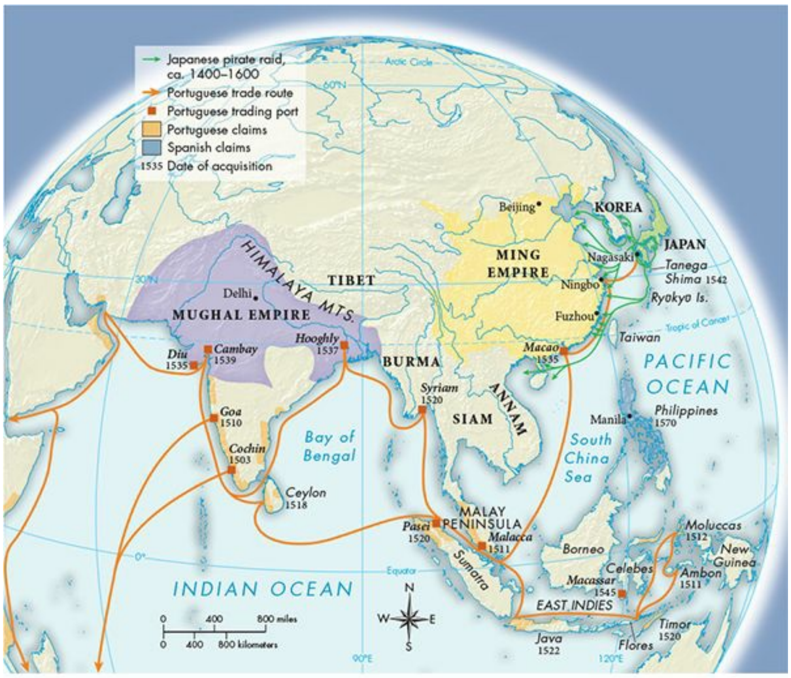
On the return of these expeditions, the Ming emperor was delighted by the exotic things the fleet brought back, such as giraffes and lions from

Africa, fine cotton cloth from India, and gems and spices from Southeast Asia. Ma Huan, an interpreter who accompanied Zheng He, collected data on the plants, animals, peoples, and geography that they encountered and wrote a book titled *The Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores*. Still, these expeditions were not voyages of discovery; they followed established routes and pursued diplomatic rather than commercial goals.

Why were these voyages abandoned? Officials complained about their cost and modest returns. As a consequence, after 1474 all the remaining ships with three or more masts were broken up and used for lumber. Chinese did not pull back from trade in the South China Sea and Indian Ocean, but the government no longer promoted trade, leaving the initiative to private merchants and migrants.

Piracy and Japan's Overseas Adventures

One goal of Zheng He's expeditions was to suppress piracy, which had become a problem all along the China coast. Already in the thirteenth century social disorder and banditry in Japan had expanded into seaborne banditry, which occurred within the Japanese islands around the Inland Sea (Map 21.3), in the straits between Korea and Japan, and along the Korean and Chinese coasts. Pirates not only looted settlements but often captured people and held them for ransom. As maritime trade throughout East Asia grew more lively, sea bandits also took to attacking ships to steal their cargo. Although the pirates were called the "Japanese pirates" by both the Koreans and the Chinese, pirate gangs in fact recruited from all countries. The Ryūkyū (ryoo-kyoo) Islands and Taiwan became major bases.


Japanese pirate raid, ca. 1400–1600
Portuguese trade route
Portuguese trading port
Portuguese claims
Spanish claims
1535 Date of acquisition
Arctic Circle
60°N
30°N
Tropic of Cancer
0°
Equator
90°E
120°E
Beijing
KOREA
JAPAN
MING EMPIRE
Nagasaki
Ningbo
Tanega Shima 1542
Ryukyu Is.
Fuzhou
Taiwan
Macao 1535
TIBET
HIMALAYA MTS.
Delhi
MUGHAL EMPIRE
Hooghly 1537
Diu 1535
Cambay 1539
BURMA
Syriam 1520
SIAM
ANNAM
PACIFIC OCEAN
Manila
Philippines 1570
Goa 1510
Cochin 1503
Bay of Bengal
South China Sea
Ceylon 1518
MALAY PENINSULA
Pasei 1520
Malacca 1511
Sumatra
Borneo
Celebes
Macassar 1545
Moluccas 1512
New Guinea
Ambon 1511
EAST INDIES
INDIAN OCEAN
Java 1522
Flores
Timor 1520
0 400 800 miles
0 400 800 kilometers
N
W
E
S

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 21.3 East Asia, ca. 1600 Pirates and traders often plied the same waters as seaborne trade grew in the sixteenth century. The Portuguese were especially active in setting up trading ports.

Possibly encouraged by the exploits of these bandits, Hideyoshi, after his victories in unifying Japan, decided to extend his territory across the seas. In 1590, after receiving congratulations from Korea on his victories, Hideyoshi sent a letter asking the Koreans to allow his armies to pass through their country, declaring that his real target was China. He also sent demands for submission to countries of Southeast Asia and to the Spanish governor of the Philippines.

In 1592 Hideyoshi mobilized 158,000 soldiers and 9,200 sailors for his invasion and equipped them with muskets and cannon, which had recently been introduced into Japan. His forces overwhelmed Korean defenders and reached Seoul within three weeks and Pyongyang in two months. A few months later, in the middle of winter, Chinese armies arrived to help defend Korea, and Japanese forces were pushed back from Pyongyang. A stalemate remained in place until 1597, when Hideyoshi sent out new Japanese troops. This time the Ming army and the Korean navy were more successful in resisting the Japanese. In 1598, after Hideyoshi's death, the Japanese army withdrew from Korea, but Korea was left devastated. (See "Analyzing the Evidence: Keinen's Poetic Diary of the Korea Campaign," page 616.)

After recovering from the setbacks of these invasions, Korea began to advance socially and economically. During the Chosŏn (joe-sun) Dynasty

(1392–1910), the Korean elite (the yangban) turned away from Buddhism and toward strict Neo-Confucian orthodoxy. As agricultural productivity improved, the population grew from about 4.4 million in 1400 to about 8 million in 1600, 10 million in 1700, and 14 million in 1810 (or about half the size of Japan's population and one-twentieth of China's). With economic advances, slavery declined. When slaves ran away, landowners found that it was less expensive to replace them with sharecroppers than to recapture them. Between 1750 and 1790 the slave population dropped from 30 percent to 5 percent of the population. The hold of the yangban elite, however, remained strong. Through the eighteenth century about two dozen yangban families dominated the civil service examinations, leaving relatively few slots for commoners to rise to through study.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

Keinen's Poetic Diary of the Korea Campaign

The Buddhist priest Keinen (1534?–1611) was ordered in 1597 to accompany the local daimyo on Hideyoshi's second campaign in Korea and spent seven months there. As a Buddhist, he did not revel in military feats but rather deplored the death and suffering that he observed. Adopting the time-honored form of the poetic diary, Keinen ends each day's entry with a short poem. The excerpt quoted here begins about six weeks after he left home.

Eighth month, 4th day. Every one is trying to be the first off the ship; no one wants to lag behind. They fall over each other in trying to get at the plunder, to kill people. It is a sight I cannot bear to see.

A hubbub rises
as from roiling clouds and mist
where they swarm about
in their rage for the plunder
of innocent people's goods.

VIII.5.

They are burning the houses. As I watched them go up in smoke, I thought that my own existence was like this and was seized by sympathy.

The "Red Country" is
what they call it, but black is
the smoke that rises
from the burning houses
where you see flames flying high.

VIII.6.

The very fields and hillsides have been put to the fire, not to speak of the forts. People are put to the sword, or they are shackled with chains and bamboo tubes choking the neck. Parents sobbing for their children, children searching for their parents — never before have I seen such a pitiable sight.

The hills are ablaze
with the cries of soldiers
intoxicated
with their pyrolatry —
the battleground of demons.

VIII.7.

Looking at the various kinds of plunder amassed by them all, I formed a desire for such things. Could I really be like this, I thought, and felt ashamed. How can I attain salvation like this, I thought.

How ashamed I am!
For everything that I see
I form desires —
a creature of delusions,
my mind full of attachments.

On the same day, as I exerted myself in reflections on my spiritual state, I felt myself more and more ashamed. And yet the Buddha has vowed not to give weight to the weightiest of evil deeds, not to abandon the most abandoned and intemperate!

Unless it be through
reliance on the vow of
Amida Buddha,
who could obtain salvation
with such wicked thoughts as mine?

VIII.8.

They are carrying off Korean children and killing their parents. Never shall they see each other again. Their mutual cries — surely this is like the torture meted out by the fiends of hell.

It is piteous;
when the four fledglings parted,*
it must have been thus —
I see the parents’ lament
over their sobbing children.

VIII.11.

As night fell, I saw people’s houses go up in smoke. They have lost everything to the fire, all their grain and all their property.

How wretched it is!
Smoke lingers still where the grain
was burned and wasted;
so that is where I lay my
head tonight: on the scorched earth.

. . . .

VIII.15.

The fortress is to be stormed before dawn tomorrow. Fascines of bamboo have been distributed to the assault troops. The sun was about to set as they worked their way close in, right up against the edge of the castle’s bulwarks, and gunfire opened up from the several siege detachments, accompanied by arrows shot from short-bows. Unthinkable numbers of men were killed. As I saw them dying:

From the fortress, too,
from their short-bows, too.

How many killed? Beyond count
is the number of the dead.

The castle fell to the assault in the course of the night. Lord Hishu's troops were the first inside the walls. Needless to say, he is to get a vermilion-seal letter of commendation.

VIII.16.

All in the fortress were slaughtered, to the last man and woman. No prisoners were taken. To be sure, a few were kept alive for exchange purposes.

How cruel! This world
of sorrow and inconstancy
does have one constant —
men and women, young and old
die and vanish; are no more.

VIII.17.

Until yesterday they did not know that they would have to die; today, they are transformed into the smoke of impermanence, as is the way of this world of constant change. How can I be unaffected by this!

Look! Everyone, look!
Is this, then, to be called the human condition? —
a life with a deadline,
a life with a limit: today.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Buddhism teaches the impermanence of phenomena and the need to let go of attachments, and it opposes the taking of life. Which of Keinen's responses can be identified as specifically Buddhist?
2. Does Keinen's use of poetry seem natural, or do you think it seems forced? Explain your response.
3. What would be the purpose of bringing a Buddhist priest opposed to killing on a military campaign?

Source: *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, by Wm. Theodore de Bary, Donald Keene, George Tanabe, and Paul Varley. Reproduced with permission of COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS in the format Book via Copyright Clearance Center.

---

*An allusion to the proverbial tale of a mother bird's sorrow at her fledglings' departure to the four directions.

Europeans Enter the Scene

In the sixteenth century Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch merchants and adventurers began to participate in the East Asian maritime world (see "The European Voyages of Discovery" in Chapter 16). The trade among Japan, China, and Southeast Asia was very profitable, and the European traders wanted a share of it. They also wanted to develop trade between Asia and Europe.

The Portuguese and Dutch were not reluctant to use force to gain control of trade, and they seized many outposts along the trade routes, including Taiwan. Moreover, they made little distinction between trade, smuggling, and piracy. In 1521 the Ming tried to ban the Portuguese from China. Two years later an expeditionary force commissioned by the Portuguese king to negotiate a friendship treaty defeated its mission by firing on Chinese warships near Guangzhou. In 1557, without informing Beijing, local Chinese officials decided that the way to regulate trade was to allow the Portuguese to build a trading post on uninhabited land near the mouth of the Pearl River. The city they built there — Macao — became the first destination for Europeans going to China until the nineteenth century, and it remained a Portuguese possession until 1999.

European products were not in demand in China, but silver was. Japan had supplied much of China's silver, but with the development of silver mines in the New World, European traders began supplying large quantities of silver to China, allowing the expansion of China's economy.

Chinese were quick to take advantage of the new trading ports set up by European powers. Manila, under Spanish control, and Taiwan and Batavia, both under Dutch control, all attracted thousands of Chinese colonists. In Batavia harbor (now Jakarta, Indonesia) Chinese ships outnumbered those from any other country by two or three to one. Local people felt the intrusion of Chinese more than of Europeans, and riots against Chinese led to massacres on several occasions.

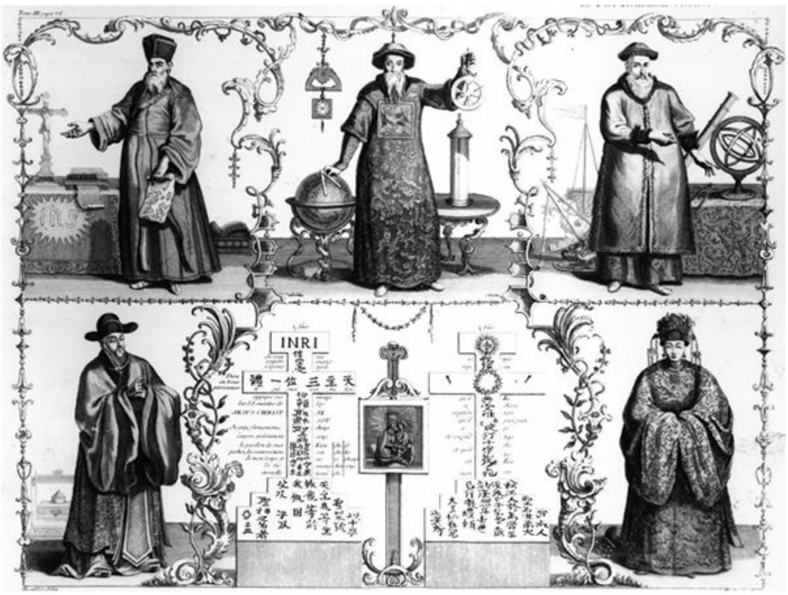
A side benefit of the appearance of European traders was New World crops. Sweet potatoes, maize, peanuts, tomatoes, chili peppers, tobacco, and other crops were quickly adopted in East Asia. Sweet potatoes and maize in particular facilitated population growth because they could be grown on land previously thought too sandy or too steep to cultivate. Sweet potatoes became a common poor people's food.

Christian Missionaries

The Spanish and Portuguese kings supported missionary activity, and merchant vessels soon brought Catholic missionaries to East Asia. The Jesuit priest Francis Xavier had worked in India and the Indies before China and Japan attracted his attention. In 1549 he was the first Christian missionary to arrive in Japan, landing on Kyushu, Japan's southernmost island (see Map 21.2). After he was expelled by the local lord, he traveled throughout western Japan as far as Kyoto, proselytizing wherever warlords allowed. He soon made many converts among the poor and even some among the daimyo. Xavier then set his sights on China but died on an uninhabited island off the China coast in 1552.

Other missionaries carried on his work, and by 1600 there were three hundred thousand baptized Christians in Japan. Most of them lived on Kyushu, where the shogun's power was weakest and the loyalty of the daimyo most doubtful. In 1615 bands of Christian samurai supported Tokugawa Ieyasu's enemies at the fierce Battle of Osaka. A couple of decades later, thirty thousand peasants in the heavily Catholic area of northern Kyushu revolted. The Tokugawa Shogunate thus came to associate Christianity with domestic disorder and insurrection and in 1639 stepped up its repression of Christianity. Foreign priests were expelled and thousands of Japanese Christians crucified.

Meanwhile, in China the Jesuits concentrated on gaining the linguistic and scholarly knowledge they would need to convert the educated class. The Jesuit Matteo Ricci studied for years in Macao before setting himself up in Nanjing and trying to win over members of the educated class. In 1601 he was given permission to reside in Beijing, where he made several high-placed conversions. He also interested educated Chinese men in Western geography, astronomy, and Euclidean mathematics.



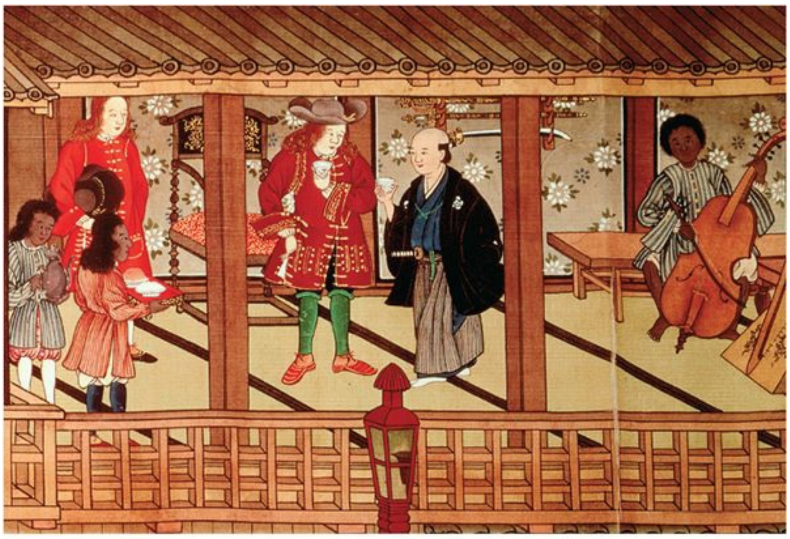
Private Collection/Bridgeman Images

The Jesuit Presence in China This French engraving shows three generations of European Jesuits active at the Chinese court, Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) and two mathematicians and astronomers, Johann Adam Schall von Bell (1592–1666) and Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–1688). Below them are two prominent Chinese converts, the official Xu Guangqi and his granddaughter.

Ricci and his Jesuit successors believed that Confucianism was compatible with Christianity. The Jesuits thought that both faiths shared similar concerns for morality and virtue, and they viewed the Confucian practice of making food offerings to ancestors as an expression of filial reverence rather than as a form of worship. The Franciscan and Dominican friars, who had taken a vow of poverty, disagreed with the Jesuit position. In 1715 religious and political quarrels in Europe led the pope to decide that the Jesuits' accommodating approach was heretical. Angry at this insult, the Kangxi emperor forbade all Christian missionary work in China.

Learning from the West

Although both China and Japan ended up prohibiting Christian missionary work, other aspects of Western culture were seen as impressive and worth learning. The closed-country policy that Japan instituted in 1639 restricted Japanese from leaving the country and kept European merchants in small enclaves. Still, Japanese interest in Europe did not disappear. Through the Dutch enclave of Deshima on a tiny island in Nagasaki harbor, a stream of Western ideas, arts, and inventions trickled into Japan in the eighteenth century.



Private Collection/Bridgeman Images

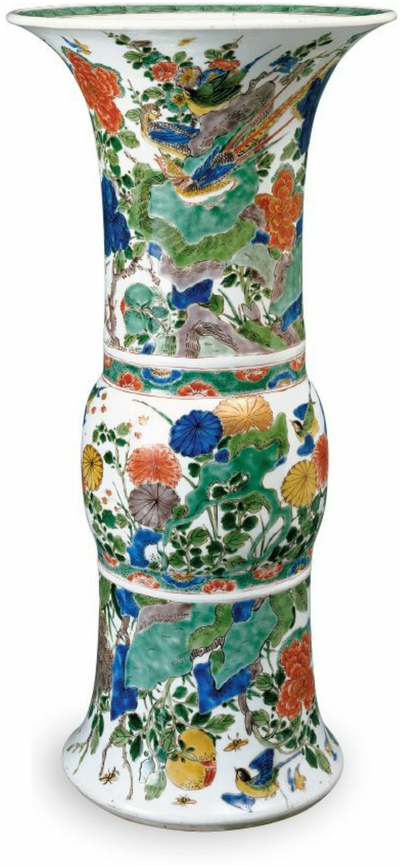
Dutch in Japan The Japanese were curious about the appearance, dress, and habits of the Dutch who came to the enclave of Deshima to trade. In this detail from a long hand scroll, Dutch traders are shown interacting with a Japanese samurai in a room with Japanese tatami mats on the floor. Note also the Western musical instrument.

In China, too, both scholars and rulers showed an interest in Western learning. The Kangxi emperor frequently discussed scientific and philosophical questions with the Jesuits at court. When he got malaria, he accepted the Jesuits' offer of the medicine quinine. The court was impressed with the Jesuits' skill in astronomy and quickly appointed them to the Board of Astronomy. In 1674 the emperor asked them to re-equip the observatory with European instruments. In the visual arts the emperor and his successors employed Italian painters to make imperial portraits. Firearms and mechanical clocks were also widely admired. The court established its own clock and watch factory, and in 1673 the emperor insisted that the Jesuits manufacture cannon for him and supervise gunnery practice.

Admiration was not one-sided. In the early eighteenth century China enjoyed a positive reputation in Europe. The French philosopher Voltaire wrote of the rationalism of Confucianism and saw advantages to the Chinese political system because the rulers did not put up with parasitical aristocrats or hypocritical priests. Chinese medical practice also drew European interest. One Chinese practice that Europeans adopted was "variolation," an early form of smallpox inoculation.

The Shifting International Environment in the Eighteenth Century

The East Asian maritime world underwent many changes from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. As already noted, the Japanese pulled back their own traders and limited opportunities for Europeans to trade in Japan. In China the Qing government limited trading contacts with Europe to Guangzhou in the far south in an attempt to curb piracy. Portugal lost many of its bases to the Dutch, and by the eighteenth century the British had become as active as the Dutch. In the seventeenth century the British and Dutch sought primarily porcelains and silk, but in the eighteenth century tea became the commodity in most demand.



Vase, Qing Dynasty, Kangxi period [1662–1722], late 17th–early 18th century. Porcelain painted in overglaze famille verte enamels and gold. Bequest of John D. Rockefeller Jr., 1960 [61.200.66]/The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Image source: Art Resource, NY

Porcelain Vase Among the objects produced in China that were in high demand in Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were colorful porcelains. In this period Chinese potters perfected the use of overglaze enamels, which allowed the application of many colors to a single object. Blue, green, yellow, orange, and red all appear on this 18-inch-tall vase.

By the late eighteenth century Britain had become a great power and did not see why China should be able to dictate the terms of trade. Wanting to renegotiate relations, King George III sent Lord George Macartney to China in 1793 with six hundred cases of British goods, ranging from clocks and telescopes to Wedgwood pottery and landscape paintings. The Qianlong emperor was, however, not impressed. As he pointed out in his formal reply, the Qing Empire “possesses all things in prolific abundance and lacks no product within its own borders”; thus trading with Europe was a kindness, not a necessity.[2]

Chapter Summary

After the fall of the Mongols, China was ruled by the native Ming Dynasty for nearly three centuries. The dynasty's founder ruled for thirty years, becoming more paranoid and despotic over time. Very few of his successors were particularly good rulers, yet China thrived in many ways. Population grew as food production increased. Educational levels were high as more and more men prepared for the civil service examinations. Urban culture was lively, and publishing houses put out novels, short stories, and plays in the vernacular language for large audiences.

In 1644 the Ming Dynasty fell to the non-Chinese Manchus. The Manchu rulers proved more competent than the Ming emperors and were able to both maintain peace and expand the empire to incorporate Mongolia, Tibet, and Central Asia. Population grew steadily under Manchu rule.

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Japan was fragmented by civil war. As daimyo attacked and defeated each other, power was gradually consolidated, until Hideyoshi gained control of most of the country. Japan also saw many cultural developments during this period, including the increasing influence of Zen ideas on the arts and the rise of Nō theater.

After Hideyoshi's death, power was seized by Tokugawa Ieyasu, the founder of the Tokugawa Shogunate. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Japan reaped the rewards of peace. The early rulers tried to create stability by freezing the social structure and limiting foreign contact to the city of Nagasaki. As the wealth of the business classes grew, the samurai, now dependent on fixed stipends, became progressively poorer. Samurai and others in search of work and pleasure streamed into the cities.

Between 1400 and 1800 maritime trade connected the countries of Asia, but piracy was a perpetual problem. Early in this period China sent out naval expeditions looking to promote diplomatic contacts, reaching as far as Africa. In the sixteenth century European traders arrived in China and Japan and soon developed profitable trading relationships. The Chinese economy became so dependent on huge imports of silver acquired through this trade that a cutoff in supplies caused severe hardship. Trade with Europe also brought New World crops and new ideas. The Catholic missionaries who began to arrive in Asia introduced Western science and learning as well as Christianity, until they were banned in both Japan and China. Although the shogunate severely restricted trade, some Western scientific ideas and technology entered Japan through the port of Nagasaki. Chinese, too, took an interest in Western painting, astronomy, and firearms. Because Europeans saw much to admire in East Asia in this period, ideas also flowed from East to West.

CONNECTIONS

During the four centuries from 1400 to 1800, the countries of East Asia became increasingly connected. On the oceans trade and piracy linked them, and for the first time a war involved China, Korea, and Japan. At the same time, their cultures and social structures were in no sense converging. The elites of China and Japan were very different: in Japan elite status was hereditary, while in China the key route to status and power involved doing well on a written examination. In Japan the samurai elite were expected to be skilled warriors, but in China the highest prestige went to men of letters. The Japanese woodblock prints that capture many features of the entertainment quarters in Japanese cities show a world distinct from anything in China.

By the end of this period, East Asian countries found themselves in a rapidly changing international environment, mostly because of revolutions occurring far from their shores. The next two chapters take up the story of these revolutions, first the political ones in America, France, and Haiti, and then the Industrial Revolution that began in Britain. In time, these revolutions would profoundly alter East Asia as well.

CHAPTER 21 Review and Explore

Identify Key Terms

Identify and explain the significance of each item below.

Ming Dynasty (p. 596)
civil service examinations (p. 598)
Qing Dynasty (p. 603)
banners (p. 603)
Nō theater (p. 606)
daimyo (p. 606)
Tokugawa Shogunate (p. 607)
alternate residence system (p. 607)

Review the Main Ideas

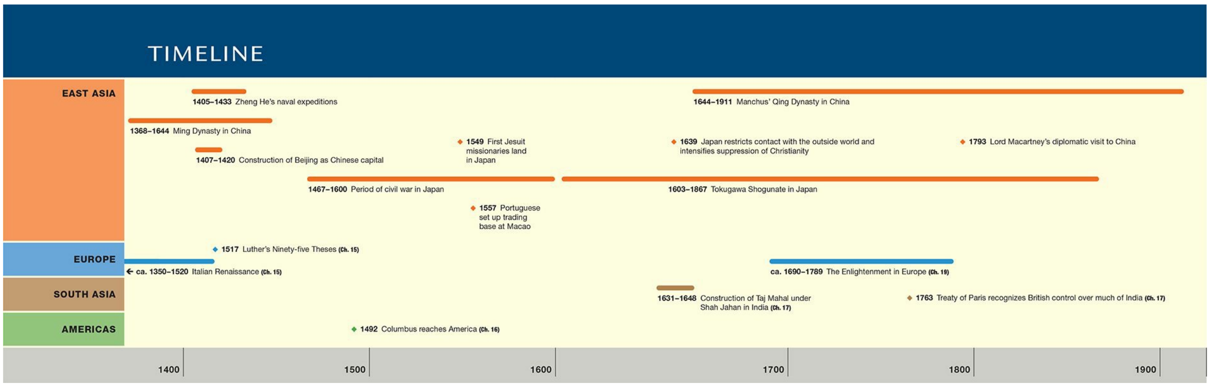
Answer the focus questions from each section of the chapter.

1. What sort of state and society developed in China after the Mongols were ousted? (p. 596)
2. Did the return of alien rule with the Manchus have any positive consequences for China? (p. 603)
3. How did Japan change during this period of political instability? (p. 605)
4. What was life like in Japan during the Tokugawa peace? (p. 607)
5. How did the sea link the countries of East Asia, and what happened when Europeans entered this maritime sphere? (p. 614)

Make Comparisons and Connections

Analyze the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters.

1. How does the Qing Dynasty compare as an empire to other Eurasian empires of its day (Chapters 17 and 18)?
2. How were the attractions of city life in China and Japan of this period similar to those in other parts of Eurasia (Chapters 17 and 18)?
3. Can you think of any other cases in world history in which a farmer's son rose to the top of the power structure the way that Zhu Yuanzhang and Hideyoshi did? Why was this uncommon?



Suggested Resources

Books

Berry, Mary Elizabeth. *The Culture of Civil War in Kyoto*. 1994. Uses diaries and other records to examine how people made sense of violence and social change.

Crossley, Pamela. *The Manchus*. 2002. A lively account that lets one think about Qing history from the rulers' point of view.

Dardess, John W. *Ming China, 1368–1644*. 2012. A short but informative look at Ming China from its emperors at the top to its outlaws at the bottom.

Elliott, Mark C. *Emperor Qianlong: Son of Heaven, Man of the World*. 2009. Examines the Qing Dynasty at its height from the perspective of a remarkable emperor.

Elvin, Mark. *The Pattern of the Chinese Past*. 1973. Offers an explanation of China's failure to maintain its technological superiority in terms of a "high-level equilibrium trap."

Hanley, Susan B. *Everyday Things in Premodern Japan*. 1999. Shows that the standard of living during the Edo period was comparable to that in the West at the same time.

Hegel, Robert E., ed. and trans. *True Crimes in Eighteenth-Century China: Twenty Case Histories*. 2009. Describes various crimes (including neighborhood feuds, murder, and sedition) and how the Chinese government dealt with them at several levels.

Keene, Donald. *Yoshimasa and the Silver Pavilion: The Creation of the Soul of Japan*. 2003. A lively introduction to the aesthetic style associated with Zen and its connection to shogunate patrons.

Mann, Susan. *Precious Records: Women in China's Long Eighteenth Century*. 1997. A well-written analysis of women's lives in the educated class.

McDermott, Joseph. *A Social History of the Chinese Book: Books and Literati Culture in Late Imperial China*. 2006. Places Chinese printing in a comparative perspective.

Mungello, David. *The Great Encounter of China and the West, 1500–1800*. 1999. A short but stimulating examination of the various dimensions of the first phase of Chinese-European relations.

Pomeranz, Kenneth. *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of* *the Modern World Economy*. 2000. Argues that the most advanced areas of China were on a par with the most advanced regions of Europe through the eighteenth century.

Rowe, William T. *China’s Last Empire: The Great Qing*. 2009. An up-to-date and thoughtful narrative of the Manchu rulers and the empire over which they presided.

Stanley, Amy. *Selling Women: Prostitution, Markets, and the Household in Early Modern Japan*. 2012. Connects the state, the family, and the market.

Totman, Conrad. *A History of Japan*. 2000. An excellent, well-balanced survey.

Vaporis, Constantine Komitos. *Breaking Barriers: Travel and the State in Early Modern Japan*. 1994. An examination of recreational and religious travel.

Waldron, Arthur. *The Great Wall of China: From History to Myth*. 1990. Places the construction of the current Great Wall in the context of Ming-Mongol relations.

Documentary

Presenting River Elegy. (Deep Dish TV, 1990). A condensed version of a controversial Chinese documentary contrasting Chinese civilization, tied to the Yellow River, to other civilizations connecting more to the ocean.

Feature Films

Rikyu (Hiroshi Teshigahara, 1989). An award-winning movie that brings together the famous tea master Sen no Rikyu and Toyotomi Hideyoshi, the warlord who united Japan in the late sixteenth century.

Silence (Martin Scorsese, 2016). A dramatization of the experience of Jesuit missionaries in Japan after the government began persecuting Christians.

The Sino-Dutch War 1661 (Ziniu Wu, 2000). A dramatization of the conflict between the Ming loyalists in Taiwan and the Dutch, in which some see reflections of the conflicts between the Nationalists in Taiwan and the Communists in the twentieth century.

Websites

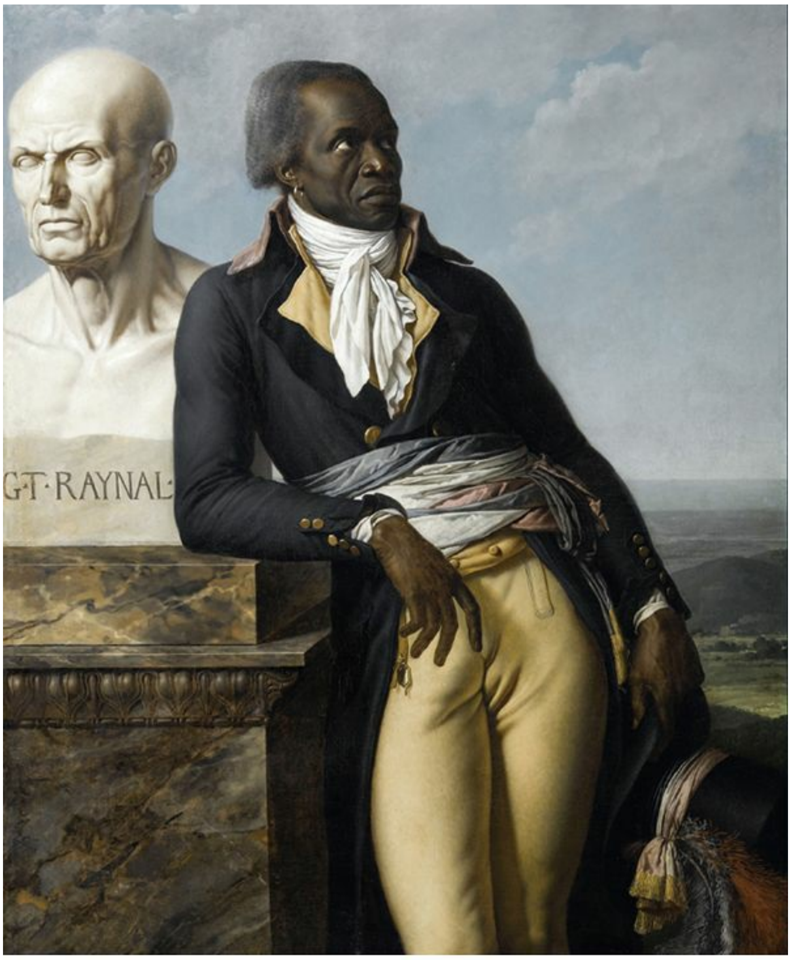
Asian Topics: Tokugawa Japan. Videos of scholars discussing many issues concerning the Tokugawa period; part of Columbia University’s Asian Topics website. **afe.easia.columbia.edu/at/tokugawa/tj01.html**

Golden Ornaments Decorate Tomb of Ming Dynasty Duchess. History Channel site on a recent archaeological find of a Ming tomb. **www.history.com/news/golden-ornaments-decorate-tomb-of-ming-dynasty-duchess**

22

Revolutions in the Atlantic World

1775–1825



Jean-Baptiste Belley (1747–1805), Deputy of Santo Domingo at the French Convention, 1797, by Anne-Louis Girodet de Roussy-Trioson (1767–1824) (oil on canvas) Inv. MV4616. Photo: Gerard Blot/Château de Versailles, France/© RMN–Grand Palais/ Art Resource, NY

Jean-Baptiste Belley

Born in Senegal and enslaved in the colony of Saint-Domingue, Jean-Baptiste Belley fought in the

American War of Independence and was elected as a deputy to the French National Convention. His career epitomizes the transnational connections of the era of Atlantic revolutions.

A great wave of revolution rocked the Atlantic world from 1775 to 1825. As trade goods, individuals, and ideas circulated in ever-greater numbers across the Atlantic Ocean, debates and events in one locale soon influenced those in another. With changing social realities challenging the old order of life and the emergence of Enlightenment ideals of freedom and equality, reformers in many places demanded fundamental changes in politics and government. At the same time, wars fought for dominance of the Atlantic economy burdened European governments with crushing debts, making them vulnerable to calls for reform.

The revolutionary era began in 1775 in North America, where the United States of America won freedom from Britain in 1783. Then in 1789 France became the leading revolutionary nation. It established first a constitutional monarchy, then a radical republic, and finally a new empire under Napoleon that would last until 1815. Inspired both by the ideals of the revolution on the continent and by internal colonial conditions, the slaves in the French colony of Saint-Domingue rose up in 1791, followed by colonial settlers, indigenous people, and slaves in Latin America. Their rebellion would eventually lead to the creation of independent nations in the Caribbean, Mexico, and South America. In Europe and its colonies abroad, the world of modern politics was born.

CHAPTER PREVIEW

BACKGROUND TO REVOLUTION
What were the factors behind the age of revolution in the Atlantic world?

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY ERA, 1775–1789
Why and how did American colonists forge a new, independent nation?

REVOLUTION IN FRANCE, 1789–1799
Why and how did revolutionaries in France transform the nation first into a constitutional monarchy and then into a republic that entered war with European powers?

NAPOLEON’S EUROPE, 1799–1815
How did Napoleon Bonaparte assume control of France and much of Europe, and what factors led to his downfall?

THE HAITIAN REVOLUTION, 1791–1804

How did a slave revolt on colonial Saint-Domingue lead to the creation of the independent nation of Haiti in 1804?

REVOLUTIONS IN LATIN AMERICA

Why and how did the Spanish and Portuguese colonies of North and South America shake off European domination and develop into national states?

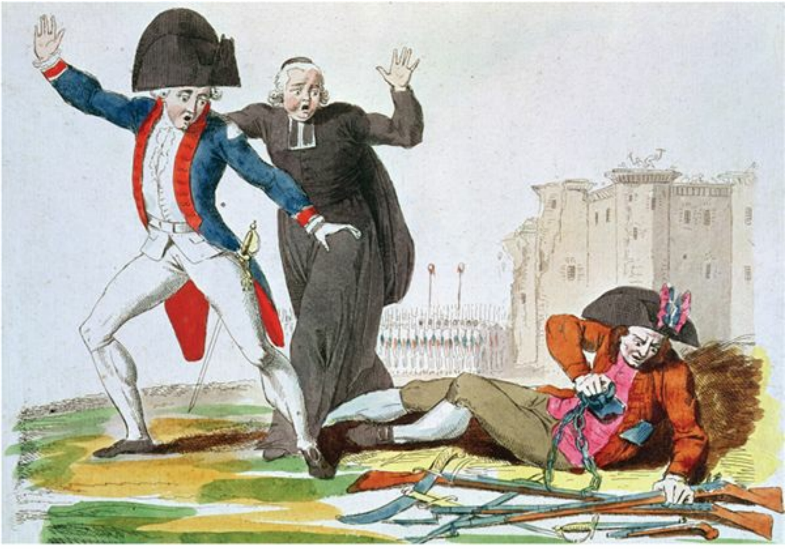
Background to Revolution

What were the factors behind the age of revolution in the Atlantic world?

The origins of revolutions in the Atlantic world were complex. No one cause lay behind them, nor was revolution inevitable or certain of success. However, a series of shared factors helped set the stage for reform. They included fundamental social and economic changes and political crises that eroded state authority; the impact of political ideas derived from the Enlightenment; and, perhaps most important, imperial competition and financial crises generated by the expenses of imperial warfare.

Social Change

Eighteenth-century European society was legally divided into groups with special privileges, such as the nobility and the clergy, and groups with special burdens, such as the peasantry. Nobles were the largest landowners. They enjoyed exemption from many taxes and exclusive rights such as hunting and bearing swords. In most countries, various middle-class groups — professionals, merchants, and guild masters — enjoyed privileges that allowed them to monopolize all sorts of economic activity.



Musée de la Ville de Paris, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, France/Bridgeman Images

The Awakening of the Third Estate French inhabitants were legally divided into three orders, or estates: the clergy, the nobility, and everyone else. This cartoon from July 1789 represents the third estate as a common man throwing off his chains and rising up against his oppression during the French Revolution, as the first estate (the clergy) and the second estate (the nobility) look on in fear.

Traditional prerogatives persisted in societies undergoing dramatic change. Due to increased agricultural production, Europe's population rose rapidly after 1750, and its cities and towns swelled in size. Inflation kept pace with demography, making it increasingly difficult for urban people to find affordable food and living space. One way they kept up, and even managed to participate in the new consumer revolution (see "Urban Life and the Public Sphere" in Chapter 19), was by working harder and for longer hours. More positive developments were increased schooling and a rise in literacy rates, particularly among urban men.

Economic growth created new inequalities between rich and poor. While the poor struggled with rising prices, investors grew rich from the spread of rural manufacture and overseas trade. Old distinctions between the landed aristocracy and city merchants began to fade as enterprising nobles put money into trade and rising middle-class bureaucrats and merchants bought landed estates and noble titles. Marriages between nobles and wealthy, educated commoners (called the *bourgeoisie* [boorzh-wah-ZEE] in France) served both groups' interests, and a mixed-caste elite began to take shape.

Another social change involved the racial regimes established in European colonies. By the late eighteenth century European law accepted that only Africans and people of African descent were subject to slavery. Even free people of color — a term for nonslaves of African or mixed African-European descent — were subject to significant restrictions on their legal rights. Racial privilege conferred a new dimension of entitlement on European settlers in the colonies, and they used extremely brutal methods to enforce it.

In Spanish America and Brazil, people of European and African descent intermingled with the very large indigenous population. Demographers estimate that indigenous people accounted for 60 to 75 percent of the population of Latin America at the end of the colonial period, in spite of tremendous population losses in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The colonies that became Peru and Bolivia had indigenous majorities; the regions that became Argentina and Chile had European majorities. Until the reforms of Charles III, indigenous people and Spaniards were required by law to live in separate communities, although many of the former secretly fled to Spanish cities and haciendas to escape forced labor obligations. Mestizos (meh-STEE-zohz), people of mixed European and indigenous descent, held a higher social status than other nonwhites, but a lower status than Europeans who could prove the "purity" of their blood.

Demands for Liberty and Equality

In addition to destabilizing social changes, the ideals of liberty and equality helped fuel revolutions in the Atlantic world. The call for liberty was first of all a call for individual human rights. Supporters of the cause of individual liberty (who became known as “liberals” in the early nineteenth century) demanded freedom to worship according to the dictates of their consciences, an end to censorship, and freedom from arbitrary laws and from judges who simply obeyed orders from the government.

The call for liberty was also a call for a new kind of government. Reformers believed that the people had sovereignty — that is, that the people alone had the authority to make laws limiting an individual’s freedom of action. In practice, this system of government meant choosing legislators who represented the people and were accountable to them. Monarchs might retain their thrones, but their rule should be constrained by the will of the people.

Equality was a more ambiguous idea. Eighteenth-century liberals argued that, in theory, all citizens should have identical rights and liberties. However, they accepted a number of distinctions. First, most male eighteenth-century liberals believed that equality between men and women was neither practical nor desirable. Women played an important informal role in the Atlantic revolutions, but in each case male legislators limited formal political rights — the right to vote, to run for office, to participate in government — to men. Second, few questioned the superiority of people of European descent over those of indigenous or African origin. Even those who believed that the slave trade was unjust and should be abolished, such as Thomas Jefferson, usually felt that emancipation was so socially and economically dangerous that it must be undertaken slowly and gradually, if at all.

Finally, liberals never believed that everyone should be equal economically. Great differences in wealth and income between rich and poor were perfectly acceptable, so long as every free white male had a legally equal chance at economic gain. However limited they appear to modern eyes, these demands for liberty and equality were revolutionary, given that a privileged elite had long existed with little opposition.

The two most important Enlightenment influences for late-eighteenth-century liberals were John Locke and the baron de Montesquieu. Locke maintained that England’s long political tradition rested on “the rights of Englishmen” and on representative government through Parliament. He argued that if a government oversteps its proper function of protecting the natural rights of life, liberty, and private property, it becomes a tyranny. Montesquieu was also an admirer of England’s Parliament. He believed that powerful “intermediary groups” — such as the judicial nobility of which he was a proud member — offered the best defense of liberty against despotism.

The Atlantic revolutions began with aspirations for equality and liberty among the social elite. Soon, however, dissenting voices emerged as some revolutionaries became frustrated with the limitations of liberal notions of equality and liberty and clamored for a fuller realization of these concepts. Depending on location, their demands included political rights for women and free people of color, the emancipation of slaves, better treatment of indigenous people, and government regulations to reduce economic inequality. The age of revolution was thus characterized by bitter conflicts over how far reform should go and to whom it should apply. (See “Thinking Like a Historian: The Rights of Which Men?” page 628.)

THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN

The Rights of Which Men?

In August 1789 the legislators of the French Revolution adopted the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, enshrining full legal equality under the law for French citizens. Who exactly could become a citizen and what rights they might enjoy quickly became contentious issues.

1 **Robespierre on the distinction between active and passive citizenship, 1789.** In a November 1789 letter, Maximilien Robespierre denounced the decision to limit political participation to those with a certain amount of wealth. In 1792 a new law installed universal suffrage, but wealth restrictions returned under the Directory in 1795.

■ No doubt you know that a specific sum of money is being demanded of citizens for them to exercise the rights of citizens; that they must pay a tax equivalent to three days' work in order to participate in the primary assemblies; ten days' to be a member of the secondary assemblies which are called departments; finally 54 livres tax and possession of landed property to be eligible for the national assembly. These provisions are the work of the aristocratic party in the Assembly which has not even permitted the others to defend the rights of the people and has constantly shouted them down; so that the most important of all our deliberations was taken without discussion, carried off in tumult. . . .

[I]t seems to me that a representation founded on the bases I have just indicated could easily raise up an aristocracy of riches on the ruins of the feudal aristocracy; and I do not see that the people which should be the aim of every political institution will gain much from this kind of arrangement. Moreover I fail to see how representatives who derive their power from their constituents, that is to say from all the citizens without distinction of wealth, have the right to despoil the major part of these constituents of the power which they have confided to them.

2 **Petition of the French Jews, 1790.** After granting civil rights to Protestants in December 1789, the National Assembly began to consider the smaller but more controversial population of French Jews. Eager to become citizens in their own right, the Jews of Paris, Alsace, and Lorraine presented a joint petition to the National Assembly in January 1790.

■ A great question is pending before the supreme tribunal of France. *Will the Jews be citizens or not? . . .*

In general, civil rights are entirely independent from religious principles. And all men of whatever religion, whatever sect they belong to, whatever creed they practice, provided that their creed, their sect, their religion does not offend the principles of a pure and severe morality, all these men, we say, equally able to serve the fatherland, defend its interests, contribute to its splendor, should all equally have the title and the rights of citizen. . . .

Reflect, then, on the condition of the Jews. Excluded from all the professions, ineligible for all the positions, deprived even of the capacity to acquire property, not daring and not being able to sell openly the merchandise of their commerce, to what extremity are you reducing them? You do not want them to die, and yet you refuse them the means to live: you refuse them the means, and you crush them with taxes. You leave them therefore really no other resource than usury [lending money with interest]. . . .

Everything is changing; the lot of the Jews must change at the same time; and the people will not be more surprised by this particular change than by all those which they see around them everyday.

3 **Free men of color address the National Assembly, 1789.** In the first years of the Revolution, debate raged over the question of political equality in Saint-Domingue. In October 1789 a group of free men of color appeared before the National Assembly to present an appeal for political rights for themselves (but not for the enslaved).

■ [C]itizens of all classes have been called to the great work of public regeneration; all have contributed to writing complaints and nominating deputies to defend their rights and set forth their interests.

The call of liberty has echoed in the other hemisphere.

It should certainly have erased even the memory of these outrageous distinctions between citizens of the same land; instead, it has brought forth even more appalling ones. . . . In this strange system, the citizens of color find themselves represented by the white colonists' deputies, although they have still never been included in their partial assemblies and they have not entrusted any power to these deputies. Their opposition interests, which sadly are only too obvious, make such representation absurd and contradictory. . . . The citizens of color are clearly as qualified as the whites to demand this representation.

Like them they are all citizens, free and French; the edict of March 1685 accords them all such rights and guarantees them all such privileges. . . . Like them they are property owners and farmers; like them they contribute to the relief of the state by paying the levies and bearing all expenses that they and the whites share. Like them they have already shed their blood and are prepared to spill it again for the defense of the fatherland. Like them, finally, though with less encouragement and means, they have proven their patriotism again and again.

4 **Etta Palm d'Aelders on the rights of women, 1791.** During the Revolution, Dutch-born Etta Palm d'Aelders became an outspoken advocate for women's rights. In her *Address of French Citizenesses to the National Assembly*, she addresses the National Assembly in opposition to a proposed law reserving for husbands the capacity to seek legal redress for adultery.

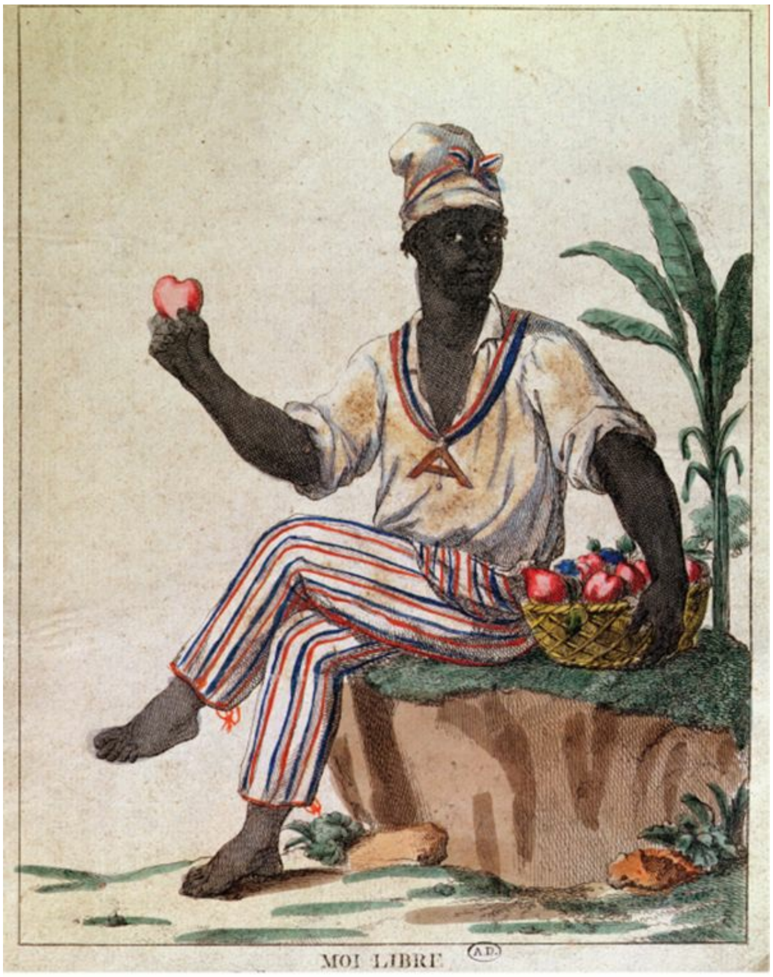
■ It is a question of your duty, your honor, your interest, to destroy down to their roots these gothic laws which abandon the weakest but [also] the most worthy half of humanity to a humiliating existence, to an eternal slavery.

You have restored to man the dignity of his being in recognizing his rights; you will no longer allow woman to groan beneath an arbitrary authority; that would be to overturn the fundamental principles on which rests the stately edifice you are raising by your untiring labors for the happiness of Frenchmen. It is too late to equivocate. Philosophy has drawn truth from the darkness; the time has come; justice, sister of liberty, calls all individuals to the equality of rights, without discrimination of sex; the laws of a free people must be equal for all beings, like the air and the sun. . . .

[T]he powers of husband and wife must be equal and separate. The law cannot establish any difference between these two authorities; they must give equal protection and maintain a perpetual balance between the two married people. . . .

You will complete your work by giving girls a moral education equal to that of their brothers; for education is for the soul what watering is for plants; it makes it fertile, causes it to bloom, fortifies it, and carries the germ productive of virtue and talents to a perfect maturity.

5 **"I Am Free," allegorical portrait of the liberation of Caribbean slaves, ca. 1794.** Celebrating the abolition of slavery by the French revolutionary government in 1794, this print depicts a freed slave dressed in the national colors of red, white, and blue and wearing the Liberty cap, an important symbol of the Revolution. The adoption of the cap in France was inspired by the bonnet given by Roman slave owners to their slaves in the ritual of manumission.



Bibliothèque des Arts Decoratifs, Paris, France/Archives Charmet/Bridgeman Images

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. Both the citizenship distinction discussed by Robespierre in Source 1 and the petition by the Jews of France in Source 2 raise the issue of the relationship between economic status and citizenship rights. How would you compare the relationships in each case?
2. Compare the arguments made by the free men of color in Source 3 and Etta Palm d’Aelders in Source 4. Why did the free men insist on the strong contributions they had already made while d’Aelders emphasized women’s weakness and humiliation? What do these rhetorical strategies tell you about contemporary ideas about masculinity and femininity?
3. What does Source 5 tell you about claims made for emancipating Caribbean slaves? How would you compare this image’s implicit arguments for emancipation with the claims for rights voiced in the other sources? What can images do that written texts cannot?

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

Using the sources above, along with what you have learned in class and in this chapter, write a short essay exploring how different groups drew on the events, language, and principles of the French Revolution to make their claims. Keep in mind both differences and similarities in their rhetorical strategies as well as any additional sources of legitimation they employed.

Sources: (1) John Hardman, *The French Revolution Sourcebook* (London: Arnold, 2002), pp. 120–121; (2) Excerpt from pp. 93, 95–97 in *The French Revolution and Human Rights: A Brief Documentary History,* edited, translated, and with an introduction by Lynn Hunt. © 1996 by Bedford/St. Martin's. Used by permission of Bedford/St. Martin's; (3) Laurent Dubois and John D. Garrigus, *Slave Revolution in the Caribbean, 1789–1804: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2006), pp. 68–69; (4) Darline Gay Levy, Harriet Branson Applewhite, and Mary Durham Johnson, eds., *Women in Revolutionary Paris, 1789–1795* (Champaign-Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981), pp. 75–77.

The Seven Years' War

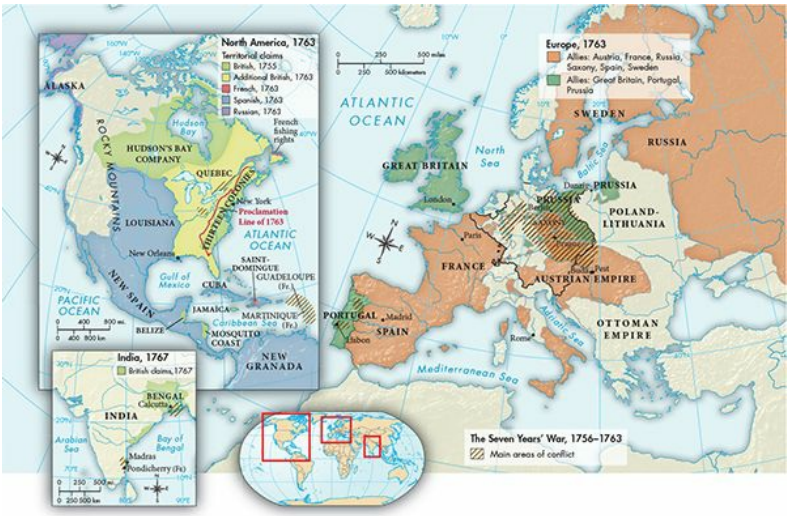
The roots of revolutionary ideology could be found in Enlightenment texts, but it was by no means inevitable that such ideas would result in revolution. Instead events — political, economic, and military — created crises that opened the door for radical action. One of the most important was the global conflict known as the Seven Years' War (1756–1763).

The war's battlefields stretched from central Europe to India to North America, pitting a new alliance of England and Prussia against the French, Austrians, and, later, Spanish. Its origins were in conflicts left unresolved at the end of the War of the Austrian Succession in 1748, during which Prussia had seized the Austrian territory of Silesia. In central Europe, Austria's monarch Maria Theresa vowed to win back Silesia and to crush Prussia. By the end of the Seven Years' War, Maria Theresa had almost succeeded, but Prussia survived with its boundaries intact.

In North America the encroachment of English settlers into territory claimed by the French in the Ohio Valley resulted in skirmishes that soon became war. Although the inhabitants of New France were greatly outnumbered by British colonists, their forces achieved major victories until 1758. Both sides relied on the participation of Native American tribes with whom they had long-standing trade contacts and actively sought new indigenous allies during the conflict. The tide of the conflict turned when the British diverted resources from the war in Europe, using superior sea power to destroy the French fleet and choke French commerce around the world.

British victory on all colonial fronts was ratified in the 1763 **Treaty of Paris**. Canada and all French territory east of the Mississippi River passed to Britain, and France ceded Louisiana to Spain as compensation for Spain's loss of Florida to Britain. France also gave up most of its holdings in India, opening the way to British dominance on the subcontinent (Map 22.1).

Treaty of Paris The 1763 peace treaty that ended the Seven Years' War, according vast French territories in North America and India to Britain and Louisiana to Spain.


North America, 1763
Territorial claims
British, 1755
Additional British, 1763
French, 1763
Spanish, 1763
Russian, 1763
ALASKA
ROCKY MOUNTAINS
HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY
Hudson Bay
QUEBEC
French fishing rights
THIRTEEN COLONIES
New York
Proclamation Line of 1763
LOUISIANA
New Orleans
ATLANTIC OCEAN
SAINT-DOMINGUE
GUADELOUPE (Fr.)
Gulf of Mexico
CUBA
NEW SPAIN
PACIFIC OCEAN
JAMAICA
MARTINIQUE (Fr.)
Caribbean Sea
BELIZE
MOSQUITO COAST
NEW GRANADA
India, 1767
British claims, 1767
BENGAL
Calcutta
INDIA
Arabian Sea
Bay of Bengal
Madras
Pondicherry (Fr.)
Europe, 1763
Allies: Austria, France, Russia, Saxony, Spain, Sweden
Allies: Great Britain, Portugal, Prussia
ATLANTIC OCEAN
North Sea
GREAT BRITAIN
London
SWEDEN
RUSSIA
Baltic Sea
PRUSSIA
POLAND-LITHUANIA
Paris
FRANCE
AUSTRIAN EMPIRE
PORTUGAL
Madrid
SPAIN
Lisbon
Rome
Adriatic Sea
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Mediterranean Sea
The Seven Years' War, 1756–1763
Main areas of conflict

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 22.1 The Seven Years' War in Europe, North America, and India, 1755–1763 As a result of the war, France lost its vast territories in North America and India. In an effort to avoid costly conflicts with Native Americans living in the newly conquered territory, the British government in 1763 prohibited colonists from settling west of the Appalachian Mountains. One of the few remaining French colonies in the Americas, Saint-Domingue (on the island of Hispaniola) was the most profitable plantation in the New World.

The war was costly for all participants, and in its aftermath British, French, and Spanish governments had to increase taxes to repay loans, raising a storm of protest and demands for political reform. Since the Caribbean colony of Saint-Domingue (san-doh-MANGH) remained French, revolutionary turmoil in the mother country would directly affect its population. The seeds of revolutionary conflict in the Atlantic world were thus sown.

The American Revolutionary Era, 1775–1789

Why and how did American colonists forge a new, independent nation?

Increased taxes and government control sparked colonial protests in the New World, where the era of liberal political revolution began. After revolting against their home country, the thirteen mainland colonies of British North America succeeded in establishing a new unified government. Participants in the revolution believed they were demanding only the traditional rights of English men and women. But those traditional rights were liberal rights, and in the American context they had strong democratic and popular overtones. Yet the revolution was a grievous disappointment to the one-fifth of the American population living in slavery who were denied freedom under the new government, despite its liberal principles.

The Origins of the Revolution

The high cost of the Seven Years' War doubled the British national debt. Anticipating further expenses to defend newly conquered territories, the British government broke with tradition and announced that it would maintain a large army in North America and tax the colonies directly. In 1765 Parliament passed the Stamp Act, which levied taxes on a long list of commercial and legal documents, diplomas, newspapers, almanacs, and playing cards. These measures seemed perfectly reasonable to the British, for a much heavier stamp tax already existed in Britain, and proceeds from the tax were to fund the defense of the colonies. Nonetheless, the colonists vigorously protested the Stamp Act by rioting and by boycotting British goods. Thus Parliament reluctantly repealed it.

This dispute raised an important political issue. The British government believed that Americans were represented in Parliament, albeit indirectly (like most British people), and that Parliament ruled throughout the empire. Many Americans felt otherwise, and came to see British colonial administration and parliamentary supremacy as grave threats to existing American liberties.

Americans' resistance to these threats was fed by the great degree of independence they had long enjoyed. In British North America, unlike in England and Europe, religious freedom was taken for granted. Colonial assemblies made the important laws, which were seldom overturned by the British government. Also, the right to vote was much more widespread than in England.

Moreover, greater political equality was matched by greater social and economic equality, at least for the free population. There was no hereditary nobility, and independent farmers dominated colonial society. This was particularly true in the northern colonies, where the revolution originated.

In 1773 disputes over taxes and representation flared up again. Under the Tea Act of that year, the East India Company secured a profitable monopoly on the tea trade, and colonial merchants were excluded. The price on tea was actually lowered for colonists, but the act generated a great deal of opposition because of its impact on local merchants.

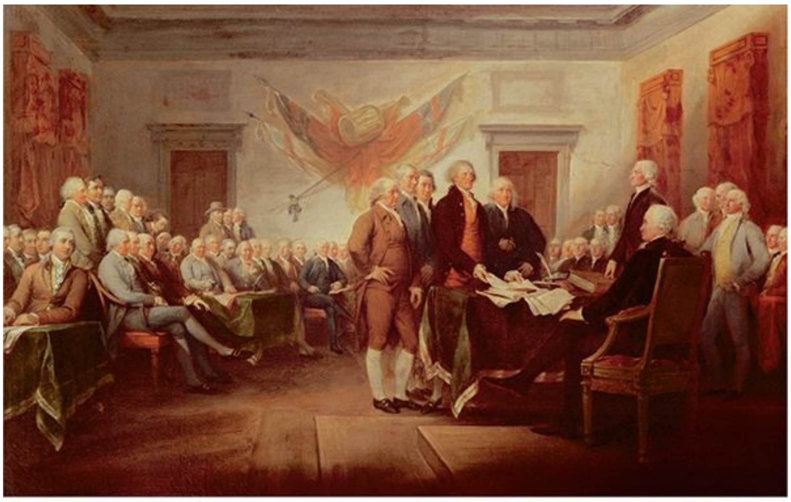
In protest, Boston men disguised as Native Americans held a rowdy Tea Party in which they boarded East India Company ships and threw tea from them into the harbor. In response, the so-called Coercive Acts of 1774 instated a series of harsh measures. County conventions in Massachusetts urged that the acts be “rejected as the attempts of a wicked administration to enslave America.” Other colonial assemblies joined in the denunciations. In September 1774 the First Continental Congress met in Philadelphia. The more radical members of this assembly argued successfully against concessions to the English crown. The British Parliament also rejected compromise, and in April 1775 fighting between colonial and British troops began at Lexington and Concord.

Independence from Britain

As fighting spread, the colonists moved slowly toward open calls for independence. The uncompromising attitude of the British government and its use of German mercenaries did much to dissolve loyalties to the home country and to unite the separate colonies. *Common Sense* (1775), a brilliant attack by the recently arrived English radical Thomas Paine (1737–1809), also mobilized public opinion in favor of independence.

On July 4, 1776, the Second Continental Congress adopted the **Declaration of Independence**. Written by Thomas Jefferson and others, this document boldly listed the tyrannical acts committed by George III (r. 1760–1820) and proclaimed the natural rights of mankind and the sovereignty of the American states. The Declaration of Independence in effect universalized the traditional rights of English people and made them the rights of all mankind.

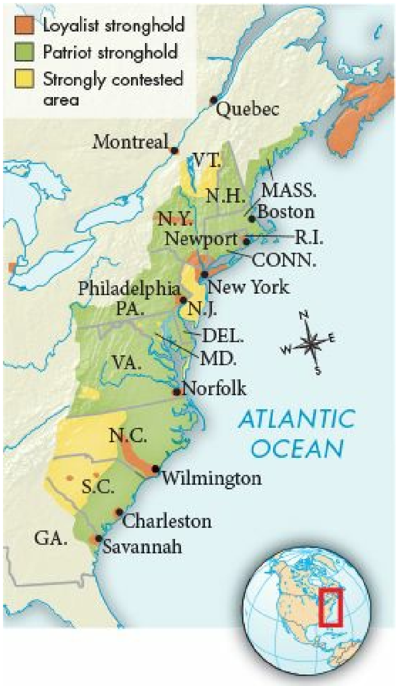
Declaration of Independence The 1776 document in which the American colonies declared independence from Great Britain and recast traditional English rights as universal human rights.



U.S. Capitol Collection/Photo © Boltin Picture Library/Bridgeman Images

The Signing of the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776 John Trumbull's famous painting shows the dignity and determination of America's revolutionary leaders. An extraordinarily talented group, they succeeded in rallying popular support without losing power to more radical forces in the process.

After the Declaration of Independence, the conflict often took the form of a civil war pitting patriots against Loyalists, those who maintained an allegiance to the Crown. The Loyalists, who numbered up to 20 percent of the total white population, tended to be wealthy and politically moderate. They were few in number in New England and Virginia, but more common in the Deep South and on the western frontier. British commanders also recruited Loyalists from enslaved people by promising freedom to any slave who left his master to fight for the mother country.


Loyalist stronghold
Patriot stronghold
Strongly contested area
Quebec
Montreal
VT.
N.H.
MASS.
Boston
N.Y.
Newport
R.I.
CONN.
New York
Philadelphia
PA.
N.J.
DEL.
MD.
VA.
Norfolk
ATLANTIC OCEAN
N.C.
Wilmington
S.C.
Charleston
GA.
Savannah
N
E
W
S

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Loyalist Strength in the Colonies, ca. 1774–1776

On the international scene, the French wanted revenge against the British for the humiliating defeats of the Seven Years' War. Thus they sympathized with the rebels and supplied guns and gunpowder from the beginning of the conflict. In 1778 the French government offered the Americans a formal alliance, and in 1779 and 1780 the Spanish and Dutch declared war on Britain. Catherine the Great of Russia helped organize the League of Armed Neutrality to protect neutral shipping rights and succeeded in hampering Britain's naval power.

Thus by 1780 Britain was engaged in an imperial war against most of Europe as well as the thirteen colonies. In these circumstances, and in the face of severe reverses in India, in the West Indies, and at Yorktown in Virginia, a new British government decided to cut its losses and end the war. Under the Treaty of Paris of 1783, Britain recognized the independence of the thirteen colonies and ceded all its territory between the Allegheny Mountains and the Mississippi River to the Americans.

KEY EVENTS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

1765	Britain passes the Stamp Act
1773	Britain passes the Tea Act
1774	Britain passes the Coercive Acts in response to the Tea Party

	in the colonies; the First Continental Congress refuses concessions to the English crown
April 1775	Fighting begins between colonial and British troops
July 4, 1776	The Second Continental Congress adopts the Declaration of Independence
1778–1780	The French, Spanish, and Dutch side with the colonists against Britain
1783	The Treaty of Paris recognizes the independence of the American colonies
1787	The U.S. Constitution is signed
1791	The first ten amendments to the Constitution are ratified (the Bill of Rights)

Framing the Constitution

The liberal program of the American Revolution was consolidated by the federal Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and the creation of a national republic. Assembling in Philadelphia in the summer of 1787, the delegates to the Constitutional Convention were determined to end the period of economic depression, social uncertainty, and leadership under a weak central government that had followed independence. The delegates thus decided to grant the federal, or central, government important powers: regulation of domestic and foreign trade, the right to tax, and the means to enforce its laws.

The central government would operate in Montesquieu’s framework of checks and balances, under which authority was distributed across three different branches — the executive, legislative, and judicial branches — which would prevent one interest from gaining too much power. The power of the federal government would in turn be checked by that of the individual states.

When the results of the Constitutional Convention were presented to the states for ratification, a great public debate began. The opponents of the proposed Constitution — the **Antifederalists** — charged that the framers of the new document had taken too much power from the individual states and made the federal government too strong. Moreover, many Antifederalists feared for the individual freedoms for which they had fought. To overcome these objections, the Federalists promised to spell out these basic freedoms as soon as the new Constitution was adopted. The result was the first ten amendments to the Constitution, which the first

Congress passed shortly after it met in New York in March 1789. These amendments, ratified in 1791, formed an effective Bill of Rights to safeguard the individual.

Antifederalists Opponents of the American Constitution who felt it diminished individual rights and accorded too much power to the federal government at the expense of the states.

Limitations of Liberty and Equality

The American Constitution and the Bill of Rights exemplified the strengths and the limits of what came to be called classical liberalism. Liberty meant individual freedoms and political safeguards. Liberty also meant representative government, but it did not mean democracy, with its principle of one person, one vote. Equality meant equality before the law, not equality of political participation or wealth. It did not mean equal rights for slaves, Native Americans, or women.

A vigorous abolitionist movement during the 1780s led to the passage of emancipation laws in all northern states, but slavery remained prevalent in the South, and discord between pro- and antislavery delegates roiled the Constitutional Convention of 1787. The result was a set of compromises that ensured that slavery would endure in the United States for the foreseeable future.

The new republic also failed to protect the Native American tribes whose lands fell within or alongside the territory ceded by Britain at the Treaty of Paris. The 1787 Constitution promised protection to Native Americans and guaranteed that their land would not be taken without consent. Nonetheless, the rights and interests of Native Americans were generally ignored as a growing colonial population pushed westward.

Women played a vital role in the American Revolution. They were essential participants in boycotts of British goods, which squeezed profits from British merchants and fostered the revolutionary spirit. After the outbreak of war, women raised funds for the Continental Army and took care of homesteads, workshops, and other businesses when their men went off to fight. Women did not, however, receive the right to vote in the new Constitution, an omission confirmed by a clause added in 1844.

Revolution in France, 1789–1799

Why and how did revolutionaries in France transform the nation first into a constitutional monarchy and then into a republic that entered war with European powers?

Although inspired in part by events in North America, the French Revolution did not mirror the American example. It was more radical and more complex, more influential and more controversial. For Europeans and most of the rest of the world, it was the great revolution of the eighteenth century, the revolution that opened the modern era in politics.

Breakdown of the Old Order

As did the American Revolution, the French Revolution had its immediate origins in the financial difficulties of the government. The efforts of the ministers of King Louis XV (r. 1715–1774) to raise taxes to meet the expenses of the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War were thwarted by the high courts, known as the parlements. The noble judges of the parlements resented this threat to their exemption from taxation and decried the government's actions as a form of royal despotism.

When renewed efforts to reform the tax system similarly failed in 1776, the government was forced to finance its enormous expenditures during the American war with borrowed money. As a result, the national debt soared. In 1786 the finance minister informed King Louis XVI (r. 1774–1792) that the nation was on the verge of bankruptcy.

Louis XVI's minister of finance convinced the king to call an assembly of notables in 1787 to gain support for major fiscal reforms. The assembled notables declared that sweeping tax changes required the approval of the **Estates General**, the representative body of all three estates. Louis XVI's efforts to reject their demands failed, and in July 1788 he reluctantly called the Estates General into session.

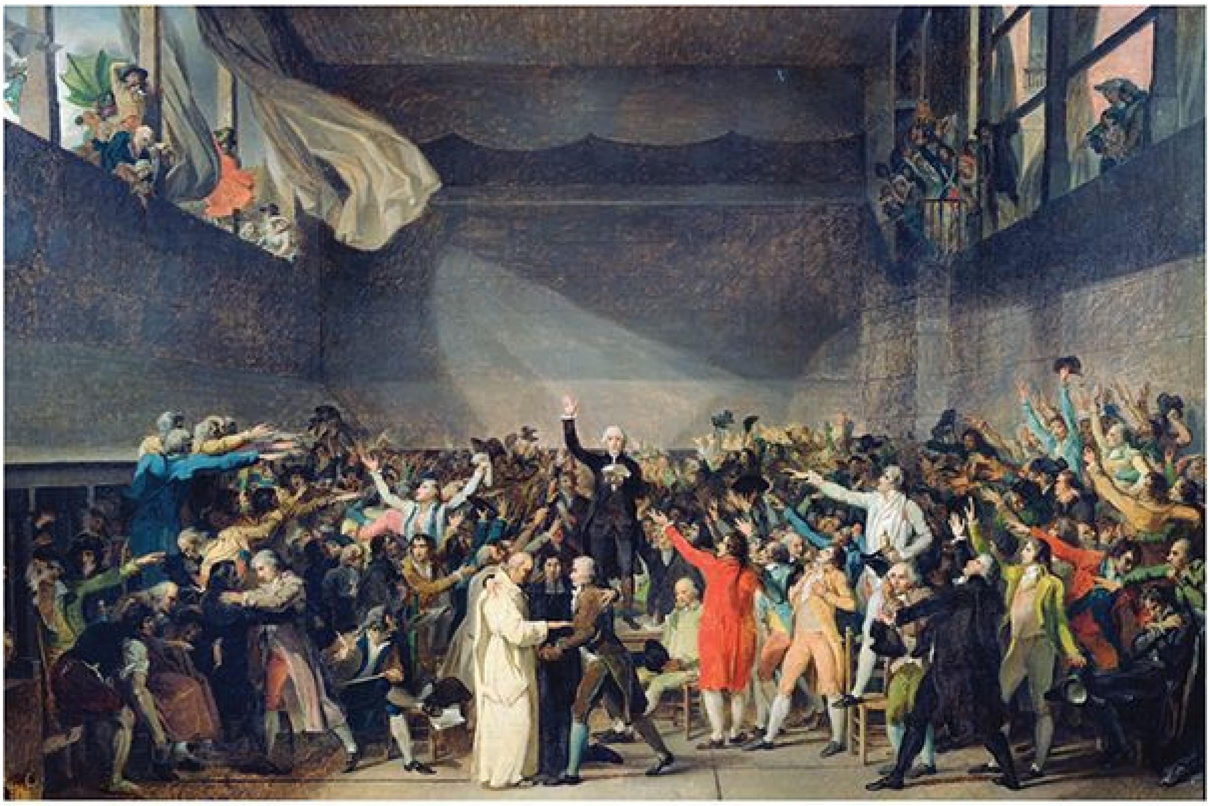
Estates General Traditional representative body of the three estates of France that met in 1789 in response to imminent state bankruptcy.

The National Assembly

The Estates General was a legislative body with representatives from the three orders of society: the clergy, nobility, and commoners. On May 5, 1789, the twelve hundred newly elected delegates of the three estates gathered in Versailles for the opening session of the Estates General. They met in an atmosphere of deepening economic crisis, triggered by a poor grain harvest in 1788.

The Estates General was almost immediately deadlocked by arguments about voting procedures. The government insisted that each estate should meet and vote separately. Critics had demanded instead a single assembly dominated by the third estate. In his famous pamphlet *What Is the Third Estate?* the abbé Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès argued that the nobility was a tiny, overprivileged minority and that commoners constituted the true strength of the French nation. (See “Analyzing the Evidence: Abbé Sieyès, *What Is the Third Estate?* ” page 636.) The issue came to a crisis in June 1789 when delegates of the third estate refused to meet until the king ordered the clergy and nobility to sit with them in a single body. A few parish priests began to go over to the third estate, which on June 17 voted to call itself the **National Assembly**. On June 20 the delegates of the third estate, excluded from their hall because of “repairs,” moved to a large indoor tennis court where they swore the famous Oath of the Tennis Court, pledging not to disband until they had been recognized as a National Assembly and had written a new constitution.

National Assembly French representative assembly formed in 1789 by the delegates of the third estate and some members of the clergy, the second estate.



Musée de la Ville de Paris, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, France/Bridgeman Images

The Tennis Court Oath, June 20, 1789 Painted two years after the event shown, this dramatic painting by Jacques-Louis David depicts a crucial turning point in the early days of the Revolution. On June 20 delegates of the third estate arrived at their meeting hall in the Versailles palace to find the doors closed and guarded. Fearing the king was about to dissolve their meeting by force, the deputies reassembled at a nearby indoor tennis court and swore a solemn oath not to disperse until they had been recognized as the National Assembly.

The king's response was disastrously ambivalent. Although he made a conciliatory speech accepting the deputies' demands, he called a large army toward the capital to bring the Assembly under control, and on July 11 he dismissed his finance minister and other liberal ministers. On July 14, 1789, several hundred common people, angered by the king's actions, stormed the Bastille (ba-STEEL), a royal prison. Ill-judged severity on the part of the Crown thus led to the first episodes of popular violence.

Uprisings also rocked the countryside. In July and August 1789 peasants throughout France began to rise in insurrection against their lords. Fear of marauders and vagabonds hired by vengeful landlords — called the Great Fear by contemporaries — seized the rural poor and fanned the flames of rebellion.

The National Assembly responded to the swell of popular anger with a surprise maneuver on the night of August 4, 1789. By a decree of the Assembly, all the old noble privileges — peasant serfdom where it still existed, exclusive hunting rights, the right to collect fees for having legal cases judged in the lord’s court, the right to make peasants work on the roads, and a host of other entitlements — were abolished along with tithes paid to the church. On August 27, 1789, the Assembly further issued the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. This clarion call of the liberal revolutionary ideal guaranteed equality before the law, representative government for a sovereign people, and individual freedom. It was quickly disseminated throughout France, the rest of Europe, and around the world.

The National Assembly’s declaration had little practical effect for the poor and hungry people of Paris. The economic crisis worsened after the fall of the Bastille, as aristocrats fled the country and the luxury market collapsed. Foreign markets also shrank, and unemployment among the urban working class grew.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

Abbé Sieyès, *What Is the Third Estate?*

In the flood of pamphlets that appeared after Louis XVI's call for a meeting of the Estates General, the most influential was written in 1789 by a Catholic priest named Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès. In *What Is the Third Estate?* the abbé Sieyès vigorously condemned the system of privilege that lay at the heart of French society. The term *privilege* combined the Latin words for "private" and "law." In Old Regime France, no one set of laws applied to all; over time, the monarchy had issued a series of particular laws, or privileges, that enshrined special rights and entitlements for select individuals and groups. Noble privileges were among the weightiest.

Sieyès rejected this entire system of legal and social inequality. Deriding the nobility as a foreign parasite, he argued that the common people of the third estate, who did most of the work and paid most of the taxes, constituted the true nation. His pamphlet galvanized public opinion and played an important role in convincing representatives of the third estate to proclaim themselves a "National Assembly" in June 1789. Sieyès later helped bring Napoleon Bonaparte to power, abandoning the radicalism of 1789 for an authoritarian regime.

1. What is the Third Estate? Everything.
2. What has it been until now in the political order? Nothing.
3. What does it want? To become something.

. . . What is a Nation? A body of associates living under a *common* law and represented by the same *legislature*.

Is it not more than certain that the noble order has privileges, exemptions, and even rights that are distinct from the rights of the great body of citizens? Because of this, it [the noble order] does not belong to the common order, it is not covered by the law common to the rest. Thus its civil rights already make it a people apart inside the great Nation. It is truly *imperium in imperio* [a law unto itself].

As for its *political* rights, the nobility also exercises them separately. It has its own representatives who have no mandate from the people. Its deputies sit separately, and even when they assemble in the same room with the deputies of the ordinary citizens, the nobility's representation still remains essentially distinct and separate: it is foreign to the Nation by its very principle, for its mission does not emanate from the people, and by its purpose, since it consists in defending, not the general interest, but the private interests of the nobility.

The Third Estate therefore contains everything that pertains to the Nation and nobody outside of the Third Estate can claim to be part of the Nation. What is the Third Estate? EVERYTHING. . . .

By Third Estate is meant the collectivity of citizens who belong to the common order. Anybody who holds a legal privilege of any kind leaves that common order, stands as an exception to the common law, and in consequence does not belong to the Third Estate. . . . It is certain that the moment a citizen acquires privileges contrary to common law, he no longer belongs to the common order. His new interest is opposed to the general interest; he has no right to vote in the name of the people. . . .

In vain can anyone's eyes be closed to the revolution that time and the force of things have brought to pass; it is none the less real. Once upon a time the Third Estate was in bondage and the noble order was everything that mattered. Today the Third is everything and nobility but a word. Yet under the cover of this word a new and intolerable aristocracy has slipped in, and the people has every reason to no longer want aristocrats. . . .

What is the will of a Nation? It is the result of individual wills, just as the Nation is the aggregate of the individuals who compose it. It is impossible to conceive of a legitimate association that does not have for its goal the common security, the common liberty, in short, the public good. No doubt each individual also has his own personal aims. He says to himself, "protected by the common security, I will be able to peacefully pursue my own personal projects, I will seek my happiness where I will, assured of encountering only those legal obstacles that society will prescribe for the common interest, in which I have a part, and with which my own personal interest is so usefully allied." . . .

Advantages which differentiate citizens from one another lie outside the purview of citizenship. Inequalities of wealth or ability are like the inequalities of age, sex, size, etc. In no way do they detract from the *equality* of citizenship. These individual advantages no doubt benefit from the protection of the law; but it is not the legislator's task to create them, to give privileges to some and refuse them to others. The law grants nothing; it protects what already exists until such time that what exists begins to harm the common interest. These are the only limits on individual freedom. I imagine the law as being at the center of a large globe; we the citizens without exception, stand equidistant from it on the surface and occupy equal places; all are equally dependent on the law, all present it with their liberty and their property to be protected; and this is what I call the *common rights* of citizens, by which they are all alike. All these individuals communicate with each other, enter into contracts, negotiate, always under the common guarantee of the law. If in this general activity somebody wishes to get control over the person of his neighbor or usurp his property, the common law goes into action to repress this criminal attempt and puts everyone back in their place at the same distance from the law. . . .

It is impossible to say what place the two privileged orders [the clergy and the nobility] ought to occupy in the social order: this is the equivalent of asking what place one wishes to assign to a malignant tumor that torments and undermines the strength of the body of a sick person. It must be *neutralized*. We must re-establish the health and working of all organs so thoroughly that they are no longer susceptible to these fatal schemes that are capable of sapping the most essential principles of vitality.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What criticism of noble privileges does Sieyès offer? Why does he believe nobles are “foreign” to the nation?
2. How does Sieyès define the nation, and why does he believe that the third estate constitutes the nation?
3. What relationship between citizens and the law does Sieyès envision? What limitations on the law does he propose?

Source: Excerpt from pp. 65–70 in *The French Revolution and Human Rights: A Brief Documentary History*, edited, translated, and with an introduction by Lynn Hunt. Copyright © 1996 by Bedford Books of St. Martin’s Press. Used by permission of the publisher.

Constitutional Monarchy

The next two years, until September 1791, saw the consolidation of the liberal revolution. In June 1790 the National Assembly abolished the nobility, and in July the king swore to uphold the as-yet-unwritten constitution. The king remained the head of state, but all lawmaking power now resided in the National Assembly, elected by the wealthiest half of French males. The constitution finally passed in September 1791 was the first in French history. It legalized divorce and broadened women's rights to inherit property and to obtain financial support for illegitimate children from fathers, but excluded women from political office and voting.

In addition to ruling on women's rights, the National Assembly replaced the patchwork of historic provinces with eighty-three departments of approximately equal size. The deputies prohibited monopolies, guilds, and workers' associations and abolished barriers to trade within France. Thus the National Assembly applied the spirit of the Enlightenment in a thorough reform of France's laws and institutions.

The National Assembly also imposed a radical reorganization on religious life. It granted religious freedom to the small minority of French Jews and Protestants. Furthermore, in November 1789 it nationalized the property of the Catholic Church and abolished monasteries.

In July 1790 the Civil Constitution of the Clergy established a national church with priests chosen by voters. The National Assembly then forced the Catholic clergy to take an oath of loyalty to the new government. The pope formally condemned this measure, and only half the priests of France swore the oath. Many sincere Christians, especially those in the countryside, were also upset by these changes in the religious order. The attempt to remake the Catholic Church, like the abolition of guilds and workers' associations, sharpened the conflict between the educated classes and the common people that had been emerging in the eighteenth century.

The National Convention

The outbreak and progress of revolution in France produced great excitement and a sharp division of opinion in Europe and the United States. Liberals and radicals saw a triumph of liberty over despotism, while conservative leaders were deeply troubled by the aroused spirit of reform. In 1790 Edmund Burke published *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, one of the great expressions of European conservatism. He derided abstract principles of "liberty" and "rights" and insisted on the importance of inherited traditions and privileges as a bastion of social stability.

The kings and nobles of continental Europe, who had at first welcomed the revolution in France as weakening a competing power, now feared its impact. In June 1791 the royal family was arrested and returned to Paris after a failed attempt to escape France. To the monarchs of Austria and Prussia, the arrest of a crowned monarch was unacceptable. Two months later they issued the Declaration of Pillnitz, proclaiming their willingness to intervene in France to restore Louis XVI's rule, if necessary.

The new French representative body, called the Legislative Assembly, was dominated by members of the **Jacobin club**, one of the many political clubs that had formed to debate the issues of the day. The Jacobins and other deputies reacted with patriotic fury to the Declaration of Pillnitz, and in April 1792 France declared war on Francis II of Austria, the Habsburg monarch.

Jacobin club A political club during the French Revolution to which many of the deputies of the Legislative Assembly belonged.

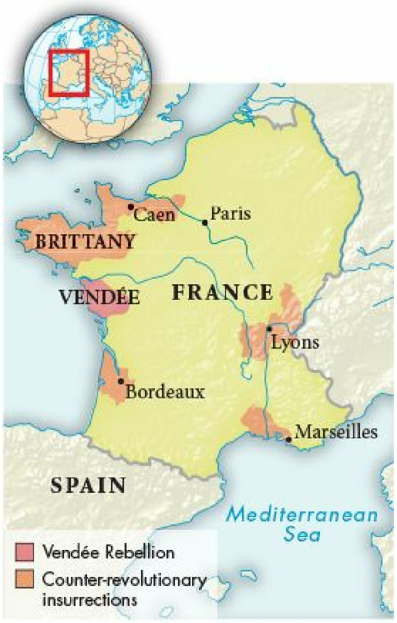
France's crusade against tyranny went poorly at first. Prussian forces joined Austria against the French, who broke and fled at their first military encounter with this First Coalition of antirevolutionary foreign powers. The Legislative Assembly declared the country in danger, and volunteers rallied to the capital. In August the Assembly suspended the king from all his functions and imprisoned him.

The fall of the monarchy marked a rapid radicalization of the Revolution. In late September 1792 a new assembly, called the National Convention, was elected by universal manhood suffrage. The Convention proclaimed France a republic, a nation in which the people, instead of a monarch, held sovereign power. Under the leadership of the **Mountain**, the radical faction of the Jacobin club led by Maximilien Robespierre (ROHBZ-pyayr) and Georges Jacques Danton, the Convention tried and convicted the king for treason. On January 21, 1793, Louis was executed. His wife, Marie Antoinette, suffered the same fate later that year.

Mountain Led by Robespierre, the French National Convention's radical faction, which led the Convention in 1793.

In February 1793 the National Convention declared war on Britain, the

Dutch Republic, and Spain. Republican France was now at war with almost all of Europe, and it faced mounting internal opposition. Peasants in western France revolted against being drafted into the army, with the Vendée region of Brittany emerging as the epicenter of revolt. Devout Catholics, royalists, and foreign agents encouraged their rebellion.



Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Areas of French Insurrection, 1793

By March 1793 the National Convention was locked in struggle between two factions of the Jacobin club, the radical Mountain and the more moderate **Girondists** (juh-RON-dist). With the middle-class delegates so bitterly divided, the laboring poor of Paris once again emerged as the decisive political factor. The laboring poor and the petty traders were often known as the **sans-culottes** (san-koo-LAHT) ("without breeches") because their men wore trousers instead of the knee breeches of the wealthy. (See "Analyzing the Evidence: Contrasting Visions of the Sans-Culottes," at right.) They demanded radical political action to guarantee them their daily bread. The Mountain, sensing an opportunity to outmaneuver the Girondists, joined with sans-culotte activists to engineer a popular uprising. On June 2, 1793, armed sans-culottes invaded the Convention and forced its deputies to arrest twenty-nine Girondist deputies for treason. All power passed to the Mountain.

Girondists A moderate group that fought for control of the French National

Convention in 1793.

sans-culottes The laboring poor of Paris, so called because the men wore trousers instead of the knee breeches of the wealthy; the term came to refer to the militant radicals of the city.

This military and political crisis led to the most radical period of the Revolution, which lasted from spring 1793 until summer 1794. To deal with threats from within and outside France, the Convention formed the Committee of Public Safety in April 1793. Led by Robespierre, the Committee advanced on several fronts in 1793 and 1794. First, in September 1793 Robespierre and his colleagues established a planned economy. Rather than let supply and demand determine prices, the government set maximum allowable prices for key products. Though the state was too weak to enforce all its price regulations, it did fix the price of bread in Paris at levels the poor could afford.

The government also put the people to work producing arms, munitions, and uniforms for the war effort. The government told craftsmen what to produce, nationalized many small workshops, and requisitioned raw materials and grain. These economic reforms amounted to an emergency form of socialism, which thoroughly frightened Europe's propertied classes and greatly influenced the subsequent development of socialist ideology.

Second, the **Reign of Terror** (1793–1794) enforced compliance with republican beliefs and practices. Special revolutionary courts tried "enemies of the nation" for political crimes. As a result, some forty thousand French men and women were executed or died in prison. Presented as a necessary measure to save the republic, the Terror was a weapon directed against all suspected of opposing the revolutionary government.

Reign of Terror The period from 1793 to 1794, during which Robespierre's Committee of Public Safety tried and executed thousands suspected of political crimes and a new revolutionary culture was imposed.

In their efforts to impose unity, the Jacobins also took actions to suppress women's participation in political debate, which they perceived as disorderly and a distraction from women's proper place in the home. On October 30, 1793, the National Convention declared, "The clubs and popular societies of women, under whatever denomination are prohibited."

The third element of the Committee's program was to bring about a cultural revolution that would transform former royal subjects into republican citizens. The government sponsored revolutionary art and songs as well as secular holidays and open-air festivals to celebrate republican virtues. It also attempted to rationalize daily life by adopting the decimal system for weights and measures and a new calendar based on ten-day weeks. A campaign of de-Christianization aimed to eliminate Catholic symbols and beliefs. Fearful of the hostility aroused in rural France, however, Robespierre called for a halt to de-Christianization measures in mid-1794.

The final element in the program of the Committee of Public Safety was its appeal to a new sense of national identity and patriotism. With a common language and a common tradition reinforced by the revolutionary ideals of popular sovereignty and democracy, many French people developed an intense emotional attachment to the nation. This was the birth of modern nationalism, the strong identification with one's nation, which would have a profound effect on subsequent European history.

KEY EVENTS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

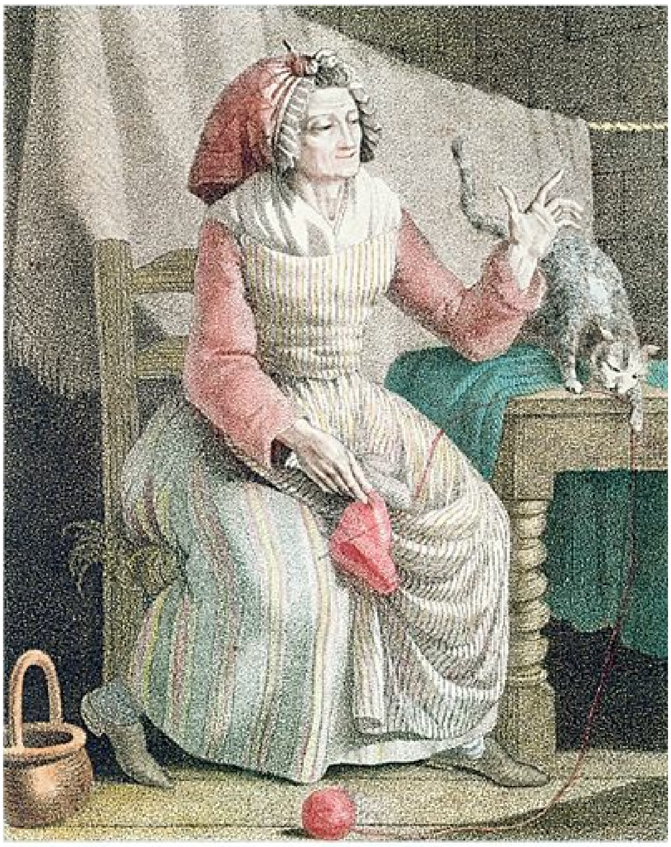
May 5, 1789	Estates General meets at Versailles
June 20, 1789	Oath of the Tennis Court
July 14, 1789	Storming of the Bastille
July–August 1789	Great Fear
August 4, 1789	National Assembly abolishes noble privileges
August 27, 1789	National Assembly issues Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen
July 1790	Civil Constitution of the Clergy establishes a national church; Louis XVI agrees to a constitutional monarchy
June 1791	Royal family is arrested while attempting to flee France
August 1791	Austria and Prussia issue the Declaration of Pillnitz
April 1792	France declares war on Austria
August 1792	Legislative Assembly takes Louis XVI prisoner and suspends him from functions
September 1792	National Convention declares France a republic and

	abolishes monarchy
January 21, 1793	Louis XVI is executed
February 1793	France declares war on Britain, the Dutch Republic, and Spain; revolts in some provinces
March 1793	Struggle between Girondists and the Mountain
June 1793	Sans-culottes invade the National Convention; Girondist leaders are arrested
September 1793	Price controls are instituted to aid the poor
1793–1794	Reign of Terror
Spring 1794	French armies are victorious on all fronts
July 1794	Robespierre is executed; Thermidorian reaction begins
1795	Economic controls are abolished, and suppression of the sans-culottes begins
1795–1799	Directory rules
1798–1799	Austria, Britain, and Russia form the Second Coalition against France
1799	Napoleon Bonaparte overthrows the Directory and seizes power

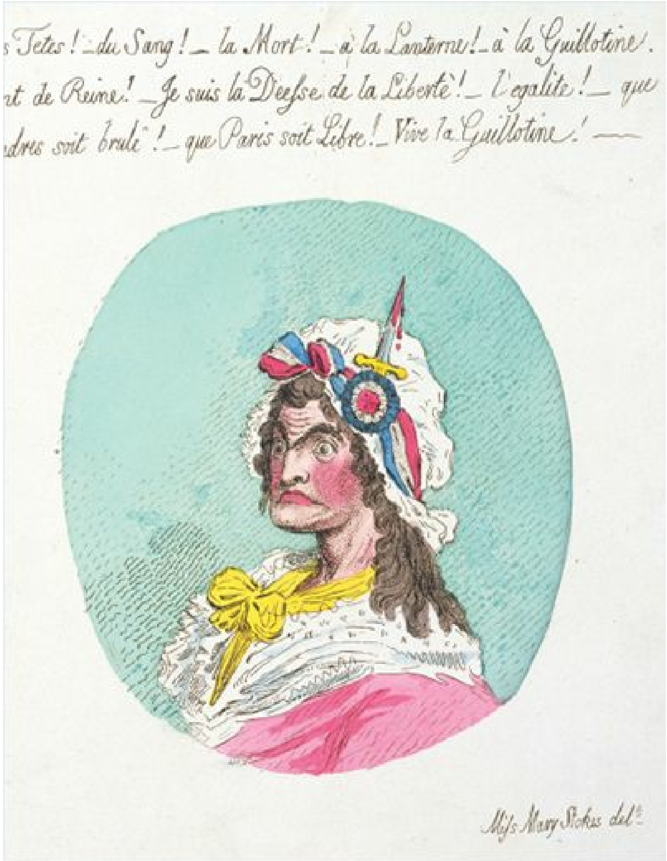
To defend the nation, a decree of August 1793 imposed a draft on all unmarried young men. By January 1794 French armed forces outnumbered those of their enemies almost four to one. By spring 1794 French armies were victorious on all fronts and domestic revolt was largely suppressed. The republic was saved.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

Contrasting Visions of the Sans-Culottes



Musée de la Ville de Paris, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, France/Archives Charmet/Bridgeman Images


s Tetes! _ du Sang! _ la Mort! _ à la Lanterne! _ à la Guillotine.
nt de Reine! _ Je suis la Deeſse de la Liberté! _ l'egalité! _ que
dres soit brulé! _ que Paris soit Libre! _ Vive la Guillotine! —
Miſs Mary Stokes del.

By James Gillray [1757–1615]/© Courtesy of the Warden and Scholars of New College, Oxford, UK/Bridgeman Images

These two images offer profoundly different representations of a sans-culotte woman. The image on the top was created by a French artist, while the image on the bottom is English. The French words above the image on the bottom read in part, "Heads! Blood! Death! . . . I am the Goddess of Liberty! . . . Long Live the Guillotine!" Both of these illustrations underline the importance of gendered imagery in the French Revolution. Although women were denied active participation in the political life of the new republic, both supporters and opponents of the Revolution used representations of women to depict the events that unfolded after 1789. Proponents of traditional social order and hierarchy employed images of bloodthirsty radical women to suggest that the Revolution had turned the *world upside down* and perverted women's naturally docile and domestic character. By contrast, those who supported the Revolution were eager to emphasize the down-to-earth virtue of common women.

In both images, the artists have focused attention on clothing and physical appearance as a way to convey their messages about the political and moral character of the sans-culotte woman. During the Revolution, French women themselves clashed over the issue of how to use clothing to support the Revolution. The woman on the bottom is wearing the cockade, a tricolor rosette of ribbons that was adopted in 1789 as a revolutionary symbol. During the Terror in 1793, the Society of Revolutionary Republican Women, a club of radical women associated with the sans-culotte movement, successfully demanded that all women be required by law to wear the cockade, a measure that led to violent protests by other women. Brawls between competing groups of women over the cockade helped persuade the National Convention to outlaw all female clubs and any political participation by women in October 1793.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. How would you describe the woman on the top? What qualities does the artist seem to ascribe to her, and how do you think these qualities relate to the sans-culottes and the Revolution?
2. How would you characterize the facial expression and attire of the woman on the bottom? How does the inclusion of the text contribute to your impressions of her?
3. What does the contrast between these two images suggest about differences between French and English perceptions of the sans-culottes and of the French Revolution? Why do you think the artists have chosen to depict women? How did the artists use the women’s clothing and appearances to support their implicit arguments about the sans-culottes?

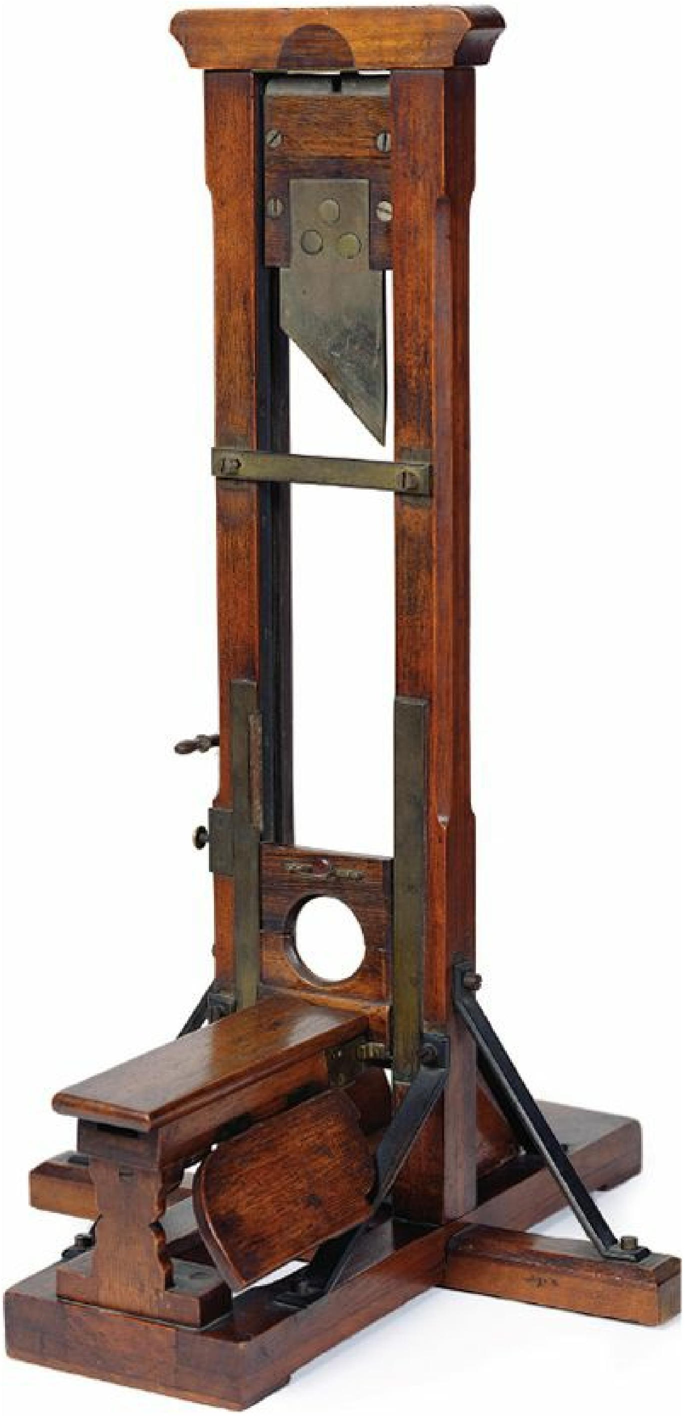
The Directory

The success of French armies led the Committee of Public Safety to relax emergency economic controls, but they extended the political Reign of Terror. The revolutionary tribunals sent many critics to the guillotine, including long-standing collaborators whom Robespierre believed had turned against him. A group of radicals and moderates in the Convention, knowing that they might be next, organized a conspiracy. They howled down Robespierre when he tried to speak to the National Convention on July 27, 1794 — a date known as 9 Thermidor according to France’s newly adopted republican calendar. The next day it was Robespierre’s turn to be guillotined.

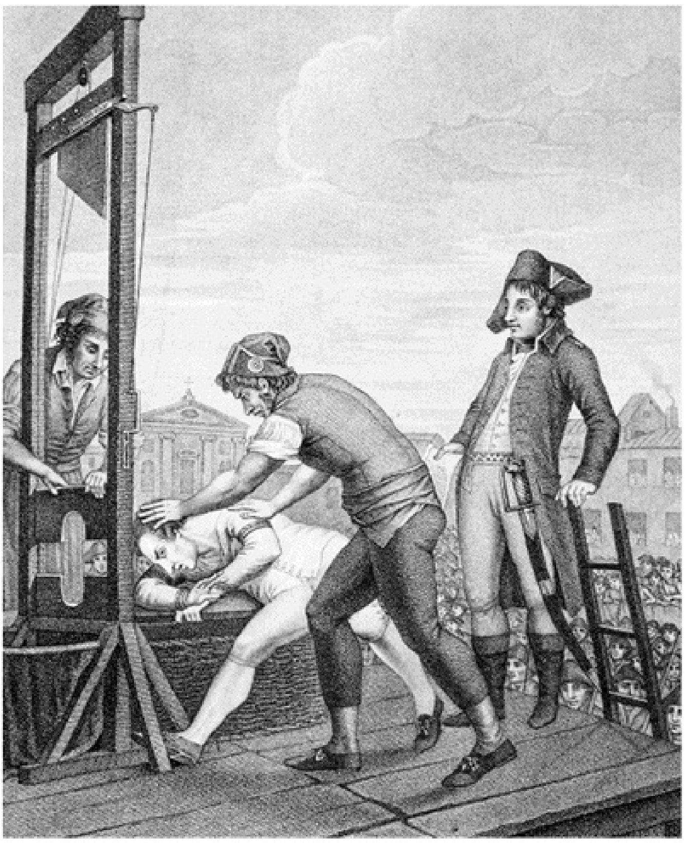
The respectable middle-class lawyers and professionals who had led the liberal Revolution of 1789 then reasserted their authority. This period of **Thermidorian reaction**, as it was called, harkened back to the moderate beginnings of the Revolution. In 1795 the National Convention abolished many economic controls and severely restricted local political organizations. In addition, the middle-class members of the National Convention wrote a new constitution restricting eligibility to serve as a deputy to men of substantial means. To prevent a new Robespierre from monopolizing power, the new Assembly granted executive power to a five-man body, called the Directory.

Thermidorian reaction A reaction in 1794 to the violence of the Reign of Terror, resulting in the execution of Robespierre and the loosening of economic controls.

The Directory continued to support military expansion abroad, but war was no longer so much a crusade as a response to economic problems. Large, victorious armies reduced unemployment at home. However, the French people quickly grew weary of the corruption and ineffectiveness that characterized the Directory. This general dissatisfaction revealed itself clearly in the national elections of 1797, which returned a large number of conservative and even monarchist deputies. Fearing for its survival, the Directory used the army to nullify the elections and began to govern dictatorially. Two years later Napoleon Bonaparte ended the Directory in a coup d’état (koo day-TAH) and substituted a strong dictatorship for a weak one. While claiming to uphold revolutionary values, Napoleon would install authoritarian rule.



Musée de la Ville de Paris, Musée Carnavalet, Paris,
France/Bridgeman Images



National Library, Madrid, Spain/Photo © Tarker/ Bridgeman Images

The Execution of Robespierre Completely wooden except for the heavy iron blade, the guillotine was devised by a French revolutionary doctor named Guillotin as a humane method of execution. The guillotine was painted red for Robespierre’s execution. Large crowds witnessed the execution in a majestic public square in central Paris, then known as the Place de la Revolution and now called the Place de la Concorde (Harmony Square).

Napoleon's Europe, 1799–1815

How did Napoleon Bonaparte assume control of France and much of Europe, and what factors led to his downfall?

For almost fifteen years, from 1799 to 1814, France was in the hands of a keen-minded military dictator of exceptional ability. Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821) realized the need to put an end to civil strife in France in order to create unity and consolidate his rule. And he did. But Napoleon saw himself as a man of destiny, and the glory of war and the dream of universal empire proved irresistible.

Napoleon's Rule of France

Born on the Mediterranean island of Corsica into an impoverished noble family, Napoleon left home and became a lieutenant in the French artillery in 1785. Rising rapidly in the new army, Napoleon was placed in command of French forces in Italy and won brilliant victories there in 1796 and 1797. His next campaign, in Egypt, was a failure, but Napoleon returned to France before the fiasco was generally known. French aggression in Egypt and elsewhere provoked the British to organize a new alliance in 1798, the Second Coalition, which included Austria and Russia.

Napoleon soon learned that some prominent members of the legislature were plotting against the Directory. The dissatisfaction of these plotters stemmed not so much from the fact that the Directory was a dictatorship as from the fact that it was a weak dictatorship.

The young Napoleon, nationally revered for his heroism, was an ideal figure of authority. On November 9, 1799, Napoleon and his conspirators ousted the Directors, and the following day soldiers disbanded the legislature. Napoleon was named first consul of the republic, and a new constitution consolidating his position was overwhelmingly approved in a plebiscite in December 1799. Republican appearances were maintained, but Napoleon became the real ruler of France.

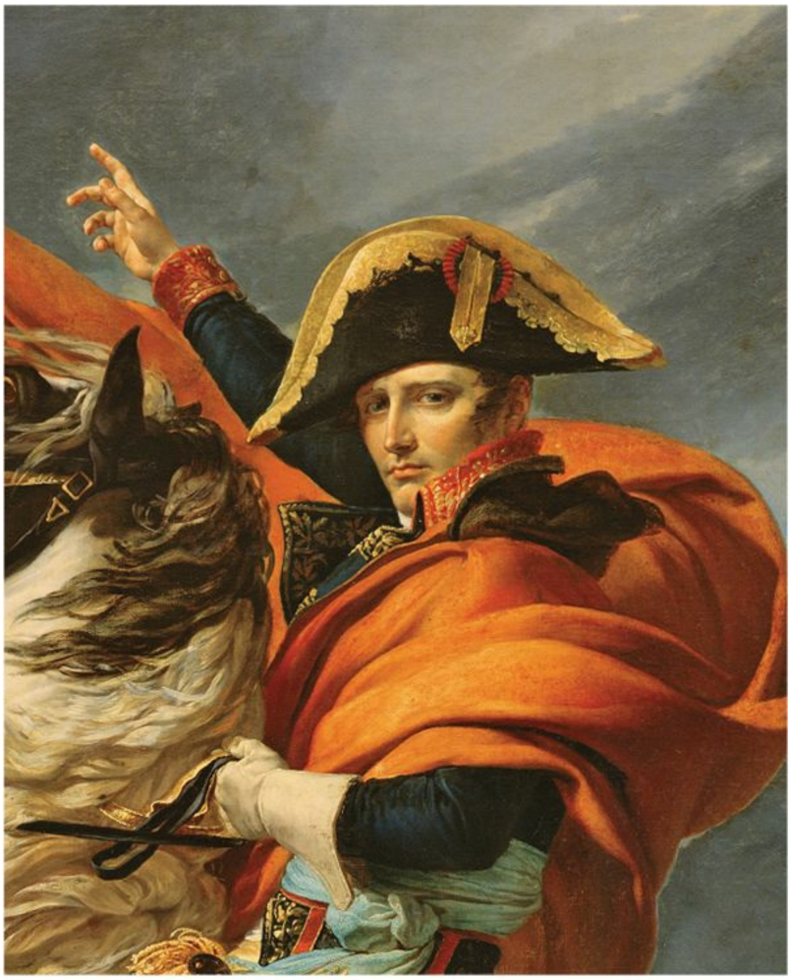
Napoleon worked to maintain order and end civil strife by appeasing powerful groups in France, offering them favors in return for loyal service. Napoleon's bargain with the middle class was codified in the Civil Code of March 1804, also known as the **Napoleonic Code**, which reasserted two of the fundamental principles of the Revolution of 1789: equality of all male citizens before the law and absolute security of wealth and private property. Napoleon and the leading bankers of Paris established the privately owned Bank of France in 1800, which served the interests of both the state and the financial oligarchy. Napoleon won over peasants by defending the gains in land and status they had won during the Revolution.

Napoleonic Code French civil code promulgated in 1804 that reasserted the 1789 principles of the equality of all male citizens before the law and the absolute security of wealth and private property.

At the same time, Napoleon consolidated his rule by recruiting disillusioned revolutionaries for the network of government officials. Nor were members of the old nobility slighted. In 1800 and again in 1802 Napoleon granted amnesty to noble émigrés on the condition that they return to France and take a loyalty oath. Members of this returning elite soon occupied high posts in the expanding centralized state. Napoleon also created a new imperial nobility to reward his most talented generals and officials.

Furthermore, Napoleon sought to restore the Catholic Church in France so that it could serve as a bulwark of social stability. Napoleon and Pope Pius VII (pontificate 1800–1823) signed the Concordat of 1801. Under this agreement the pope gained the right for French Catholics to practice their religion freely, but Napoleon's government now nominated bishops, paid the clergy, and exerted great influence over the church in France.

Order and unity had a price: authoritarian rule. Women lost many of the gains they had made in the 1790s. Under the Napoleonic Code, women were dependents of either their fathers or their husbands, and they could not make contracts or have bank accounts in their own names. Napoleon also curtailed free speech and freedom of the press and manipulated voting in the occasional elections. After 1810 political suspects were held in state prisons, as they had been during the Terror.


Château de Versailles, France/Bridgeman Images

Jacques-Louis David, *Napoleon Bonaparte, First Consul, Crossing the Alps at Great St. Bernard Pass, 20 May 1800*
Napoleon Bonaparte commissioned this portrait by the great painter David to immortalize his crossing of the Alps with the French army on the way to conquer Italy. Napoleon was a master at the use of visual imagery as a form of propaganda to disseminate the legend of his military prowess and extraordinary charisma.

Napoleon’s Expansion in Europe

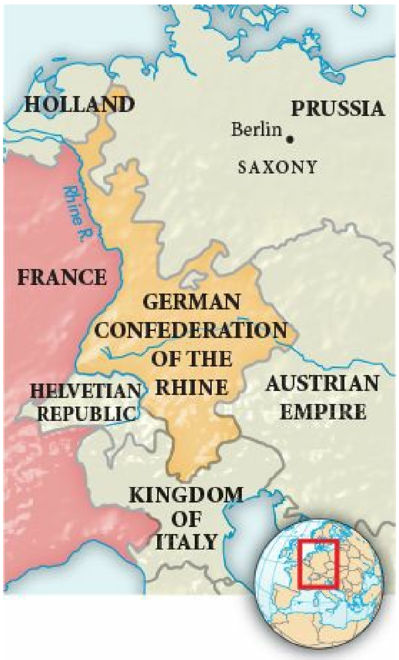
After coming to power in 1799, Napoleon sent peace feelers to Austria and Britain, the dominant powers of the Second Coalition. When these overtures were rejected, French armies led by Napoleon decisively defeated the Austrians. Subsequent treaties with Austria in 1801 and Britain in 1802 consolidated France’s hold on the territories its armies had won up to that point.

In 1802 Napoleon was secure but still driven to expand his power. Aggressively redrawing the map of German-speaking lands so as to weaken Austria and encourage the secondary states of southwestern Germany to side with France, Napoleon tried to restrict British trade with all of Europe. He then plotted to attack Britain, but his Mediterranean fleet was destroyed by Lord Nelson at the Battle of Trafalgar on October 21, 1805.

Austria, Russia, and Sweden joined with Britain to form the Third Coalition against France shortly before the Battle of Trafalgar. Yet the Austrians and the Russians were no match for Napoleon, who scored a brilliant victory over them at the Battle of Austerlitz in December 1805. Russia decided to pull back, and Austria accepted large territorial losses in return for peace as the Third Coalition collapsed.

Napoleon then reorganized the German states to his liking. In 1806 he abolished many tiny German states as well as the Holy Roman Empire and established by decree the German Confederation of the Rhine, a union of fifteen German states minus Austria, Prussia, and Saxony.

Napoleon's intervention in German affairs alarmed the Prussians, who mobilized their armies. In October 1806 Napoleon attacked them and won two more victories at Jena and Auerstädt. The war with Prussia, now joined by Russia, continued into the following spring. After Napoleon won another victory, Alexander I of Russia was ready to negotiate for peace. In the treaties of Tilsit in 1807, Prussia lost half its population through land concessions, while Russia accepted Napoleon's reorganization of western and central Europe and promised to enforce Napoleon's economic blockade against British goods.

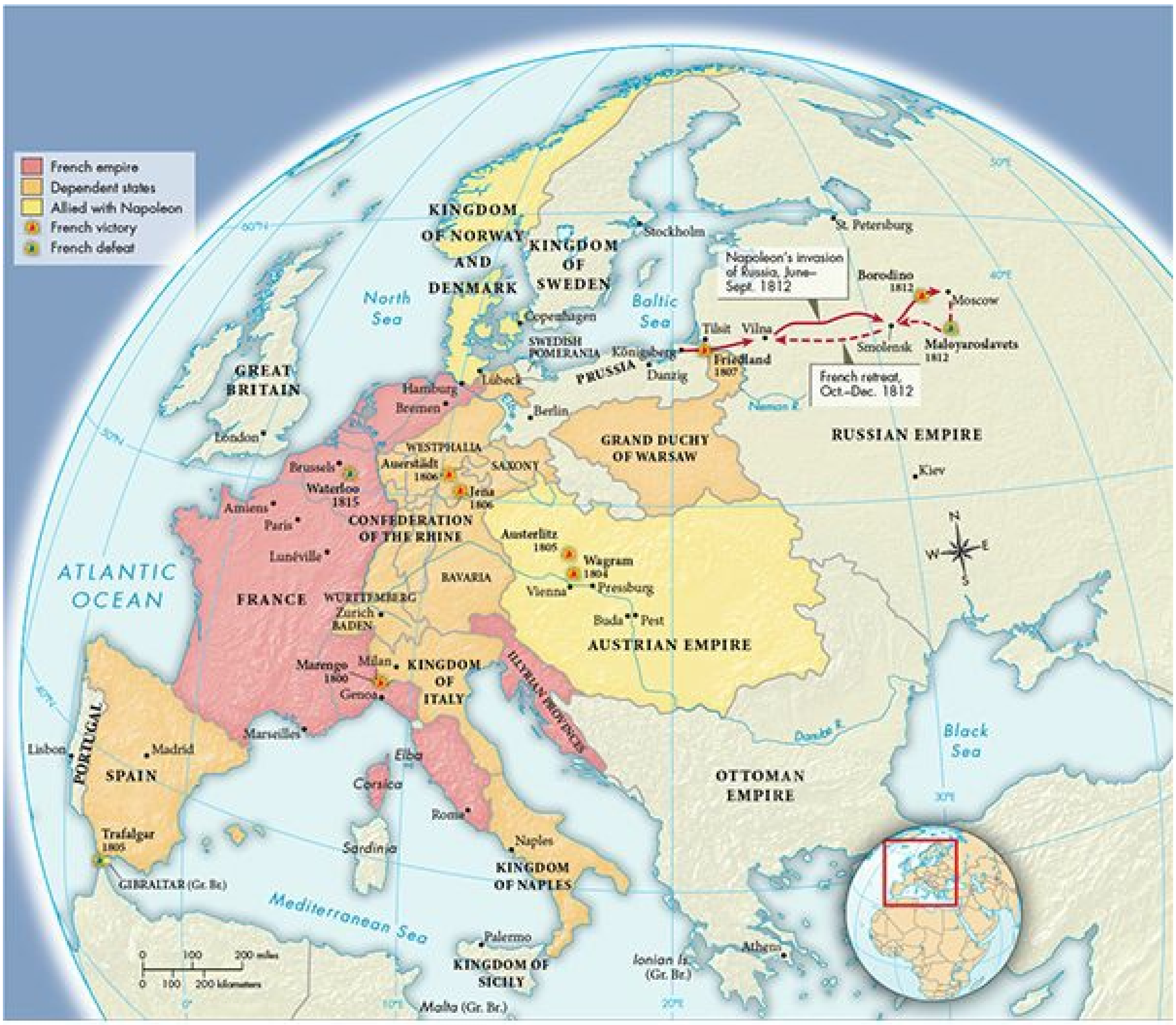


Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e,
© 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

German Confederation of the Rhine, 1806

The Grand Empire and Its End

Napoleon's so-called **Grand Empire** encompassed virtually all of Europe except Great Britain. It consisted of three parts. The core, or first part, was an ever-expanding France (Map 22.2). The second part consisted of a number of dependent satellite kingdoms. The third part comprised the independent but allied states of Austria, Prussia, and Russia. After 1806 both satellites and allies were expected to support Napoleon's **Continental System**, a blockade in which no ship coming from Britain or her colonies was permitted to dock at any port that was controlled by the French. The blockade was intended to destroy the British economy and, thereby, its ability to wage war.


🟥 French empire
🟧 Dependent states
🟨 Allied with Napoleon
● French victory
● French defeat
KINGDOM OF NORWAY AND DENMARK
KINGDOM OF SWEDEN
Stockholm
St. Petersburg
Napoleon's invasion of Russia, June–Sept. 1812
Borodino 1812
Moscow
Maloyaroslavets 1812
Smolensk
Vilna
Tilsit
Königsberg
Friedland 1807
French retreat, Oct.–Dec. 1812
Neman R.
North Sea
Baltic Sea
Copenhagen
SWEDISH POMERANIA
PRUSSIA
Danzig
GREAT BRITAIN
London
Hamburg
Bremen
Lübeck
Berlin
GRAND DUCHY OF WARSAW
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
Kiev
WESTPHALIA
Auerstädt 1806
SAXONY
Jena 1806
Brussels
Waterloo 1815
Amiens
Paris
CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE
Austerlitz 1805
Wagram 1804
Vienna
Pressburg
Lunéville
ATLANTIC OCEAN
FRANCE
BAVARIA
WURTTEMBERG
Zurich
BADEN
Buda
Pest
AUSTRIAN EMPIRE
Marengo 1800
Milan
KINGDOM OF ITALY
Genoa
ILLYRIAN PROVINCES
Marseilles
Lisbon
PORTUGAL
Madrid
SPAIN
Elba
Corsica
Rome
Danube R.
Black Sea
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Trafalgar 1805
GIBRALTAR (Gr. Br.)
Sardinia
Naples
KINGDOM OF NAPLES
Mediterranean Sea
Palermo
KINGDOM OF SICILY
Malta (Gr. Br.)
Ionian Is. (Gr. Br.)
Athens
0 100 200 miles
0 100 200 kilometers
N
E
S
W
60°N
50°N
40°N
30°E
40°E
30°N
0°
10°E
20°E

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Mapping the Past

MAP 22.2 Napoleonic Europe in 1812 At the height of the Grand Empire in 1810, Napoleon had conquered or allied with every major European power except Britain. But in 1812, angered by Russian repudiation of his ban on trade with Britain, Napoleon invaded Russia with disastrous results. Compare this map with Map 18.3, which shows the division of Europe in 1715.

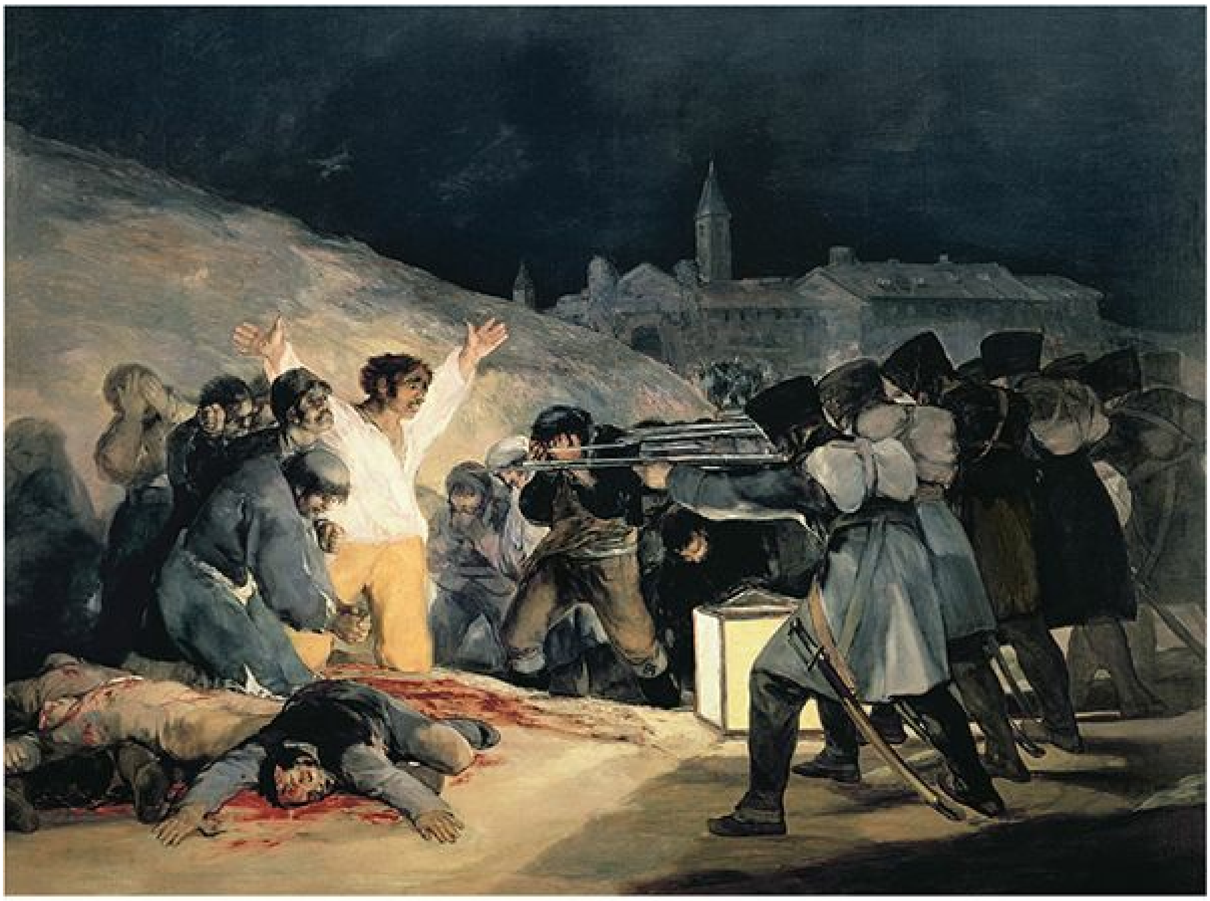
ANALYZING THE MAP How had the balance of power shifted in Europe from 1715 to 1812? What changed, and what remained the same? What was the impact of Napoleon's wars on Germany, the Italian peninsula, and Russia?

CONNECTIONS Why did Napoleon achieve vast territorial gains where Louis XIV did not?

Grand Empire The empire over which Napoleon and his allies ruled, encompassing virtually all of Europe except Great Britain.

Continental System A blockade imposed by Napoleon in which no ship coming from Britain or its colonies was permitted to dock at any port controlled by the French.

In the areas incorporated into France and in the satellites, French rule sparked patriotic upheavals and encouraged the growth of reactive nationalism. The first great revolt occurred in Spain. In 1808 Napoleon deposed Spanish king Ferdinand VII and placed his own brother Joseph on the throne. A coalition of Catholics, monarchists, and patriots rebelled against this attempt to turn Spain into a satellite of France. French armies occupied Madrid, but the foes of Napoleon fled to the hills and waged guerrilla warfare. Events in Spain sent a clear warning: resistance to French imperialism was growing.



Museo del Prado, Madrid, Spain/Bridgeman Images

Francisco Goya, *The Third of May 1808* Spanish master Francisco Goya created a passionate and moving indictment of the bruality of war in this painting from 1814, which depicts the close-range execution of Spanish rebels by Napoleon's forces in May 1808. Goya's painting evoked the bitterness and despair of many Europeans who suffered through Napoleon's invasions. It forms a devastating counterpoint to the glorious portrait of Napoleon by David earlier in the chapter.

Yet Napoleon pushed on. In 1810, when the Grand Empire was at its height, Britain still remained at war with France, helping the guerrillas in Spain and Portugal. The Continental System was a failure. Instead of harming Britain, the system provoked the British to set up a counter-blockade, which created hard times for French consumers. Perhaps looking for a scapegoat, Napoleon turned on Alexander I of Russia, who in 1811 openly repudiated Napoleon's prohibitions against British goods.

Napoleon's invasion of Russia began in June 1812 with a force that eventually numbered 600,000. Originally planning to winter in the Russian city of Smolensk, Napoleon recklessly pressed on toward Moscow (see Map 22.2). The Battle of Borodino that followed was a draw. Alexander ordered the evacuation of Moscow, which the Russians then burned in part, and he refused to negotiate. Finally, after five weeks in the scorched city, Napoleon ordered a disastrous retreat. When the frozen remnants of

Napoleon’s army staggered into Poland and Prussia in December, 370,000 men had died and another 200,000 had been taken prisoner.[1]

Leaving his troops to their fate, Napoleon raced to Paris to raise another army. Meanwhile, Austria and Prussia deserted Napoleon and joined Russia and Britain in the Treaty of Chaumont in March 1814, by which the four powers formed the Quadruple Alliance to defeat the French emperor. Less than a month later, on April 4, 1814, a defeated Napoleon abdicated his throne. The victorious allies then exiled Napoleon to the island of Elba off the coast of Italy.

In February 1815 Napoleon staged a daring escape from Elba. Landing in France, he issued appeals for support and marched on Paris. But Napoleon’s gamble was a desperate long shot, for the allies were united against him. At the end of a frantic period known as the Hundred Days, they crushed his forces at Waterloo on June 18, 1815, and imprisoned him on the island of St. Helena, off the western coast of Africa. The restored Bourbon dynasty took power under Louis XVIII, a younger brother of Louis XVI.

The Haitian Revolution, 1791–1804

How did a slave revolt on colonial Saint-Domingue lead to the creation of the independent nation of Haiti in 1804?

The events that led to the creation of the independent nation of Haiti constitute the third, and perhaps most extraordinary, chapter of the revolutionary era in the Atlantic world. The French colony that was to become Haiti reaped huge profits through a ruthless system of slave-based plantation agriculture. News of revolution in France lit a powder keg of contradictory aspirations among white planters, free people of color, and slaves. Free people of color and, later, the enslaved rose up to claim their freedom. They succeeded, despite invasion by the British and Spanish and Napoleon Bonaparte's bid to reimpose French control. In 1804 Haiti became the only nation in history to claim its freedom through slave revolt.

KEY EVENTS OF THE HAITIAN REVOLUTION

1760s	Colonial administrators begin rescinding the rights of free people of color
July 1790	Vincent Ogé leads a failed rebellion to gain rights for free people of color
August 1791	Slave revolts begin
April 4, 1792	National Assembly enfranchises all free men of African descent
September 1793	British troops invade Saint-Domingue
February 4, 1794	National Convention ratifies the abolition of slavery and extends it to all French territories
May 1796	Toussaint L'Ouverture is named lieutenant governor of Saint-Domingue
1800	After invading the south of Saint-Domingue, L'Ouverture gains control of the entire colony
1802	French general Charles-Victor-Emmanuel Leclerc arrests L'Ouverture and deports him to France
1803	L'Ouverture dies

1804	After defeating French forces, Jean Jacques Dessalines declares the independence of Saint-Domingue and the creation of the sovereign nation of Haiti

Revolutionary Aspirations in Saint-Domingue

On the eve of the French Revolution, Saint-Domingue was inhabited by a variety of social groups who resented and mistrusted one another. The European population included French colonial officials, wealthy plantation owners and merchants, and poor artisans and clerks. Individuals of European descent born in the colonies were called **Creoles**, and over time they had developed their own interests, distinct from those of metropolitan France. Vastly outnumbering the white population were the colony's five hundred thousand enslaved people, along with a sizable population of some forty thousand free people of African and mixed African and European descent. Members of this last group referred to themselves as "free people of color."

Creoles People of European descent born in the Americas.

Most of the island's enslaved population performed grueling toil in the island's sugar plantations. The highly outnumbered planters used extremely harsh methods, such as beating, maiming, and executing slaves, to maintain their control. The 1685 Code Noir (Black Code) that legally regulated slavery was intended to provide minimal standards of humane treatment, but its tenets were rarely enforced. Masters calculated that they could earn more by working slaves ruthlessly and purchasing new ones when they died than by providing the food, rest, and medical care needed to allow the enslaved population to reproduce naturally. This meant that a constant inflow of newly enslaved people from Africa was necessary to work the plantations.

Despite their brutality, slaveholders on Saint-Domingue freed a certain number of their slaves, mostly their own mixed-race children, thereby producing one of the largest populations of free people of color in any slaveholding colony. The Code Noir had originally granted free people of color the same legal status as whites. From the 1760s on, however, colonial administrators began rescinding these rights, and by the time of the French Revolution free people of color were subject to many discriminatory laws.

The political and intellectual turmoil of the 1780s, with its growing rhetoric of liberty, equality, and fraternity, raised new challenges and possibilities for each of Saint-Domingue's social groups. For enslaved people, news of abolitionist movements in France led to hopes that the mother country might grant them freedom. Free people of color looked to reforms in Paris as a means of gaining political enfranchisement and reasserting equal status with whites. The white Creole elite, however, was determined to protect its way of life, including slaveholding. They hoped to gain control of their own affairs, as had the American colonists before them.

The National Assembly frustrated the hopes of all these groups. Cowed by colonial representatives who claimed that support for free people of color would result in slave insurrection, the Assembly refused to extend French constitutional safeguards to the colonies. At the same time, however, the Assembly also reaffirmed French monopolies over colonial trade, thereby angering planters as well.

In July 1790 Vincent Ogé (aw-ZHAY) (ca. 1750–1791), a free man of color, returned to Saint-Domingue from Paris determined to win rights for his people. He raised an army and sent letters to the new Provincial Assembly of Saint-Domingue demanding political rights for all free citizens. When Ogé's demands were refused, he and his followers turned to armed insurrection. After initial victories, his army was defeated, and Ogé was executed by colonial officials. Revolutionary leaders in Paris were more sympathetic to Ogé's cause. In May 1791 the National Assembly granted political rights to free people of color born to two free parents who possessed sufficient property. When news of this legislation arrived in Saint-Domingue, the colonial governor refused to enact it. Violence then erupted between groups of whites and free people of color in parts of the colony.

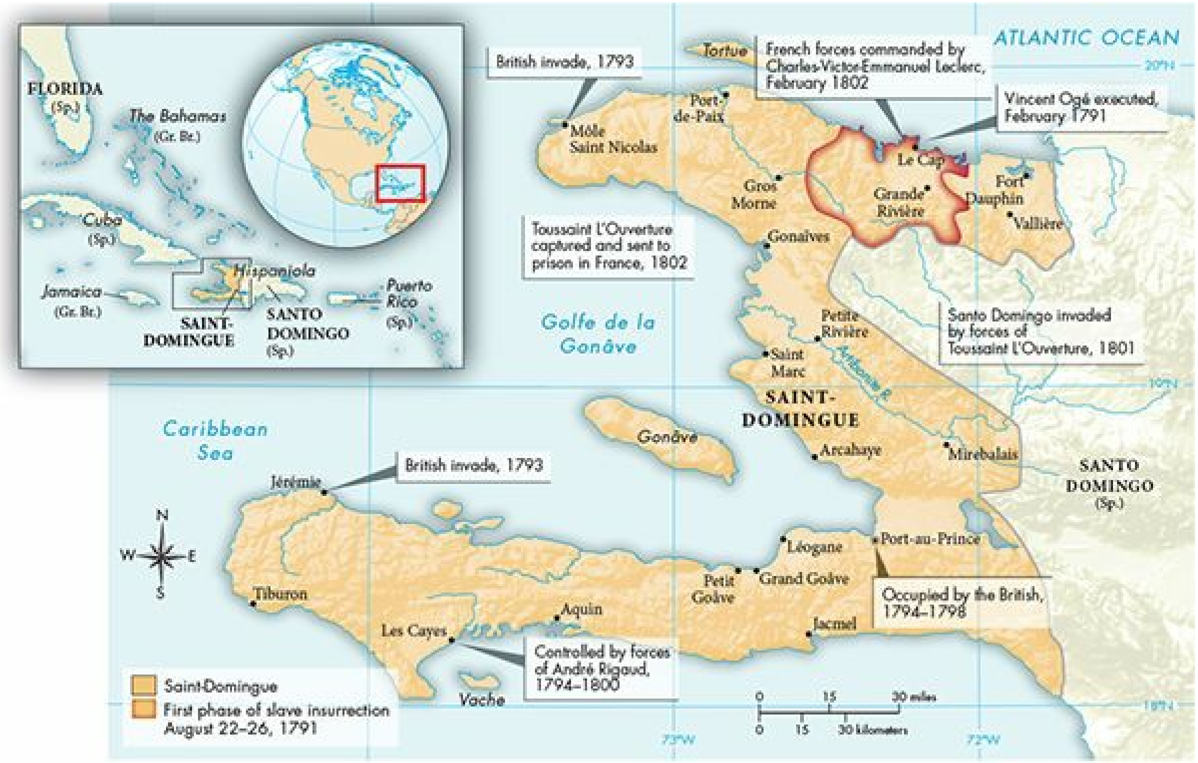
The Outbreak of Revolt

Just as the sans-culottes helped push forward more radical reforms in France, the second stage of revolution in Saint-Domingue also resulted from decisive action from below. In August 1791 slaves took events into their own hands. Groups of slaves held a series of nighttime meetings to plan a mass insurrection. In doing so, they drew on their own considerable military experience; the majority of slaves had been born in Africa, and many had served in the civil wars of the kingdom of Kongo and other conflicts before being taken into slavery.[2] They also drew on a long tradition of slave resistance prior to 1791, which had ranged from work slowdowns, to running away, to taking part in African-derived religious rituals and dances known as *vodou* (or voodoo). According to some sources, the August 1791 pact to take up arms was sealed by such a voodoo ritual.

Revolts began on a few plantations on the night of August 22. As the uprising spread, rebels joined together in an ever-growing slave army. During the next month enslaved combatants attacked and destroyed hundreds of sugar and coffee plantations.

On April 4, 1792, as war loomed with the European states, the National Assembly issued a decree extending full citizenship rights to free men of African descent. The Assembly hoped this measure would win their political loyalty and their aid in defeating the slave rebellion.

Warfare in Europe soon spread to Saint-Domingue (Map 22.3). Since the beginning of the slave insurrection, the Spanish colony of Santo Domingo, on the eastern side of the island of Hispaniola, had supported rebel slaves. In early 1793 the Spanish began to bring slave leaders and their soldiers into the Spanish army. Toussaint L'Ouverture (TOO-sahn LOO-vair-toor) (1743–1803), a freed slave who had joined the revolt, was named a Spanish officer. In September the British navy blockaded the colony, and invading British troops captured French territory on the island. For the Spanish and British, revolutionary chaos provided a tempting opportunity to capture a profitable colony.


FLORIDA
(Sp.)
The Bahamas
(Gr. Br.)
Cuba
(Sp.)
Jamaica
(Gr. Br.)
Hispaniola
SAINT-DOMINGUE
SANTO DOMINGO
(Sp.)
Puerto Rico
(Sp.)
British invade, 1793
Môle Saint Nicolas
Tortue
French forces commanded by Charles-Victor-Emmanuel Leclerc, February 1802
ATLANTIC OCEAN
20°N
Port-de-Paix
Vincent Ogé executed, February 1791
Le Cap
Gros Morne
Grande Rivière
Fort Dauphin
Vallière
Gonaïves
Toussaint L'Ouverture captured and sent to prison in France, 1802
Golfe de la Gonâve
Petite Rivière
Saint Marc
Artibonite R.
Santo Domingo invaded by forces of Toussaint L'Ouverture, 1801
19°N
SAINT-DOMINGUE
Gonâve
Arcahaye
Mirebalais
SANTO DOMINGO
(Sp.)
Caribbean Sea
Jérémie
British invade, 1793
N
W
E
S
Léogane
Port-au-Prince
Petit Goâve
Grand Goâve
Occupied by the British, 1794–1798
Tiburon
Aquin
Jacmel
Les Cayes
Controlled by forces of André Rigaud, 1794–1800
Vache
0
15
30 miles
0
15
30 kilometers
18°N
73°W
72°W
Saint-Domingue
First phase of slave insurrection August 22–26, 1791

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

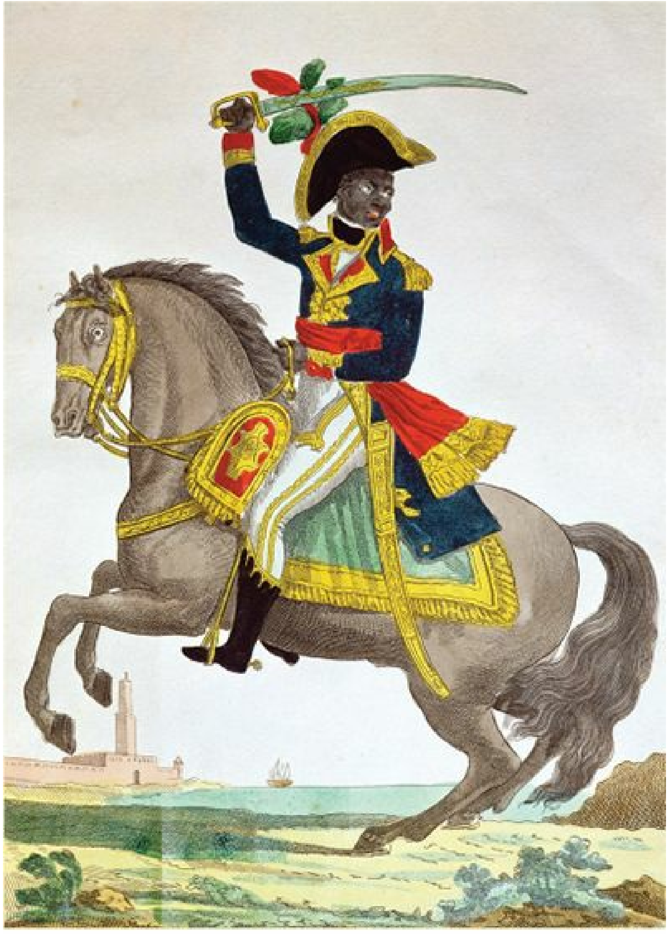
MAP 22.3 **The War of Haitian Independence, 1791–1804** Neighbored by the Spanish colony of Santo Domingo, Saint-Domingue was the most profitable European colony in the Caribbean. In 1791 slave revolts erupted in the north near Le Cap, which had once been the capital. In 1770 the French had transferred the capital to Port-au-Prince, which in 1804 became the capital of the newly independent Haiti.

Desperate for forces to oppose France’s enemies, commissioners sent by the newly elected National Convention promised freedom to slaves who fought for France. By October 1793 the commissioners had abolished slavery throughout the colony. On February 4, 1794, the Convention ratified the abolition of slavery and extended it to all French territories.

The tide of battle began to turn when Toussaint L’Ouverture switched sides. By 1796 the French had regained control of the colony, and L’Ouverture had emerged as a key military leader. (See “Individuals in Society: Toussaint L’Ouverture,” at right.) In March 1796, after he rescued the French colonial governor from hostile forces, L’Ouverture was named lieutenant governor of Saint-Domingue.

INDIVIDUALS IN SOCIETY

Toussaint L’Ouverture



Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, France/Archives Charmet/Bridgeman Images

Equestrian portrait of Toussaint L’Ouverture.

LITTLE IS KNOWN OF THE EARLY LIFE OF Saint-Domingue’s brilliant military and political leader Toussaint L’Ouverture. He was born in 1743 on a plantation outside Le Cap owned by the Count de Bréda. According to tradition, L’Ouverture was the eldest son of a captured African prince from modern-day Benin. Toussaint Bréda, as he was then called, occupied a privileged position among slaves. Instead of performing backbreaking labor in the fields, he served his master as a coachman and livestock keeper. He also learned to read and write French and some Latin, but he was always more comfortable with the Creole dialect.

During the 1770s the plantation manager emancipated L’Ouverture, who subsequently leased his own small coffee plantation, worked by slaves. He married Suzanne Simone, who already had one son, and the couple had another son during their marriage. In 1791 he joined the slave uprisings that swept Saint-Domingue, and he took on the *nom de guerre* (war name) L'Ouverture, meaning "the opening." L'Ouverture rose to prominence among rebel slaves allied with Spain and by early 1794 controlled his own army. A devout Catholic who led a frugal and ascetic life, L'Ouverture impressed others with his enormous physical energy, intellectual acumen, and air of mystery. In 1794 he defected to the French side and led his troops to a series of victories against the Spanish. In 1795 the National Convention promoted L'Ouverture to brigadier general.

Over the next three years L'Ouverture successively eliminated rivals for authority on the island. First he freed himself of the French commissioners sent to govern the colony. With a firm grip on power in the northern province, L'Ouverture defeated General André Rigaud in 1800 to gain control in the south. His army then marched on the capital of Spanish Santo Domingo on the eastern half of the island, meeting little resistance. The entire island of Hispaniola was now under his command.

With control in his hands, L'Ouverture was confronted with the challenge of building a post-emancipation society, the first of its kind. The task was made even more difficult by the chaos wreaked by war, the destruction of plantations, and bitter social and racial tensions. For L'Ouverture the most pressing concern was to re-establish the plantation economy. Without revenue to pay his army, the gains of the rebellion could be lost. He therefore encouraged white planters to return and reclaim their property. He also adopted harsh policies toward former slaves, forcing them back to their plantations and restricting their ability to acquire land. When they resisted, he sent troops across the island to enforce submission. L'Ouverture's 1801 constitution reaffirmed his draconian labor policies and named L'Ouverture governor for life, leaving Saint-Domingue as a colony in name alone. In June 1802 French forces arrested L'Ouverture and jailed him at Fort de Joux in France's Jura Mountains near the Swiss border. He died of pneumonia on April 7, 1803, leaving his lieutenant, Jean Jacques Dessalines, to win independence for the new Haitian nation.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

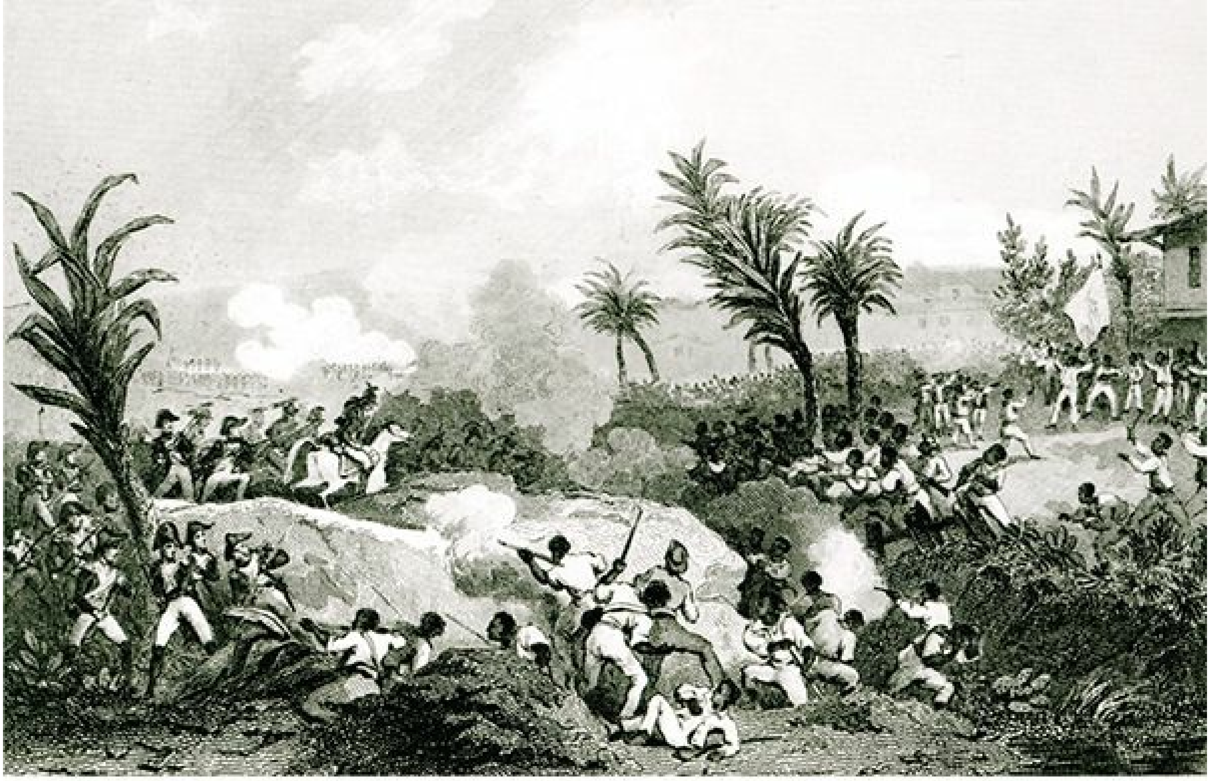
1. Toussaint L'Ouverture was both slave and slave owner. How did each experience shape his life and actions?
2. What did L'Ouverture and Napoleon Bonaparte have in common?

How did they differ?

The War of Haitian Independence

With Toussaint L’Ouverture acting increasingly as an independent ruler of the western province of Saint-Domingue, another general, André Rigaud (ree-GO) (1761–1811), set up his own government in the southern peninsula. Tensions mounted between L’Ouverture and Rigaud. While L’Ouverture was a freed slave of African descent, Rigaud belonged to the elite group of free people of color. This elite resented the growing power of former slaves like L’Ouverture, who in turn accused the elite of adopting the prejudices of white settlers. Civil war broke out between the two sides in 1799, when L’Ouverture’s forces, led by his lieutenant, Jean Jacques Dessalines (1758–1806), invaded the south. Victory over Rigaud in 1800 gave L’Ouverture control of the entire colony.

This victory was soon challenged by Napoleon, who had his own plans for using the profits from a re-established system of plantation slavery as a basis for expanding the French empire. In 1802 French forces under the command of Napoleon’s brother-in-law, General Charles-Victor-Emmanuel Leclerc, arrested L’Ouverture and deported him to France, where the revolutionary leader died in 1803.



Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, France/Bridgeman Images

French Forces Under Napoleon Attack Saint-Domingue In 1802 an expedition of French forces sent by Napoleon Bonaparte arrived in Saint-Domingue. Its mission was to regain

French control of the colony and re-establish slavery (which had been abolished in 1794 by the National Convention). French soldiers — including the leader of the expedition — succumbed to yellow fever and to the strong resistance of armies composed of former slaves and free people of color. In 1804 France recognized the independence of Haiti.

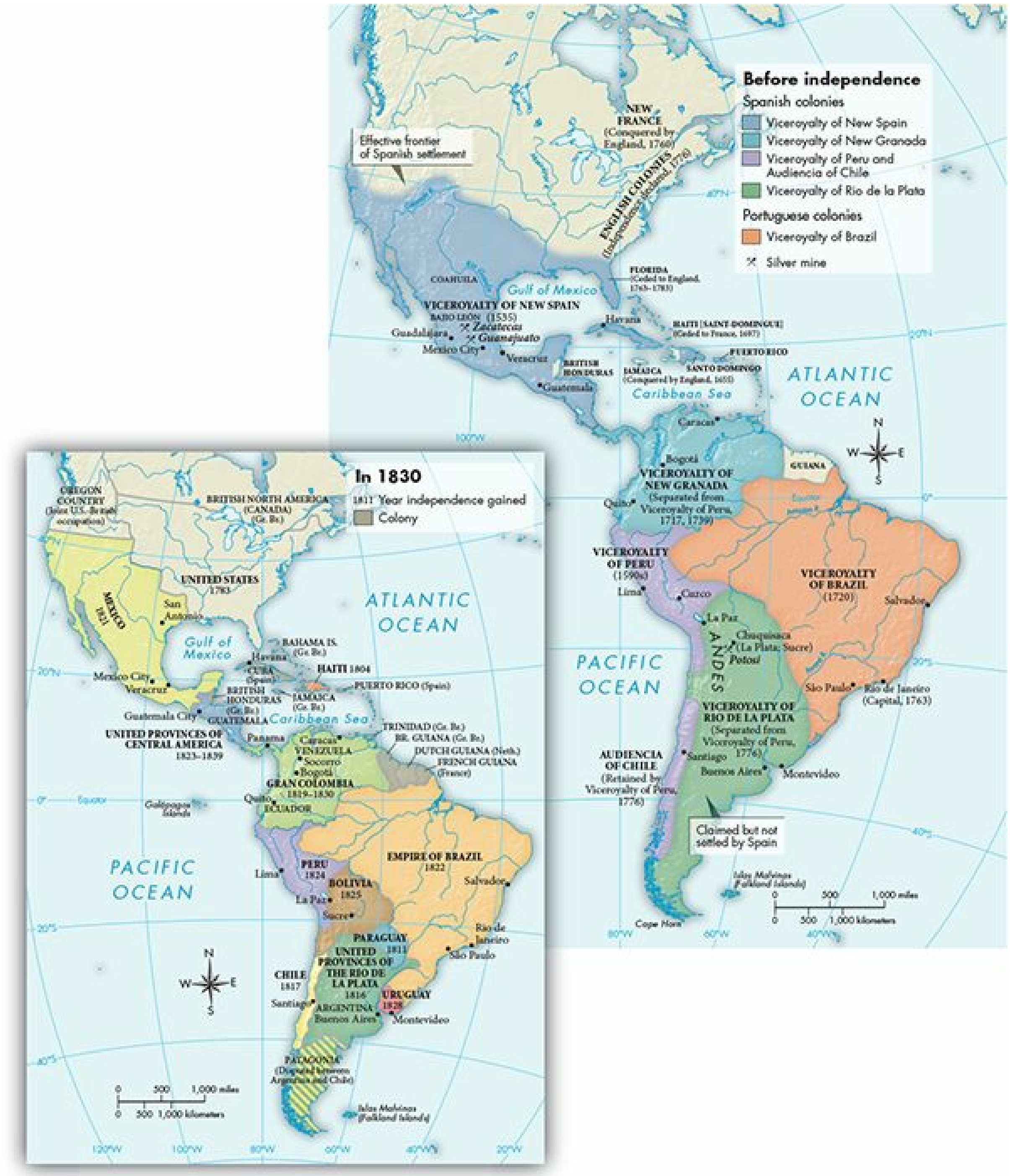
It was left to L’Ouverture’s lieutenant, Jean Jacques Dessalines (duh-sah-LEEN), to unite the resistance, and he led it to a crushing victory over French forces. On January 1, 1804, Dessalines formally declared the independence of Saint-Domingue and the creation of the new sovereign nation of Haiti, the name used by the pre-Columbian inhabitants of the island.

Haiti, the second independent state in the Americas and the first in Latin America, was born from the only successful large-scale slave revolt in history. This event spread shock and fear through slaveholding societies in the Caribbean and the United States, bringing to life their worst nightmares of the utter reversal of power and privilege. Fearing the spread of slave rebellion to the United States, President Thomas Jefferson refused to recognize Haiti. The liberal proponents of the American Revolution thus chose to protect slavery at the expense of revolutionary ideals of universal human rights. Yet Haitian independence had fundamental repercussions for world history, helping spread the idea that liberty, equality, and fraternity must apply to all people. The next phase of Atlantic revolution soon opened in the Spanish-American colonies.

Revolutions in Latin America

Why and how did the Spanish and Portuguese colonies of North and South America shake off European domination and develop into national states?

In 1800 the Spanish Empire in the Americas stretched from the headwaters of the Mississippi River in present-day Minnesota to the tip of Cape Horn in the Antarctic (Map 22.4). Portugal controlled the vast territory of Brazil. Spain and Portugal believed that the great wealth of the Americas existed for the benefit of the Iberian powers, a stance that fostered bitterness and a thirst for independence in the colonies. Between 1806 and 1825 the colonies in Latin America were convulsed by upheavals that ultimately resulted in their independence. For Latin American republicans, their struggles were a continuation of the transatlantic wave of democratic revolution.


Before independence
Spanish colonies
Viceroyalty of New Spain
Viceroyalty of New Granada
Viceroyalty of Peru and Audiencia of Chile
Viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata
Portuguese colonies
Viceroyalty of Brazil
Silver mine
Effective frontier of Spanish settlement
NEW FRANCE (Conquered by England, 1760)
ENGLISH COLONIES (Independence declared, 1776)
FLORIDA (Ceded to England, 1763–1783)
COAHUILA
Gulf of Mexico
VICEROYALTY OF NEW SPAIN
NUEVO LEÓN (1535)
Zacatecas
Guanajuato
Guadalajara
Mexico City
Veracruz
Havana
HAITI (SAINT-DOMINGUE) (Ceded to France, 1697)
PUERTO RICO
SANTO DOMINGO
BRITISH HONDURAS
JAMAICA (Conquered by England, 1655)
Guatemala
Caribbean Sea
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Caracas
Bogotá
GUIANA
VICEROYALTY OF NEW GRANADA (Separated from Viceroyalty of Peru, 1717, 1739)
Quito
VICEROYALTY OF PERU (1590s)
Lima
Cuzco
La Paz
ANDES
Chuquisaca (La Plata; Sucre)
Potosí
VICEROYALTY OF BRAZIL (1720)
Salvador
São Paulo
Rio de Janeiro (Capital, 1763)
PACIFIC OCEAN
VICEROYALTY OF RIO DE LA PLATA (Separated from Viceroyalty of Peru, 1776)
AUDIENCIA OF CHILE (Retained by Viceroyalty of Peru, 1776)
Santiago
Buenos Aires
Montevideo
Claimed but not settled by Spain
Islas Malvinas (Falkland Islands)
Cape Horn
0 500 1,000 miles
0 500 1,000 kilometers
In 1830
1811 Year independence gained
Colony
OREGON COUNTRY (Joint U.S.-British occupation)
BRITISH NORTH AMERICA (CANADA) (Gr. Br.)
UNITED STATES 1783
MEXICO 1821
San Antonio
Gulf of Mexico
Mexico City
Veracruz
Havana
BAHAMA IS. (Gr. Br.)
CUBA (Spain)
HAITI 1804
PUERTO RICO (Spain)
BRITISH HONDURAS (Gr. Br.)
JAMAICA (Gr. Br.)
Guatemala City
GUATEMALA
Caribbean Sea
UNITED PROVINCES OF CENTRAL AMERICA 1823–1839
Panama
TRINIDAD (Gr. Br.)
BR. GUIANA (Gr. Br.)
DUTCH GUIANA (Neth.)
FRENCH GUIANA (France)
Caracas
VENEZUELA
Socorro
Bogotá
GRAN COLOMBIA 1819–1830
Quito
ECUADOR
Galápagos Islands
Equator
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
PERU 1824
Lima
BOLIVIA 1825
La Paz
Sucre
EMPIRE OF BRAZIL 1822
Salvador
Rio de Janeiro
São Paulo
PARAGUAY 1811
UNITED PROVINCES OF THE RIO DE LA PLATA 1816
CHILE 1817
Santiago
ARGENTINA
Buenos Aires
URUGUAY 1828
Montevideo
PATAGONIA (Disputed between Argentina and Chile)
Islas Malvinas (Falkland Islands)
0 500 1,000 miles
0 500 1,000 kilometers

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 22.4 Latin America, ca. 1780 and 1830 By 1830 almost all of Central America, South America, and the Caribbean islands had won independence. Note that the many nations that now make up Central America were unified when they first won independence from Mexico. Similarly, modern Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador were still joined in Gran Colombia.

The Origins of the Revolutions Against Colonial Powers

Spain's humiliating defeat in the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1713) (see "The Wars of Louis XIV" in Chapter 18) prompted demands for sweeping reform of all of Spain’s institutions, including its colonial policies and practices. The new Bourbon dynasty initiated a decades-long effort known as the Bourbon reforms, which aimed to improve administrative efficiency and increase central control. Under Charles III (r. 1759–1788), Spanish administrators drew on Enlightenment ideals of rationalism and progress to strengthen colonial rule and thereby increase the fortunes and power of the Spanish state. They created a permanent standing army and enlarged colonial militias, sought to bring the church under tighter control, and dispatched intendants (government commissioners) with extensive new powers to oversee the colonies.

Additionally, Spain ended its policy of insisting that all colonial trade pass through its own ports and instead permitted free trade within the Spanish Empire. This was intended to favor Spain’s competition with Great Britain and Holland by stimulating trade and thereby increasing the imperial government’s tax revenues. In Latin America these actions stimulated the production and export of agricultural commodities that were in demand in Europe. Colonial manufacturing, however, which had been growing steadily, suffered a heavy blow under free trade. Colonial textiles and china, for example, could not compete with cheap Spanish products.

Madrid’s tax reforms also aggravated discontent. Like Great Britain, Spain believed its colonies should bear some of the costs of their own defense. Accordingly, Madrid raised the prices of its monopoly products — tobacco and liquor — and increased sales taxes on many items. War with revolutionary France in the 1790s led to additional taxes and forced loans, all of which were widely resented. Moreover, high prices and heavier taxes imposed a great burden on indigenous communities, which bore the brunt of all forms of taxation and suffered from the corruption and brutality of tax collectors.

Political conflicts beyond the colonies also helped drive aspirations for independence. The French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, which involved France’s occupation of Spain and Britain’s domination of the seas, isolated Spain and weakened its control over its Latin American colonies.

Racial and ethnic divisions further fueled discontent. At this time, Creoles numbered approximately 3 million of a population of roughly 14 million. They resented the economic and political dominance of the roughly 200,000 **peninsulares** (puh-nihn-suh-LUHR-ayz), as the colonial officials and other natives of Spain or Portugal were called. The Creoles wanted to free themselves from Spain and Portugal and to rule the colonies themselves. They had little interest in improving the lot of the Indians, who constituted by far the largest population group, or that of the mestizos of mixed Spanish and Indian background and the mulattos of mixed Spanish and African heritage.

peninsulares A term for natives of Spain and Portugal.

Slavery was practiced throughout Latin America, but unevenly. The Andes, Mexico, and Central America had relatively small enslaved populations. By contrast, regions dominated by plantation agriculture — especially the Caribbean islands and Brazil — relied on massive numbers of enslaved laborers. Sizable populations of free people of color existed throughout colonial Latin America, greatly outnumbering slaves in many cities. Despite prejudicial laws, they played an important role in urban public life, serving in large numbers in the militia units of cities such as Havana, Mexico City, Lima, and Buenos Aires. As in Saint-Domingue, white Creoles spurred a backlash against the rising social prominence of free people of color in the last decades of the eighteenth century.

A final factor contributing to rebellion was cultural and intellectual ideas. One set of such ideas was Enlightenment thought, which had been trickling into Latin America for decades (see “The Atlantic Enlightenment” in Chapter 19). By 1800 the Creole elite throughout Latin America was familiar with Enlightenment political thought and its role in inspiring colonial demands for independence. Another important set of ideas consisted of indigenous traditions of justice and reciprocity, which often looked back to an idealized precolonial past. Local people thus perceived Spanish impositions as an assault on the traditional moral communities that bound them to each other and to the Crown. Creoles took advantage of indigenous symbols as a source of legitimacy, but this did not mean they were prepared to view Indians and mestizos as equals.

Resistance, Rebellion, and Independence

The mid-eighteenth century witnessed frequent Andean Indian rebellions against increased taxation and the Bourbon crown’s other impositions. In 1780, under the leadership of a descendant of the Inca rulers who took the name Tupac Amaru II, a massive insurrection exploded in the Cuzco region (see Map 22.4). Indian chieftains from the region gathered a powerful force of Indians and people of mixed race. Rebellion swept across highland Peru, where many Spanish officials were executed. Creoles joined forces with Spaniards and Indian nobles to crush the rebellion, shocked by the radical social and economic reforms promised by its leaders. The government was obliged to concede to some of the rebels' demands by abolishing the repartimiento system, which required Indians to buy goods solely from tax collectors, and establishing assemblies of local representatives in Cuzco.

As news of the rebellion of Tupac Amaru II trickled northward, it helped stimulate the 1781 Comuneros Revolt in the New Granada viceroyalty (see Map 22.4). In this uprising, an Indian and mestizo peasant army commanded by Creole captains marched on Bogotá to protest high taxation, loss of communal lands, and state monopolies on liquor and tobacco. Dispersed by the ruling Spanish, who made promises they did not intend to keep, the revolt in the end did little to improve the Indians' lives.

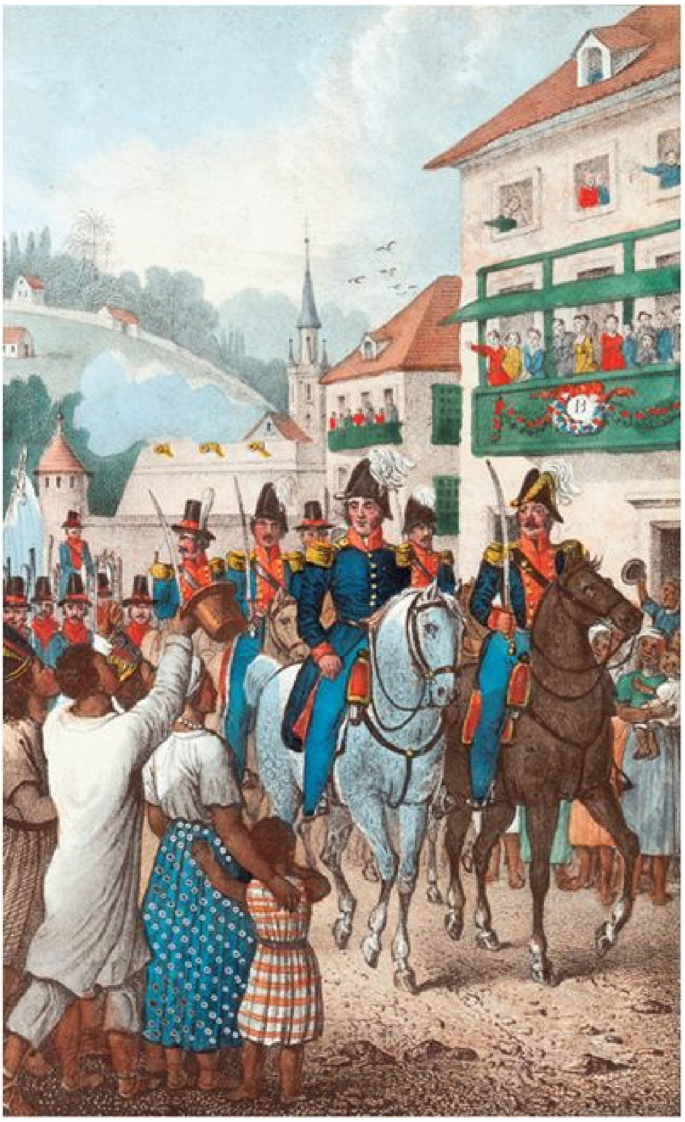
Authorities were shaken by these revolts and the many smaller uprisings that broke out through the eighteenth century, including slave rebellions in Venezuela in the 1790s. But the uprisings did not give rise directly to the independence movements that followed. Led from below, they did not question monarchical rule or the colonial relationship between Spain and Spanish America.

Two events outside of Spanish America did much to shape the ensuing struggle for independence. First, the revolution on Saint-Domingue and the subsequent independence of the nation of Haiti in 1804 convinced Creole elites, many of whom were slaveholders, of the dangers of slave revolt and racial warfare (see Map 22.3). Their plans and strategies would henceforth be shaped by their determination to avoid a similar outcome in Spanish America.

Second, in 1808 Napoleon Bonaparte deposed Spanish king Ferdinand VII and placed his own brother on the Spanish throne (see "The Grand Empire and Its End"). Spanish leaders meeting in exile defiantly began work on the nation's first constitution. Completed in 1812, the Constitution of Cadiz enshrined universal manhood suffrage, freedom of the press, limited monarchy, and other liberal principles. Colonial deputies obtained the right to representation in future assemblies, but not proportional to their population. Many future founding fathers of Latin American republics participated actively in the constitutional congress, which thus greatly influenced the spread of liberal ideas.

In the colonies, the political crisis engendered by Napoleon's coup encouraged movements for self-governance. In cities like Buenos Aires and Caracas, town councils, known as cabildos, took power into their own hands, ostensibly on behalf of the deposed king, Ferdinand. In July 1811 a regional congress in Caracas declared the independence of the United States of Venezuela and drafted a liberal constitution guaranteeing basic freedoms and abolishing the slave trade but restricting political participation to property owners. (See “Global Viewpoints: Declarations of Independence: The United States and Venezuela,” page 654.) The republic failed after only one year, but patriots continued to fight royalist forces for the next eight years under the leadership of Simón Bolívar (1783–1830), who belonged to a wealthy land- and slave-owning family.

Bolívar and other Creole elites fighting for independence were forced to acknowledge that victory against Spain would require support from the nonwhites they had previously despised and who had often supported sympathetic royalist leaders against slave-owning Creoles. In return for promising to abolish slavery after independence, Bolívar received military and financial aid from the new Haitian nation. He granted immediate emancipation to slaves who joined the revolutionary struggle and named former slaves and free people of color to positions of authority in the army.



Sammlung Archiv für Kunst und Geschichte, Berlin, Germany/akg-images

Triumph of Bolívar Bolívar was treated as a hero everywhere he went in South America.

His victories over Spanish armies won Bolívar the presidency of the new republic of Gran Colombia (formerly the New Granada viceroyalty) in 1819. The republic passed laws for the gradual emancipation of slavery and issued a liberal constitution, similar to that of 1811. Bolívar and other military leaders continued attacks against the Spanish, eventually freeing or helping to liberate the future nations of Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Chile, and Bolivia (named after the great liberator). Bolívar encouraged the new states to begin the process of manumission, a suggestion that met with great success in the Republic of Chile, which abolished slavery in 1823, but elsewhere encountered resistance from Creole slaveholders.

Dreaming of a continental political union, Bolívar summoned a conference of the new American republics in 1826 in Panama City. The meeting achieved little, however. The territories of Gran Colombia soon splintered (see Map 22.4), and a sadly disillusioned Bolívar went into exile.

Events in Mexico followed a different course. Under Spain, Mexico had been united with Central America as the Viceroyalty of New Spain. In 1808, after Napoleon's coup, the Spanish viceroy assumed control of the government of New Spain from its capital in Mexico City. Meanwhile, groups of rebels plotted to overthrow royalist power. Under the leadership of Miguel Hidalgo, a Jesuit priest who espoused racial and social equality, poor Creoles and indigenous and mestizo peasants rose up against the Spanish in 1810. Although Hidalgo was quickly caught and executed by the combined forces of Spain and Creole elites, popular revolts spread across Mexico.

By 1820 the desire for autonomy from Spain had spread among Creole elites. They joined forces with rebellious armies to make common cause against Spain and succeeded in winning over many royalist troops. In 1821 they issued a declaration of Mexican independence. Originally established as a constitutional monarchy, the new state became a republic in 1823. Gradual steps toward the abolition of slavery culminated in the freeing of all slaves by the end of the 1820s and the election of a president of African descent in 1829.

Portuguese Brazil followed a less turbulent path to independence than the Spanish-American republics. When Napoleon's troops entered Portugal, the royal family fled to Brazil and made Rio de Janeiro the capital of the Portuguese Empire. The king returned to Portugal in 1821, leaving his son Pedro in Brazil as regent. Under popular pressure, Pedro proclaimed Brazil's independence in 1822, issued a constitution, and even led resistance against Portuguese troops. He accepted the title Emperor Pedro I (r. 1822–1831). Although Brazil remained a monarchy, Creole elites dominated society in Brazil, as they did elsewhere in Latin America. Because they had gained independence without military struggle, Brazil’s Creole elites avoided making common cause with poor whites and people of color, and they refused to consider ending slavery once independence arrived.

KEY EVENTS IN EARLY LATIN AMERICAN REVOLUTIONS

1759–1788	Reign of Charles III, who instituted administrative and economic reforms
July 1811	Regional congress in Caracas declares independence of the United States of Venezuela
1822	Proclamation of Brazil’s independence from Portugal
1826	Call by Simón Bolívar for Panama conference on Latin American union
1830s	New Spain breaks up into five separate countries
1888	Emancipation of slaves in Brazil

GLOBAL VIEWPOINTS

Declarations of Independence: The United States and Venezuela

Within fifty years of the drafting of the Declaration of Independence by Thomas Jefferson and others in 1776, some twenty other independence movements in Europe and the Americas had issued similar proclamations. The rapid spread of this new type of political declaration testifies to the close connections among transatlantic revolutionary movements in this period. Many of the later declarations of independence modeled themselves self-consciously on the language and arguments of the 1776 text, excerpted below, but they also reflected the unique circumstances in which they were created, as demonstrated by the Venezuelan declaration, also excerpted below.

A Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America, July 4, 1776

■ We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness — That to secure these Rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just Powers from the Consent of the Governed, that whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these Ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its Foundation on such Principles, and organizing its Powers in such Form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient Causes; and accordingly all Experience hath shewn, that Mankind are more disposed to suffer, while Evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the Forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long Train of Abuses and Usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object, evinces a Design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their Right, it is their Duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future Security. . . . The History of the present King of Great-Britain is a History of repeated Injuries and Usurpations, all having in direct Object the Establishment of an Absolute Tyranny over these States.

Venezuelan Declaration of Independence, July 5, 1811

■ In the Name of the All-powerful God,
We, the Representatives of the united Provinces . . . , forming the American Confederation of Venezuela, in the South Continent, in

Congress assembled, considering the full and absolute possession of our Rights, which we recovered justly and legally from the 19th of April, 1810, in consequence of the occurrences in Bayona, * and the occupation of the Spanish Throne by conquest, and the succession of a new Dynasty, constituted without our consent, . . . calling on the SUPREME BEING to witness the justice of our proceedings and the rectitude of our intentions, do implore his divine and celestial help; and ratifying, at the moment in which we are born to the dignity which his Providence restores to us, the desire we have of living and dying free, and of believing and defending the holy Catholic and Apostolic Religion of Jesus Christ. We, therefore, in the name and by the will and authority which we hold from the virtuous People of Venezuela, DO declare solemnly to the world, that its united Provinces are, and ought to be, from this day, by act and right, Free, Sovereign, and Independent States; and that they are absolved from every submission and dependence on the Throne of Spain . . . and that a free and independent State, thus constituted, has full power to take that form of Government which may be conformable to the general will of the People, to declare war, make peace, form alliances, regulate treaties of commerce, limits, and navigation; and to do and transact every act, in like manner as other free and independent States.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What justification does the first declaration offer for the independence of the United States of America from Great Britain? What influences from Enlightenment thought are evident in this text?
2. What similarities and differences do you find between the declaration of the United States of America and that of Venezuela?

Sources: The Declaration of Independence (1776); *Interesting Official Documents Relating to the United Provinces of Venezuela* (London: Longman and Co., 1812), pp. 3, 18–19.

---

* The forced abdication of Spanish king Ferdinand VII in favor of Joseph Bonaparte.

The Aftermath of Revolution in the Atlantic World

The Atlantic revolutions shared many common traits. They had common origins in imperial competition, war debt, social conflict, and Enlightenment ideals. Over the course of revolution, armed struggle often took the form of civil war, in which the participation of ordinary people — sans-culottes, slaves, free people of color, mestizos, and Indians — played a decisive role. Perhaps their most important similarity was in the democratic limitations of the regimes these revolutions created and the frustrated aspirations they bequeathed to subsequent generations of marginalized citizens.

For the most part, the elite liberals who led the revolutions were not democrats and had no intention of creating regimes of full economic or social equality. The constitutions they wrote generally restricted political rights to landowners and middle-class men. Indigenous people may have gained formal equality as citizens, yet they found that the actual result was the removal of the privileged status they had negotiated with their original conquerors. Thus they suffered the loss of rights over their land and other resources. Moreover, none of the postrevolutionary constitutions gave women a role in political life.

The issue of slavery, by contrast, divided the revolutions. The American Revolution was led in part by slaveholding landowners, who were determined to retain slavery in its aftermath, while the more radical French republic abolished it throughout the French empire (a measure soon reversed by Napoleon). The independent nation of Haiti was built on the only successful slave revolt in history, but the need for revenue from plantation agriculture soon led to the return of coercive labor requirements, if not outright slavery. In Latin America independence speeded the abolition of slavery, bringing an immediate ban on the slave trade and gradual emancipation from the 1820s to the 1850s. Still, Cuba and Brazil, which had enormous slave populations, did not end slavery until 1886 and 1888, respectively.

The aftermath of the Atlantic revolutions brought extremely different fortunes to the new nations that emerged from them. France returned to royal rule with the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy in 1815. A series of revolutionary crises ensued in the nineteenth century as succeeding generations struggled over the legacies of monarchicism, republicanism, and Bonapartism. It was not until 1871 that republicanism finally prevailed (see “Republican France” in Chapter 24). The transition to an independent republic was permanent and relatively smooth in the United States. Nevertheless, the unresolved conflict over slavery would lead to catastrophic civil war in 1860. Haiti faced crushing demands for financial reparations from France and the hostility of the United States and other powers.

The newly independent nations of Latin America had difficulty achieving economic and political stability when the wars of independence ended. In the 1830s regional separatism caused New Spain to break up into five separate countries. The failure of political union in New Spain and Gran Colombia isolated individual countries, prevented collective action, and later paved the way for the political and economic intrusion of the United States and other powers. Spain’s Caribbean colonies of Puerto Rico and Cuba remained loyal, in large part due to fears that slave revolt would spread from neighboring Haiti.

The Creole leaders of the revolutions had little experience in government, and the wars left a legacy of military, not civilian, leadership. Despite these disappointments, liberal ideals of political and social equality born of the revolutionary era left a crucial legacy for future generations in Latin America (see Chapter 27).

Chapter Summary

From 1775 to 1825 a wave of revolution swept through the Atlantic world. Its origins included long-term social and economic changes, Enlightenment ideals of liberty and equality, and the costs of colonial warfare. British efforts to raise taxes after the Seven Years' War aroused violent protest in the American colonies. In 1776 the Second Continental Congress issued the **Declaration of Independence**, and by 1783 Britain had recognized the independence of the thirteen colonies.

In 1789 delegates to the Estates General defied royal authority to declare themselves a National Assembly, which promulgated France's first constitution in 1791. Led by the Jacobin club, the Assembly waged war on Austria and Prussia and proclaimed France a republic. From the end of 1793, under the Reign of Terror, the Revolution pursued internal and external enemies ruthlessly and instituted economic controls to aid the poor. The weakness of the Directory government after the fall of Robespierre enabled Napoleon Bonaparte to claim control of France. Napoleon's relentless military ambitions allowed him to spread French power through much of Europe but ultimately led to his downfall.

After a failed uprising by free men of color, slaves rose in revolt in the French colony of Saint-Domingue in August 1791. Their revolt, combined with the outbreak of war and the radicalization of the French Revolution, led to a sequence of conflicts and rebellions that culminated in independence for the new Haitian nation in 1804.

Latin American independence movements drew strength from Spain's unpopular policies and the political crisis engendered by Napoleon's invasion of Portugal and Spain. Under the leadership of Simón Bolívar, the United States of Venezuela claimed independence in 1811. Led by Creole officers but reliant on nonwhite soldiers, rebel armies successfully fought Spanish forces over the next decade. Despite Bolívar's efforts to build a unified state, in the 1830s New Spain split into five separate countries. In Brazil the royal regent proclaimed independence in 1822 and reigned as emperor of the new state.

CONNECTIONS

The Atlantic world was the essential context for a great revolutionary wave in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The movement of peoples, commodities, and ideas across the Atlantic Ocean in the eighteenth century created a world of common debates, conflicts, and aspirations. Moreover, the high stakes of colonial empire heightened competition among European states, leading to a series of wars that generated crushing costs for overburdened treasuries. For the British and Spanish in their American colonies and the French at home, the desperate need for new taxes weakened government authority and opened the door to rebellion. In turn, the ideals of the French Revolution inspired slaves and free people of African descent in Saint-Domingue and Latin America to rise up and claim the promise of liberty, equality, and fraternity for people of all races.

The chain reaction did not end with the liberation movements in Latin America that followed the Haitian Revolution. Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries periodic convulsions occurred in Europe, the Americas, and elsewhere as successive generations struggled over political rights first proclaimed by late-eighteenth-century revolutionaries (see Chapters 24 and 27). Meanwhile, as dramatic political events unfolded, a parallel economic revolution was gathering steam. This was the Industrial Revolution, the topic of the next chapter, which originated around 1780 and accelerated through the end of the eighteenth century. After 1815 the twin forces of industrialization and democratization would combine to transform Europe and the world.

CHAPTER 22 Review and Explore

Identify Key Terms

Identify and explain the significance of each item below.

Treaty of Paris (p. 630)
Declaration of Independence (p. 631)
Antifederalists (p. 633)
Estates General (p. 634)
National Assembly (p. 634)
Jacobin club (p. 637)
Mountain (p. 638)
Girondists (p. 638)
sans-culottes (p. 638)
Reign of Terror (p. 638)
Thermidorian reaction (p. 640)
Napoleonic Code (p. 642)
Grand Empire (p. 643)
Continental System (p. 643)
Creoles (p. 646)
peninsulares (p. 650)

Review the Main Ideas

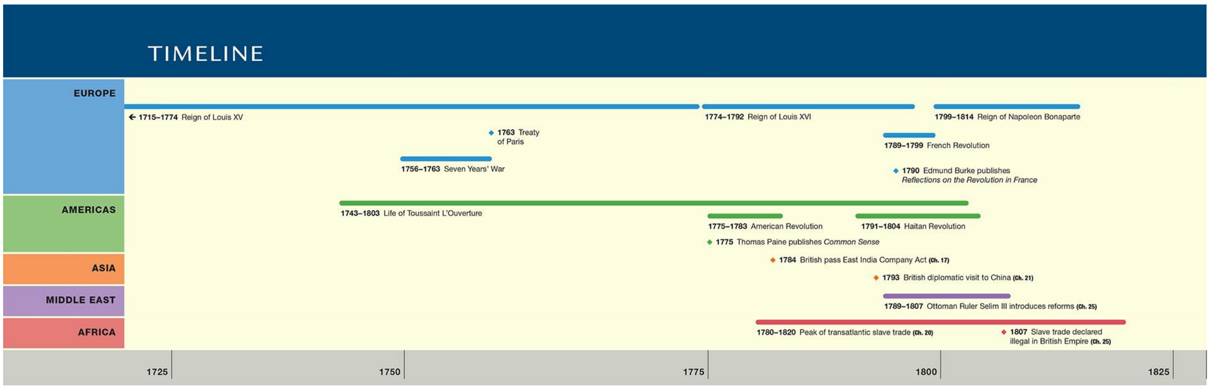
Answer the focus questions from each section of the chapter.

1. What were the factors behind the age of revolution in the Atlantic world? (p. 626)
2. Why and how did American colonists forge a new, independent nation? (p. 631)
3. Why and how did revolutionaries in France transform the nation first into a constitutional monarchy and then into a republic that entered war with European powers? (p. 634)
4. How did Napoleon Bonaparte assume control of France and much of Europe, and what factors led to his downfall? (p. 641)
5. How did a slave revolt on colonial Saint-Domingue lead to the creation of the independent nation of Haiti in 1804? (p. 645)
6. Why and how did the Spanish and Portuguese colonies of North and South America shake off European domination and develop into national states? (p. 650)

Make Comparisons and Connections

Analyze the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters.

1. What was revolutionary about the age of revolution? How did the states that emerged out of the eighteenth-century revolutions differ from the states that predominated in previous centuries?
2. To what extent would you characterize the revolutions discussed in this chapter as Enlightenment movements? (See "The Atlantic Enlightenment" in Chapter 19.) How did the increased circulation of goods, people, and ideas across the Atlantic in the eighteenth century contribute to the outbreak of revolution on both sides of the ocean?
3. In what sense did the age of revolution mark the beginning of modern politics in Europe and the Americas?



Suggested Resources

Books

Armitage, David, and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, eds. *The Age of Revolutions in Global Context, c. 1760–1840.* 2009. Presents the international causes and consequences of the age of revolutions.

Bell, David A. *The First Total War: Napoleon's Europe and the Birth of Warfare as We Know It.* 2007. Argues that the French Revolution created a new form of "total" war that prefigured the world wars of the twentieth century.

Calloway, Colin G. *The Scratch of a Pen: 1763 and the Transformation of North America*. 2006. A study of the dramatic impact of the Seven Years' War on the British and French colonies of North America.

Desan, Suzanne. *The Family on Trial in Revolutionary France.* 2004. Studies the effects of revolutionary law on the family, including the legalization of divorce.

Dubois, Laurent. *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution.* 2004. An excellent and highly readable account of the revolution that transformed the French colony of Saint-Domingue into the independent state of Haiti.

Gould, Eliga H., and Peter S. Onuf, eds. *Empire and Nation: The American Revolution in the Atlantic World*. 2005. A collection of essays placing the American Revolution in its wider Atlantic context, including studies of its impact on daily life in the new republic and the remaining British Empire.

Klooster, Wim. *Revolutions in the Atlantic World: A Comparative History*. 2009. An accessible and engaging comparison of the revolutions in North America, France, Haiti, and Spanish America.

McPhee, Peter, ed. *A Companion to the French Revolution*. 2013. A wide-ranging collection of essays on the French Revolution, written by experts in the field.

Schechter, Ronald. *Obstinate Hebrews: Representations of Jews in France, 1715–1815*. 2003. An illuminating study of Jews and attitudes toward them in France, from the Enlightenment to emancipation.

Sepinwall, Alyssa, ed. *Haitian History: New Perspectives*. 2013. A collection of essays showcasing the most important new scholarship on the Haitian Revolution.

Van Young, Eric. *The Other Rebellion: Popular Violence, Ideology, and the Mexican Struggle for Independence, 1810–1821*. 2001. Authoritative study of why ordinary Mexicans joined the fight for independence from Spain.

Wood, Gordon S. *The American Revolution: A History*. 2003. A concise introduction to the American Revolution by a Pulitzer Prize–winning historian.

Documentaries

Égalité for All: Toussaint Louverture and the Haitian Revolution (PBS, 2009). Uses music, interviews, voodoo rituals, and dramatic re-enactments to explore the Haitian Revolution and its fascinating leader, Toussaint L’Ouverture.

Liberty! The American Revolution (PBS, 1997). A dramatic documentary about the American Revolution, consisting of six hour-long episodes that cover events from 1763 to 1788.

The War That Made America (PBS, 2006). This miniseries about the Seven Years’ War (known as the French and Indian War in North America) focuses on alliances between Native Americans and the French and British; it also examines George Washington’s role in the conflict as a young officer.

Feature Films and Television Dramas

Farewell, My Queen (Benoît Jacquot, 2012). A fictional view of the final days of the French monarchy, from the perspective of a female servant whose job is to read to Queen Marie Antoinette.

John Adams (HBO, 2008). An award-winning miniseries on the life of one of the Founding Fathers of the United States.

The Liberator (Alberto Arvelo, 2014). The first Venezuelan film to be nominated for an Oscar presents an epic survey of the life and battles of

Simón Bolívar, hero of the Spanish-American wars of independence.

Master and Commander: The Far Side of the World (Peter Weir, 2003). A British navy captain pursues a French vessel along the coast of South America during the Napoleonic Wars.

Websites

French Revolution Digital Archive. A website hosted by Stanford University that includes fourteen thousand digital images from the French Revolution. **frda.stanford.edu/**

Haiti Digital Library. A guide to online primary sources, articles, and websites related to Haitian history, from the revolution to modern times; sponsored by the Haiti Laboratory at Duke University. **sites.duke.edu/haitilab/english/**

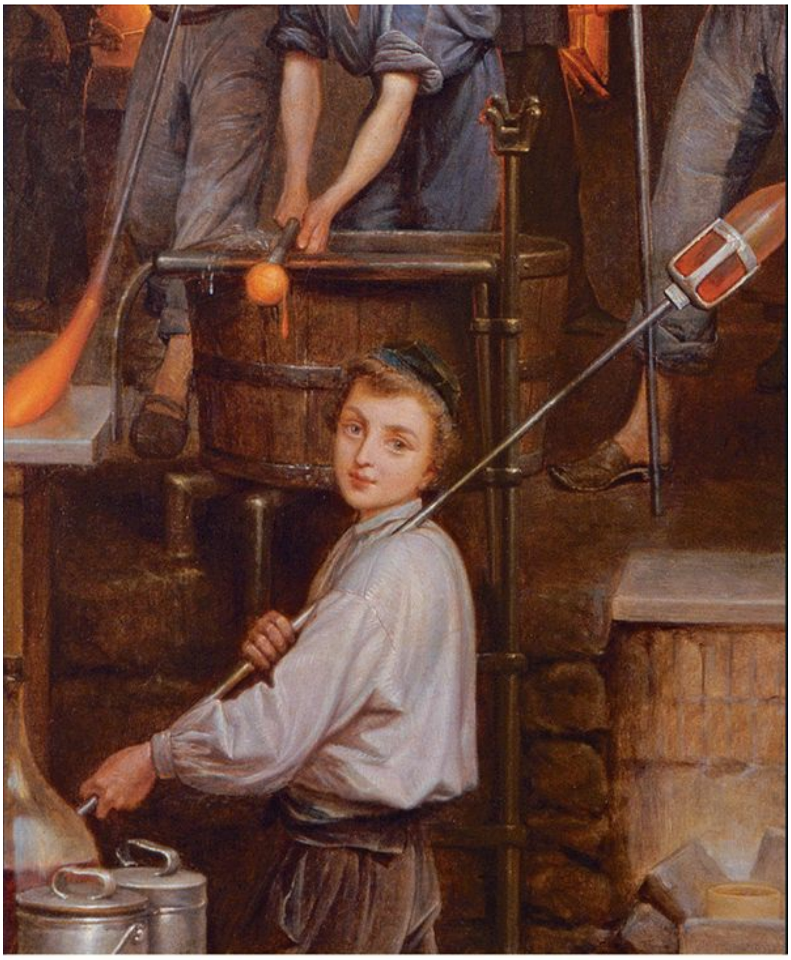
Liberty, Equality, Fraternity: Exploring the French Revolution. Features a large image and document collection from the era of the French Revolution, as well as songs, maps, and thematic essays written by scholars in the field. **chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/**

The Papers of George Washington. A site with online versions of many documents pertaining to and written by George Washington, accompanied by articles on themes related to Washington’s life and views. **gwpapers.virginia.edu**

23

The Revolution in Energy and Industry

1760–1850



Interior of a Furnace, 1865 [oil on canvas] [detail] by Charles Housez [1822–1888]/BOURNE GALLERY ARCHIVE/© Bourne Gallery, Reigate, Surrey, UK/ Bridgeman Images

Young Factory Worker

Children composed a substantial element of the workforce in early factories, where they toiled long hours in dangerous and unsanitary conditions.

Until a mechanized process was invented at the end of the nineteenth century, boys working in glass-bottle factories, like the youth pictured here, stoked blazing furnaces with coal and learned to blow glass.

While the revolutions of the Atlantic world were opening a new political era, another revolution was beginning to transform economic and social life. The Industrial Revolution began in Great Britain around 1780 and soon began to influence continental Europe and the United States. Quite possibly only the development of agriculture during Neolithic times had a comparable impact and significance in world history. Non-Western nations began to industrialize after 1860.

Industrialization profoundly modified human experience. It changed patterns of work, transformed the social structure, and eventually altered the international balance of political power in favor of the most rapidly industrialized nations, especially Great Britain. What was revolutionary about the Industrial Revolution was not its pace or that it represented a sharp break with the previous period. On the contrary, the Industrial Revolution built on earlier developments, and the rate of progress was slow. What was remarkable about the Industrial Revolution was that it inaugurated a period of sustained economic and demographic growth that has continued to the present. Although it took time, the Industrial Revolution eventually helped ordinary people in the West gain a higher standard of living.

CHAPTER PREVIEW

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN BRITAIN

Why did the Industrial Revolution begin in Britain, and how did it develop between 1780 and 1850?

INDUSTRIALIZATION IN EUROPE AND THE WORLD

How did countries in Europe and around the world respond to the challenge of industrialization after 1815?

NEW PATTERNS OF WORKING AND LIVING

How did work evolve during the Industrial Revolution, and how did daily life change for working people?

RELATIONS BETWEEN CAPITAL AND LABOR

How did the changes brought about by the Industrial Revolution lead to new social classes, and how did people respond to the new structure?

The Industrial Revolution in Britain

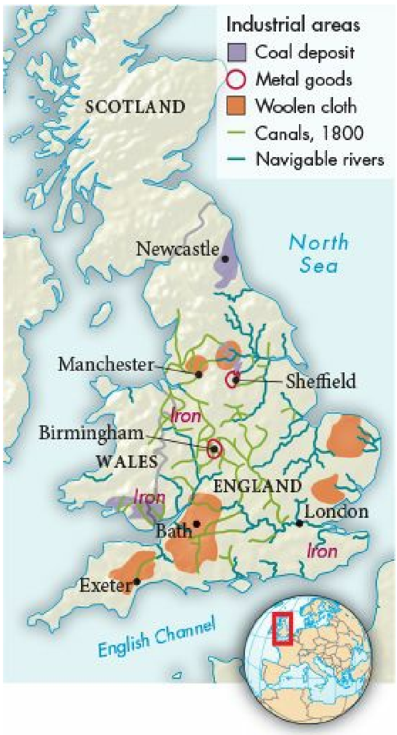
Why did the Industrial Revolution begin in Britain, and how did it develop between 1780 and 1850?

The Industrial Revolution began in Great Britain, the nation created by the formal union of Scotland, Wales, and England in 1707. The transformation in industry was something new in history, and it was unplanned. It originated from a unique combination of possibilities and constraints in late-eighteenth-century Britain. With no models to copy and no idea of what to expect, Britain pioneered not only in industrial technology but also in social relations and urban living.

Why Britain?

Perhaps the most important debate in economic history focuses on why the Industrial Revolution originated in western Europe, and Britain in particular, rather than in other parts of the world, such as Asia. Historians continue to debate this issue, but the best answer seems to be that Britain possessed a unique set of possibilities and constraints — abundant coal, high wages, a relatively peaceful and centralized government, well-developed financial systems, innovative culture, highly skilled craftsmen, and a strong position in empire and global trade, including slavery — that spurred its people to adopt a capital-intensive, machine-powered system of production.

Thus a number of factors came together over the long term to give rise to the Industrial Revolution in Britain. The Scientific Revolution and the Enlightenment fostered a new worldview that embraced progress and the role of research and experimentation in understanding and mastering the natural world. Moreover, Britain’s intellectual culture emphasized the public sharing of knowledge, including that of scientists and technicians from other countries.


Industrial areas
▨ Coal deposit
○ Metal goods
▨ Woolen cloth
— Canals, 1800
— Navigable rivers
SCOTLAND
North Sea
Newcastle
Manchester
Sheffield
Iron
Birmingham
WALES
ENGLAND
Iron
London
Bath
Iron
Exeter
English Channel

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e,
© 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Cottage Industry and Transportation in Great Britain in the 1700s

In the economic realm, the seventeenth-century expansion of rural industry produced a surplus of English woolen cloth. Exported throughout Europe, English cloth brought commercial profits and high wages. By the eighteenth century the expanding Atlantic economy and trade with India and China were also serving Britain well. The mercantilist colonial empire Britain aggressively built, augmented by a strong position in Latin America and in the transatlantic slave trade, provided raw materials like cotton and a growing market for British manufactured goods (see “The Atlantic Economy” in Chapter 19). Strong demand for British manufacturing meant that British workers earned high wages compared to the rest of the world’s laborers.

Agriculture also played an important role in bringing about the Industrial Revolution. English farmers were second only to the Dutch in productivity in 1700, and they were continually adopting new methods of farming. Because of increasing efficiency, landowners were able to produce more food with a smaller workforce. The enclosure movement had deprived many small landowners of their land, leaving the landless poor to work as hired agricultural laborers or in rural industry. These groups created a pool of potential laborers for the new factories.

Abundant food and high wages in turn meant that the ordinary English family no longer had to spend almost everything it earned just to buy bread. Thus the family could spend more on manufactured goods. They could also pay to send their children to school. Britain’s populace enjoyed high levels of education compared to that of the rest of Europe. Moreover, in the eighteenth century the members of the average British family — including women and girls — were redirecting their labor away from unpaid work for household consumption and toward work for wages that they could spend on goods.

Britain also benefited from rich natural resources and a well-developed infrastructure. In an age when it was much cheaper to ship goods by water than by land, no part of England was more than fifty miles from navigable water. Beginning in the 1770s a canal-building boom enhanced this advantage. Rivers and canals facilitated easy movement of England and Wales’s enormous deposits of iron and coal. The abundance of coal combined with high wages in manufacturing placed Britain in a unique position among the nations of the world: its manufacturers had extremely strong incentives to develop technologies to draw on the power of coal to increase workmen’s productivity. In regions with lower wages, such as India and China, the costs of mechanization outweighed potential gains in productivity.

A final factor favoring British industrialization was the heavy hand of the British state and its policies. Britain’s parliamentary system taxed its population aggressively and spent the money on a navy to protect imperial commerce and on an army that could be used to quell uprisings by disgruntled workers. Starting with the Navigation Acts under Oliver Cromwell (see “Mercantilism and Colonial Wars” in Chapter 18), the British state also adopted aggressive tariffs, or duties, on imported goods to protect its industries.

All these factors combined to initiate the **Industrial Revolution**, a term first coined to describe the burst of major inventions and technical changes that took place in certain industries. This technical revolution went hand in hand with an impressive quickening in the annual rate of industrial growth in Britain. Whereas industry had grown at only 0.7 percent between 1700 and 1760 (before the Industrial Revolution), it grew at the much higher rate of 3 percent between 1801 and 1831, when industrial transformation was in full swing.[1]

Industrial Revolution A term first coined in the 1830s to describe the burst of major inventions and economic expansion that took place in certain industries, such as cotton textiles and iron, between 1780 and 1850.

Technological Innovations and Early Factories

The pressure to produce more goods for a growing market and to reduce the labor costs of manufacturing was directly related to the first decisive breakthrough of the Industrial Revolution: the creation of the world’s first machine-powered factories in the British cotton textile industry. Technological innovations in the manufacture of cotton cloth led to a new system of production and social relationships.

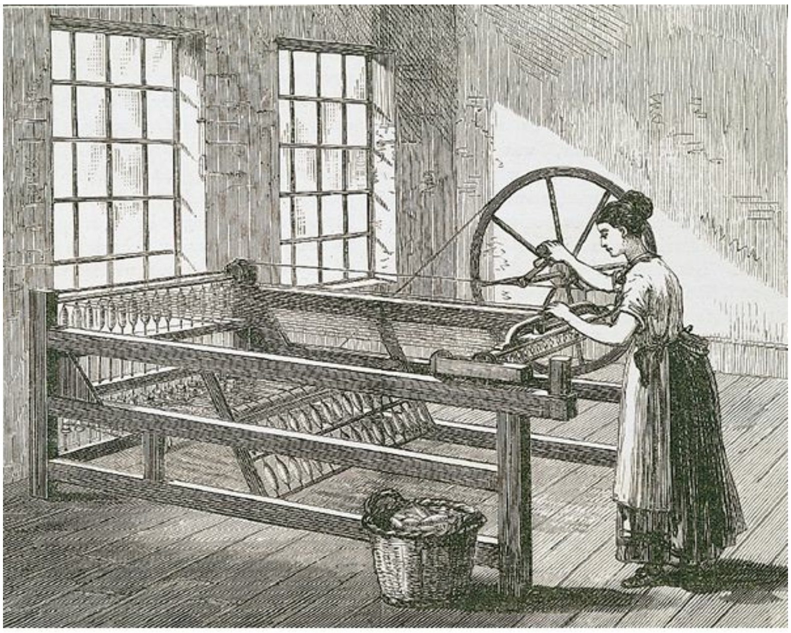
The putting-out system that developed in the seventeenth-century textile industry involved a merchant who loaned, or “put out,” raw materials to cottage workers who processed the raw materials in their own homes and returned the finished products to the merchant. There was always a serious imbalance in textile production based on cottage industry: the work of four or five spinners was needed to keep one weaver steadily employed. During the eighteenth century the putting-out system grew across Europe, but most extensively in Britain. The growth of demand only increased pressures on the supply of thread.

Many a tinkering worker knew that devising a better spinning wheel promised rich rewards. It proved hard to spin the traditional raw materials — wool and flax — with improved machines, but cotton was different. Cotton textiles had first been imported into Britain from India by the East India Company as a rare and delicate luxury for the upper classes. In the eighteenth century a lively market for cotton cloth emerged in West Africa, where the English and other Europeans traded it for enslaved people. By 1760 a tiny domestic cotton industry had emerged in northern England based on imported raw materials, but it could not compete with cloth produced by workers in India and other parts of Asia. International competition thus drove English entrepreneurs to invent new technologies to bring down labor costs.

After many experiments over a generation, a carpenter and jack-of-all-trades, James Hargreaves, invented his cotton-spinning jenny about 1765. At almost the same moment, a barber-turned-manufacturer named Richard Arkwright invented (or possibly pirated) another kind of spinning machine, the water frame. These breakthroughs produced an explosion in the infant cotton textile industry in the 1780s and made some inventors, like Richard Arkwright, extremely wealthy. By 1790 the new machines were producing ten times as much cotton yarn as had been made in 1770.

Hargreaves’s **spinning jenny** was simple, inexpensive, and powered by hand. In early models from six to twenty-four spindles were mounted on a sliding carriage, and each spindle spun a fine, slender thread. The machines were usually worked by women, who moved the carriage back and forth with one hand and turned a wheel to supply power with the other. Now it was the male weaver who could not keep up with the vastly more efficient female spinner.

spinning jenny A simple, inexpensive, hand-powered spinning machine created by James Hargreaves about 1765.



© Mary Evans Picture Library/The Image Works

Picture Research Consultants & Archives

Woman Working a Spinning Jenny The loose cotton strands on the slanted bobbins shown in this illustration of Hargreaves's spinning jenny passed up to the sliding carriage and then on to the spindles (bottom) in back for fine spinning. The worker, almost always a woman, regulated the sliding carriage with one hand, and with the other she turned the crank on the wheel to supply power. By 1783 one woman could spin a hundred threads at a time.

Arkwright's **water frame** employed a different principle. It quickly acquired a capacity of several hundred spindles and demanded much more power than a single operator could provide. A solution was found in waterpower. The water frame required large specialized mills located beside rivers, factories that employed as many as one thousand workers. The major drawback of the water frame was that it could spin only a coarse, strong thread. Around 1780 a hybrid machine invented by Samuel Crompton proved capable of spinning very fine and strong thread in large quantities. (See “Individuals in Society: Samuel Crompton,” page 665.) Gradually, all cotton spinning was concentrated in large-scale factories.

water frame A spinning machine created by Richard Arkwright that had a capacity of several hundred spindles and used waterpower; it therefore required a larger and more specialized mill — a factory.

These revolutionary developments in the textile industry allowed British manufacturers to compete successfully in international markets in both fine and coarse cotton thread. At first, the machines were too expensive to build and did not provide enough savings in labor to be adopted in continental Europe or elsewhere. Where wages were low and investment capital was scarce, there was little point in adopting mechanized production until the machines’ productivity increased significantly and the cost of manufacturing the machines dropped, both of which occurred in the first decades of the nineteenth century.[2]

Families using cotton in cottage industry were freed from their constant search for adequate yarn from scattered part-time spinners, because all the thread needed could be spun in the cottage on the jenny or obtained from a nearby factory. The income of weavers, now hard-pressed to keep up with the spinners, rose markedly until about 1792. In response, mechanics and capitalists sought to invent a power loom to save on labor costs. This Edmund Cartwright achieved in 1785. But the power looms of the factories worked poorly at first and did not fully replace handlooms until the 1820s.

Working conditions in the early cotton factories were so poor that adult workers were reluctant to work in them. Factory owners often turned to orphans and abandoned children instead. By placing them in “apprenticeship” with factory owners, parish officers charged with caring for such children saved money. The owners gained workers over whom they exercised almost the authority of slave owners. Housed, fed, and locked up nightly in factory dormitories, the young workers labored thirteen or fourteen hours a day, six days a week, for little or no pay.

INDIVIDUALS IN SOCIETY

Samuel Crompton

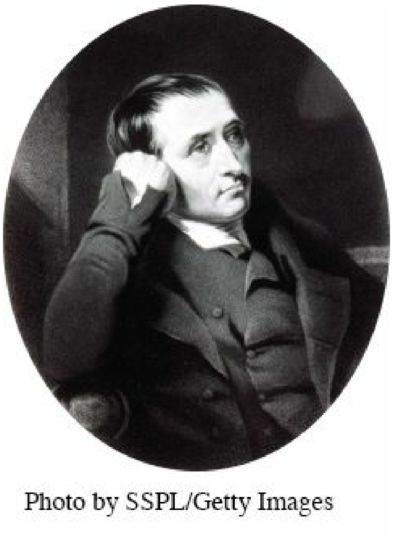


Photo by SSPL/Getty Images

Samuel Crompton, inventor of the spinning mule.

SAMUEL CROMPTON'S LIFE STORY ILLUSTRATES the remarkable ingenuity and determination of the first generation of inventors in the Industrial Revolution as well as the struggles they faced in controlling and profiting from their inventions. Crompton was born in 1753 in Bolton-in-the Moors, a Lancashire village active in the domestic production of cotton thread and cloth. Crompton descended from small landowners and weavers, but his grandfather had lost the family land and his father died shortly after his birth.

Crompton's mother was a pious and energetic woman who supported the family by tenant farming and spinning and weaving cotton. Crompton spent years spinning in childhood until he was old enough to begin weaving. His mother ensured that he was well educated at the local school, and as a teenager he attended night classes, studying algebra, mathematics, and trigonometry.

This was the period when John Kay's invention of the flying shuttle doubled the speed of handloom weaving, leading to a drastic rise in the demand for thread. Crompton's family acquired one of the new spinning jennies — invented by James Hargreaves — and he saw for himself how they increased productivity. He was also acquainted with Richard Arkwright, inventor of the water frame, who then operated a barbershop in Bolton.

In 1774 Crompton began work on the spinning machine that would consume what little free time, and spare money, he possessed over the next five years. Solitary by nature and fearful of competition, Crompton worked alone and in secret. He earned a little extra money playing violin in the Bolton theater orchestra, and he possessed a set of tools left over from his father's own mechanical experiments.

The result of all this effort was the spinning mule, so called because it combined the rollers of Arkwright's water frame with the moving carriage of Hargreaves's spinning jenny. With the mule, spinners could produce very fine and strong thread in large quantities, something no previous machine had permitted. The mule effectively ended England's reliance on India for the finest muslin cloth.

In 1780, possessed of a spectacular technological breakthrough and a beloved bride, Crompton seemed poised for a prosperous and happy life. Demand surged for the products of his machine, and manufacturers were desperate to learn its secrets. Too poor and naïve to purchase a patent for his invention, Crompton shared it with manufacturers through a subscription agreement. Unfortunately, he received little of the promised money in return.

Once exposed to the public, the spinning mule quickly spread across Great Britain. Crompton continued to make high-quality yarn, but had to compete with all the other workshops using his machine. Moreover, he could not keep skilled workers, since they were constantly lured away by his competitors' higher wages.

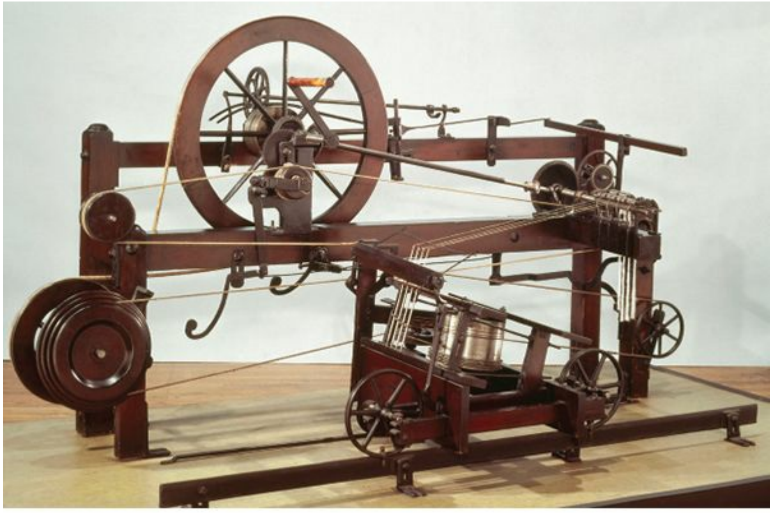


Photo by SSPL/Getty Images

Replica of the spinning mule, a hybrid machine that combined features from Hargreaves's spinning jenny and Arkwright's water frame.

As others earned great wealth with the mule, Crompton grew frustrated by his relative poverty. In 1811 he toured Great Britain to document his invention’s impact. He estimated that 4,600,000 mules were then in operation that directly employed 70,000 people. Crompton’s supporters took these figures to Parliament, which granted him a modest reward of £5,000. However, this boost did little to improve his fortunes, and his subsequent business ventures failed. In 1824 local benefactors took up a small subscription to provide for his needs, but he died in poverty in 1827 at the age of seventy-four.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

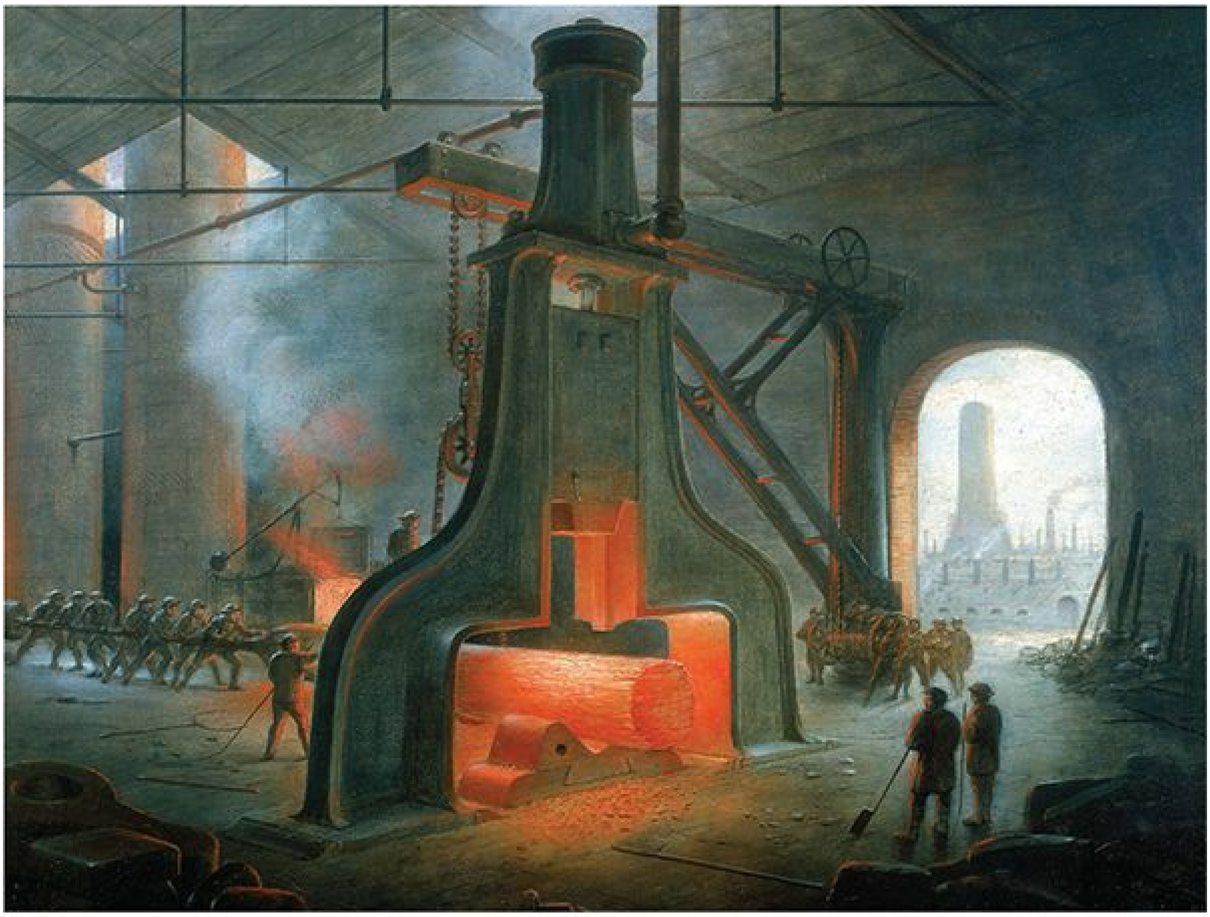
1. What factors in Crompton’s life enabled him to succeed as an inventor?
2. Why did Crompton fail to profit from his inventions?
3. What does the contrast between Richard Arkwright’s financial success and Crompton’s relative failure tell us about innovation and commercial enterprise in the Industrial Revolution?

Source: Gilbert James France, *The Life and Times of Samuel Crompton, Inventor of the Spinning Machine Called the Mule* (London: Simpkin Marshall, 1859).

The Steam Engine Breakthrough

Well into the eighteenth century, Europe, like other areas of the world, relied mainly on wood for energy, and human beings and animals performed most work. This dependence meant that Europe and the rest of the world remained poor in energy and power.

By the eighteenth century wood was in ever-shorter supply in Britain. Processed wood (charcoal) was mixed with iron ore in blast furnaces to produce pig iron that could be processed into steel, cast iron, or wrought iron. The iron industry's appetite for wood was enormous, and by 1740 the British iron industry was stagnating. As wood became ever more scarce, the British looked to coal as an alternative. They had first used coal in the late Middle Ages as a source of heat. By 1640 most homes in London were heated with coal, and it was also used in industry to provide heat for making beer, glass, soap, and other products. The breakthrough came when industrialists began to use coal to produce mechanical energy and to power machinery.



Ann Ronan Pictures/Print Collector/Getty Images

James Nasmyth's Mighty Steam Hammer Nasmyth's invention was the forerunner of the modern pile driver, and its successful introduction in 1832 epitomized the rapid development of steam-power technology in Britain. In this painting by the inventor himself, workers manipulate a massive iron shaft being hammered into shape at Nasmyth's foundry near Manchester.

To produce more coal, mines had to be dug deeper and deeper and were constantly filling with water. Mechanical pumps, usually powered by animals walking in circles at the surface, had to be installed. Animal power was expensive and bothersome. In an attempt to overcome these disadvantages, Thomas Savery in 1698 and Thomas Newcomen in 1705 invented the first primitive **steam engines**. Both engines burned coal to produce steam that drove the water pumps.

steam engines A breakthrough invention by Thomas Savery in 1698 and Thomas Newcomen in 1705 that burned coal to produce steam, which was then used to operate a pump; the early models were superseded by James Watt's more efficient steam engine, patented in 1769.

In 1763 a gifted young Scot named James Watt (1736–1819) was drawn to a critical study of the steam engine. Watt worked at the University of Glasgow as a skilled craftsman making scientific instruments. In 1763 Watt was called on to repair a Newcomen engine being used in a physics course. Watt discovered that the Newcomen engine could be significantly improved by adding a separate condenser. This invention, patented in 1769, greatly increased the efficiency of the steam engine.

To make his invention a practical success, Watt needed skilled workers, precision parts, and capital, and the relatively advanced nature of the British economy proved essential. A partnership in 1775 with Matthew Boulton, a wealthy English industrialist, provided Watt with adequate capital and exceptional skills in salesmanship. Among Britain's highly skilled locksmiths, tinsmiths, and millwrights, Watt found mechanics who could install, regulate, and repair his sophisticated engines. From ingenious manufacturers, Watt was gradually able to purchase precision parts. By the late 1780s the firm of Boulton and Watt had made the steam engine a practical and commercial success in Britain.

The coal-burning steam engine of Watt and his followers was the Industrial Revolution's most fundamental advance in technology. For the first time in history, humanity had, at least for a few generations, almost unlimited power at its disposal. For the first time, inventors and engineers could devise and implement all kinds of power equipment to aid people in their work. Steam power began to replace waterpower in cotton-spinning mills during the 1780s, contributing greatly to that industry's phenomenal rise. Steam also took the place of waterpower in flour mills, in the malt mills used in breweries, in the flint mills supplying the pottery industry, and in the mills exported by Britain to the West Indies to crush sugarcane.

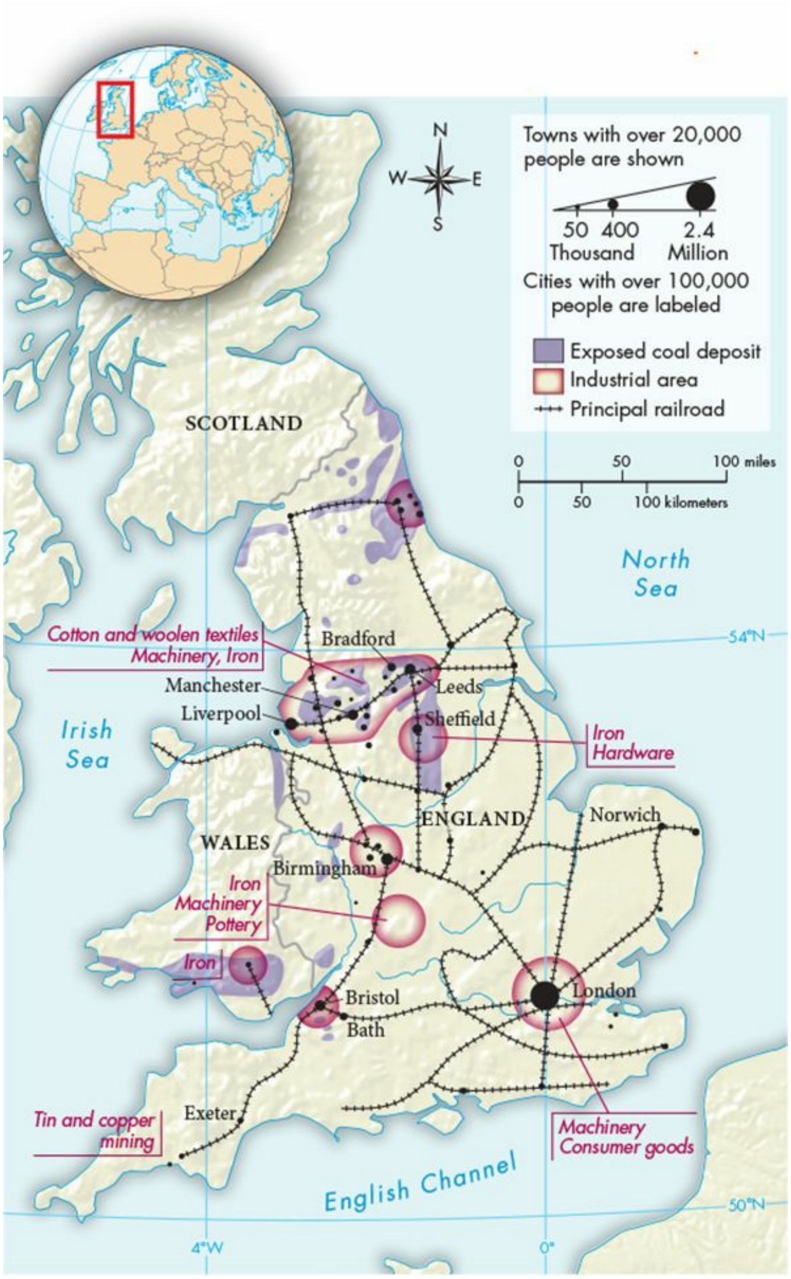
The British iron industry was also radically transformed. After 1770 the adoption of steam-driven bellows in blast furnaces allowed for great increases in the quantity of pig iron produced by British ironmakers. In the 1780s Henry Cort developed the puddling furnace, which allowed pig iron to be refined with coke, a smokeless and hot-burning fuel produced by heating coal to rid it of impurities.

Cort also developed steam-powered rolling mills, which were capable of spewing out finished iron in every shape and form. The economic consequence of these technical innovations was a great boom in the British iron industry. In 1740 annual British iron production was only 17,000 tons. With the spread of coke smelting and the impact of Cort's inventions, production had reached 260,000 tons by 1806. In 1844 Britain produced 3 million tons of iron. Once expensive, iron became the cheap, basic, indispensable building block of the British economy.

Steam-Powered Transportation

The first steam locomotive was built by Richard Trevithick after much experimentation. George Stephenson's locomotive named ***Rocket*** sped down the track of the just-completed Liverpool and Manchester Railway at a maximum speed of 35 miles per hour in 1829. The line from Liverpool to Manchester was the first modern railroad, using steam-powered locomotives to carry customers to the new industrial cities. It was a financial as well as a technical success, and many private companies were organized to build more rail lines. Within twenty years they had completed the main trunk lines of Great Britain (Map 23.1). Other countries were quick to follow, with the first steam-powered trains operating in the United States in the 1830s and in Brazil, Chile, Argentina, and the British colonies of Canada, Australia, and India in the 1850s (Figure 23.1).

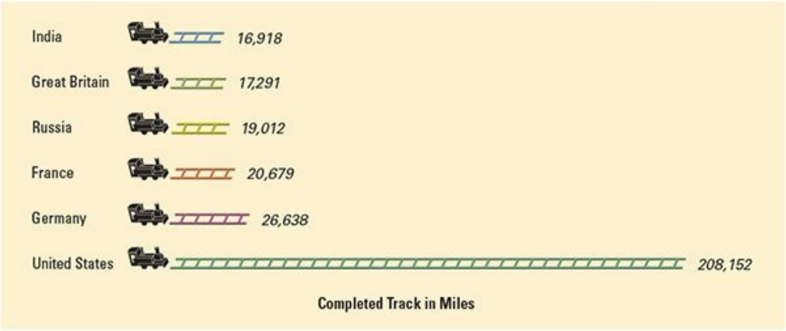
Rocket The name given to George Stephenson's effective locomotive that was first tested in 1829 on the Liverpool and Manchester Railway and reached a maximum speed of 35 miles per hour.


N
W
E
S
Towns with over 20,000 people are shown
50 Thousand
400 Thousand
2.4 Million
Cities with over 100,000 people are labeled
Exposed coal deposit
Industrial area
Principal railroad
0
50
100 miles
0
50
100 kilometers
SCOTLAND
North Sea
54°N
Cotton and woolen textiles
Machinery, Iron
Bradford
Manchester
Leeds
Liverpool
Sheffield
Irish Sea
Iron
Hardware
ENGLAND
Norwich
WALES
Birmingham
Iron
Machinery
Pottery
Iron
Bristol
Bath
London
Exeter
Tin and copper mining
Machinery
Consumer goods
English Channel
50°N
4°W
0°

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Map 23.1 The Industrial Revolution in Great Britain, ca. 1850 Industry concentrated in the rapidly growing cities of the north and the center of England, where rich coal and iron deposits were close to one another.

The arrival of the railroad had many significant consequences. It dramatically reduced the cost and uncertainty of shipping freight over land. Previously, markets had tended to be small and local; as the barrier of high transportation costs was lowered, markets became larger and even nationwide. Larger markets encouraged manufacturers to build larger factories with more sophisticated machinery in a growing number of industries. Such factories could make goods more cheaply and gradually subjected most cottage workers and many urban artisans to severe competitive pressures. In all countries, the construction of railroads created a strong demand for unskilled labor and contributed to the growth of a class of urban workers.



Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

FIGURE 23.1 Railroad Track Mileage, 1890 Steam railroads were first used by the general public for shipping in England in the 1820s, and they quickly spread to other countries. The United States was an early adopter of railroads and by 1890 had surpassed all other countries in miles of track, as shown in this figure.

The railroad also had a tremendous impact on cultural values and attitudes. The last and culminating invention of the Industrial Revolution, the railroad dramatically revealed the power and increased the speed of the new age. (See "Analyzing the Evidence: *Rain, Steam, and Speed — the Great Western Railway*," at right.)

The steam engine also transformed water travel. French engineers completed the first steamships in the 1770s, and the first commercial steamships came into use in North America several decades later. The *Clermont*, designed by Robert Fulton, began to travel the Hudson River in New York State in 1807, shortly followed by ships belonging to brewer John Molson on the St. Lawrence River. The steamship brought the advantages of the railroad — speed, reliability, efficiency — to water travel.

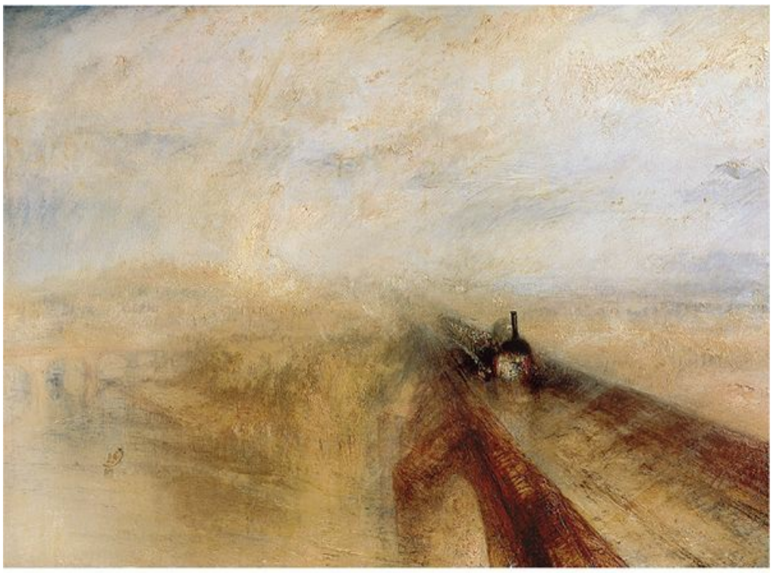
ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

Rain, Steam, and Speed—the Great Western Railway

The last and culminating invention of the Industrial Revolution, the railroad dramatically revealed the power and increased the speed of the new age. Until the coming of the railroad, travel was largely measured by the distance that a human or a horse could cover before becoming exhausted. Steam power created a revolution in human transportation, allowing a constant, rapid rate of travel with no limits on its duration. Time and space suddenly and drastically contracted, as faraway places could be reached in one-third the time or less. As the poet Heinrich Heine proclaimed in 1843, “What changes must now occur, in our way of looking at things, in our notions! . . . I feel as if the mountains and forests of all countries were advancing on Paris. Even now, I can smell the German linden trees; the North Sea’s breakers are rolling against my door.”[*]

Racing down the track at speeds that reached 50 miles per hour by 1850 was an overwhelming experience. Some great artists succeeded in expressing this sense of power and awe. An outstanding example of this is depicted here in the painting by Joseph M. W. Turner (1775–1851): *Rain, Steam, and Speed — the Great Western Railway*. Contemporary novelists also recorded their impressions of early train travel, as in this striking passage by Charles Dickens: “Through the hollow, on the height, by the heath, by the orchard, by the park, by the garden, over the canal, across the river, where the sheep are feeding, where the mill is going, where the barge is floating, where the dead are lying, where the factory is smoking, where the stream is running, where the village clusters . . . away with a strike and a roar and a rattle, and no trace to leave behind but dust and vapour.”[†] The increase in speed also led doctors to worry about the effects of the constant noise and vibration on passengers and crew.

Despite these concerns, the railroad quickly became a central institution of society. So did the massive new train stations, the cathedrals of the industrial age. Leading railway engineers such as Isambard Kingdom Brunel and Thomas Brassey, whose tunnels pierced mountains and whose bridges spanned valleys, became public idols — the astronauts of their day.



National Gallery, London, UK/Bridgeman Images

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What impression of train travel does this painting convey to the viewer? What techniques did Turner employ to create this impression? Would you describe Turner's painting as a negative or a positive depiction?
2. How would you compare this representation of travel by train to images you have seen in current media of travel by automobile or airplane? How would you account for any similarities or differences in nineteenth-century and contemporary depictions of travel?

---

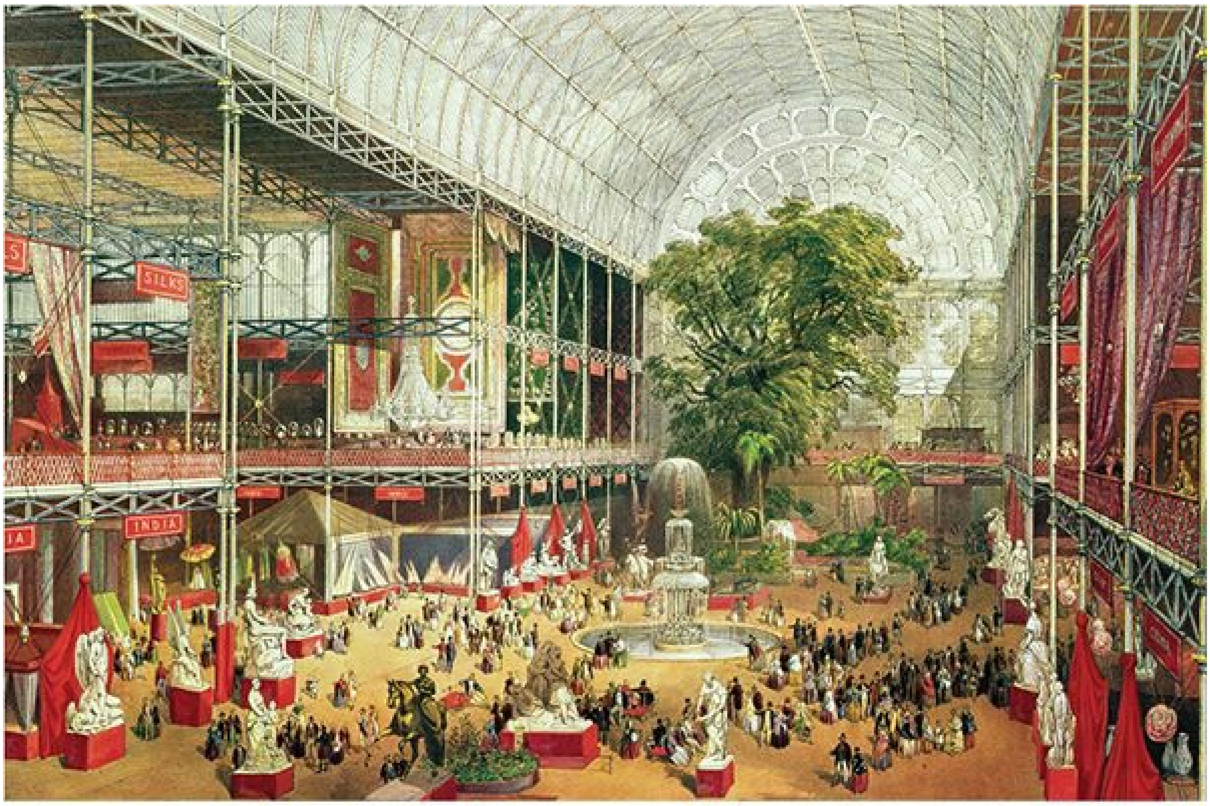
[*] Quoted in Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), p. 37.

[†] Charles Dickens, *Dombey and Son* (Ware, U.K.: Wordsworth Editions, 1999), p. 262.

Industry and Population

In 1851 London hosted an industrial fair called the Great Exhibition in the newly builtCrystal Palace. More than 6 million visitors from all over Europe marveled at the gigantic new exhibition hall set in the middle of a large, centrally located park. The building was made entirely of glass and iron, both of which were now cheap and abundant. Sponsored by the British royal family, the exhibition celebrated the new era of industrial technology and the kingdom’s role as world economic leader.

Crystal Palace The location of the Great Exhibition in 1851 in London, an architectural masterpiece made entirely of glass and iron.



London Metropolitan Archives, City of London, UK/Bridgeman Images

Interior View of the Crystal Palace Built for the Great Exhibition of 1851, the Crystal Palace was a spectacular achievement in engineering, prefabricated from three hundred thousand sheets of glass. With almost fifteen thousand exhibitors, the event constituted the first international industrial exhibition, showcasing manufactured products from Britain, its empire, and the rest of the world. Later, the building was disassembled and moved to another site in London, where it stood until destroyed by fire in 1936.

Britain’s claim to be the “workshop of the world” was no idle boast, for it produced two-thirds of the world’s coal and more than half of its iron and cotton cloth. More generally, in 1860 Britain produced a remarkable 20 percent of the entire world’s output of industrial goods, whereas it had produced only about 2 percent of the world total in 1750.[3] As the British economy significantly increased its production of manufactured goods, the gross national product (GNP) rose roughly fourfold at constant prices between 1780 and 1851. At the same time, the population of Britain boomed, growing from about 9 million in 1780 to almost 21 million in 1851. Thus growing numbers consumed much of the increase in total production.

Rapid population growth in Great Britain was key to industrial development. More people meant a more mobile labor force, with a wealth of young workers in need of employment and ready to go where the jobs were. Sustaining the dramatic increase in population, in turn, was possible only through advances in agriculture and industry. Many contemporaries feared that the rapid growth in population would inevitably lead to disaster. In his *Essay on the Principle of Population* (1798), Thomas Malthus (1766–1834) argued that population would always tend to grow faster than the food supply. Malthus concluded that the only hope of warding off such “positive checks” to population growth as war, famine, and disease was “prudential restraint.”[4] That is, young men and women had to limit the growth of population by marrying late in life. But Malthus was not optimistic about this possibility. The powerful attraction of the sexes would cause most people to marry early and have many children.

Economist David Ricardo (1772–1823) spelled out the pessimistic implications of Malthus’s thought. Ricardo’s depressing **iron law of wages** posited that, because of the pressure of population growth, wages would always sink to subsistence level. That is, wages would be just high enough to keep workers from starving.

iron law of wages Theory proposed by English economist David Ricardo suggesting that the pressure of population growth prevents wages from rising above the subsistence level.

Malthus, Ricardo, and their followers were proved wrong in the long run. However, until the 1820s, or even the 1850s, contemporary observers might reasonably have concluded that the economy and the total population were racing neck and neck, with the outcome very much in doubt. There was another problem as well. Perhaps workers, farmers, and ordinary people did not get their rightful share of the new wealth. Perhaps only the rich got richer, while the poor got poorer or made no progress. We will turn to this great issue after situating the process of industrialization in its European and global context.

Industrialization in Europe and the World

How did countries in Europe and around the world respond to the challenge of industrialization after 1815?

As new technologies and a new organization of labor began to revolutionize production in Britain, other countries took notice and began to emulate its example. With the end of the Napoleonic Wars, the nations of the European continent quickly adopted British inventions and achieved their own pattern of technological innovation and economic growth. By the last decades of the nineteenth century, western European countries as well as the United States and Japan had industrialized their economies to a considerable, albeit varying, degree.

Industrialization in other parts of the world proceeded more gradually, with uneven jerks and national and regional variations. Scholars are still struggling to explain these variations as well as the dramatic advantage in economic production that Western nations gained for the first time in history over non-Western ones. These questions are especially important because they may offer valuable lessons for poor countries that today are seeking to improve their material condition through industrialization and economic development. The latest findings on the nineteenth-century experience are encouraging. They suggest that there were alternative paths to the industrial world and that there was and is no need to follow a rigid, predetermined British model.

National and International Variations

Comparative data on industrial production in different countries over time help give us an overview of what happened. One set of data, the work of a Swiss scholar, compares the level of industrialization on a per capita basis in several countries from 1750 to 1913. These data are far from perfect, but they reflect basic trends and are presented in Table 23.1 for closer study.

Table 23.1 presents a comparison of how much industrial product was produced, on average, for each person in a given country in a given year. All the numbers are expressed in terms of a single index number of 100, which equals the per capita level of industrial goods in Great Britain and Ireland in 1900. Every number in the table is thus a percentage of the 1900 level in Britain and is directly comparable with other numbers. The countries are listed in roughly the order that they began to use large-scale, power-driven technology.

What does this overview tell us? First, one sees in the first column that in 1750 all countries were fairly close together, including non-Western areas such as China and India. However, the column headed 1800 shows that Britain had opened up a noticeable lead over all countries by 1800, and that gap progressively widened as the British Industrial Revolution accelerated through 1830 and reached full maturity by 1860.

TABLE 23.1 Per Capita Levels of Industrialization, 1750–1913

	1750	1800	1830	1860	1880	1900	1913
Great Britain	10	16	25	64	87	100	115
Belgium	9	10	14	28	43	56	88
United States	4	9	14	21	38	69	126
France	9	9	12	20	28	39	59
Germany	8	8	9	15	25	52	85
Austria-Hungary	7	7	8	11	15	23	32
Italy	8	8	8	10	12	17	26
Russia	6	6	7	8	10	15	20
China	8	6	6	4	4	3	3
India	7	6	6	3	2	1	2

Note: All entries are based on an index value of 100, equal to the per capita level of industrialization in Great Britain in 1900. Data for Great Britain include Ireland, England, Wales, and Scotland.

Source: Data from P. Bairoch, “International Industrialization Levels from 1750 to 1980,” *Journal of European Economic History* 11 (Spring 1982): 294, U.S. Journals at Cambridge University Press.

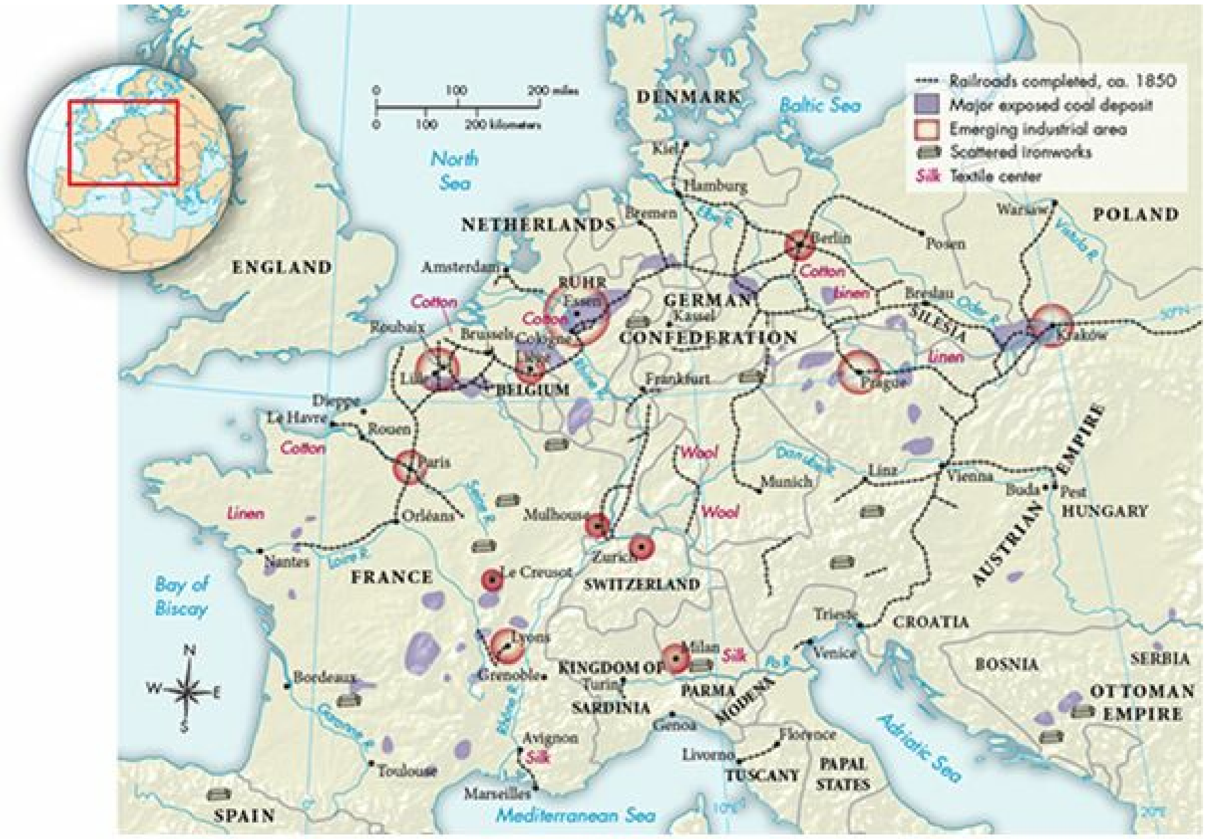
Second, the table shows that Western countries began to emulate the British model successfully over the nineteenth century, with significant variations in the timing and in the extent of industrialization. Belgium led in adopting Britain’s new technology, and it experienced a truly revolutionary surge between 1830 and 1860. France developed factory production more gradually and did not experience “revolutionary” growth in industrial output. Slow but steady economic growth in France was overshadowed by the spectacular rise of Germany and the United States after 1860 in what has been termed the “Second Industrial Revolution.” In general, eastern and southern Europe began the process of industrialization later than northwestern and central Europe. Nevertheless, these regions made real progress in the late nineteenth century, as growth after 1880 in Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Russia suggests. This meant that all European states as well as the United States managed to raise per capita industrial levels in the nineteenth century.

These increases stood in stark contrast to the decreases that occurred at the same time in many non-Western countries, most notably in China and India, as Table 23.1 shows. European countries industrialized to a greater or lesser extent even as most of the non-Western world stagnated. Japan, which is not included in this table, stands out as an exceptional area of non-Western industrial growth in the second half of the nineteenth century. After the forced opening of the country to the West in the 1850s, Japanese entrepreneurs began to adopt Western technology and manufacturing methods, resulting in a production boom by the late nineteenth century (see “Industrialization” in Chapter 26). Differential rates of wealth- and power-creating industrial development, which heightened disparities within Europe, also greatly magnified existing inequalities between Europe and the rest of the world (see “The Rise of Global Inequality” in Chapter 25).

Industrialization in Continental Europe

Throughout Europe the eighteenth century was an era of agricultural improvement, population increase, expanding foreign trade, and growing cottage industry. Thus, when the pace of British industry began to accelerate in the 1780s, continental businesses began to adopt the new methods as they proved their profitability. During the period of the revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, from 1793 to 1815, however, western Europe experienced tremendous political and social upheaval that temporarily halted economic development. With the return of peace in 1815, however, western European countries again began to play catch-up.

They faced significant challenges. In the newly mechanized industries, British goods were being produced very economically, and these goods had come to dominate world markets. In addition, British technology had become so advanced that very few engineers or skilled technicians outside England understood it. Moreover, the technology of steam power involved large investments in the iron and coal industries and, after 1830, required the existence of railroads. Continental business people had great difficulty amassing the large sums of money the new methods demanded, and laborers bitterly resisted the move to working in factories. All these factors slowed the spread of mechanization (Map 23.2).


Railroads completed, ca. 1850
Major exposed coal deposit
Emerging industrial area
Scattered ironworks
Silk Textile center
0 100 200 miles
0 100 200 kilometers
North Sea
Baltic Sea
Bay of Biscay
Mediterranean Sea
Adriatic Sea
DENMARK
NETHERLANDS
ENGLAND
BELGIUM
FRANCE
GERMAN CONFEDERATION
POLAND
SWITZERLAND
AUSTRIAN EMPIRE
HUNGARY
CROATIA
BOSNIA
SERBIA
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
KINGDOM OF SARDINIA
PARMA
MODENA
TUSCANY
PAPAL STATES
SPAIN
RUHR
SILESIA
Kiel
Hamburg
Bremen
Berlin
Posen
Warsaw
Amsterdam
Essen
Cologne
Brussels
Roubaix
Lille
Liège
Frankfurt
Kassel
Breslau
Prague
Kraków
Dieppe
Le Havre
Rouen
Paris
Orléans
Nantes
Mulhouse
Zurich
Le Creusot
Lyons
Grenoble
Bordeaux
Toulouse
Avignon
Marseilles
Turin
Milan
Genoa
Livorno
Florence
Venice
Trieste
Munich
Linz
Vienna
Buda
Pest
Cotton
Linen
Wool
Silk
Elbe R.
Oder R.
Vistula R.
Rhine R.
Danube R.
Loire R.
Seine R.
Rhône R.
Garonne R.
Po R.
N
W
E
S

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Mapping the Past

MAP 23.2 Continental Industrialization, ca. 1850 Although continental countries were beginning to make progress by 1850, they still lagged far behind Britain. For example, continental railroad building was still in an early stage, whereas the British rail system was essentially complete (see Map 23.1). Coal played a critical role in nineteenth-century industrialization, both as a power source for steam engines and as a raw material for making iron and steel.

ANALYZING THE MAP Locate the major exposed (that is, known) coal deposits in 1850. Which countries and areas appear rich in coal resources, and which appear poor? Is there a difference between northern and southern Europe?

CONNECTIONS What is the relationship between known coal deposits and emerging industrial areas in continental Europe? In England?

Nevertheless, western European nations possessed a number of advantages that helped them respond to these challenges. First, most had rich traditions of putting-out enterprise, merchant capitalism, and skilled urban trades. These assets gave their firms the ability to adapt and survive in the face of new market conditions. Second, continental capitalists did not need to develop their own advanced technology. Instead they could "borrow" the new methods developed in Great Britain, as well as the engineers and some of the financial resources they lacked. Finally, European countries had strong, independent governments that were willing to use the power of the state to promote industry and catch up with Britain.

Agents of Industrialization

Western European success in adopting British methods took place despite the best efforts of the British to prevent it. The British realized the great value of their technical discoveries and tried to keep their secrets to themselves. Until 1825 it was illegal for artisans and skilled mechanics to leave Britain; until 1843 the export of textile machinery and other equipment was forbidden. Many talented, ambitious workers, however, slipped out of the country illegally and introduced the new methods abroad.

Thus British technicians and skilled workers were a powerful force in the spread of early industrialization. A second agent of industrialization consisted of talented European entrepreneurs such as Fritz Harkort (1793–1880). Serving in England as a Prussian army officer during the Napoleonic Wars, Harkort was impressed with what he saw. Harkort set up shop building steam engines in the Ruhr Valley, on the western border with France. In spite of problems obtaining skilled workers and machinery, Harkort succeeded in building and selling engines. However, his ambitious efforts failed to turn a profit. His career illustrates both the great efforts of a few important business leaders to duplicate the British achievement and the difficulty of the task.

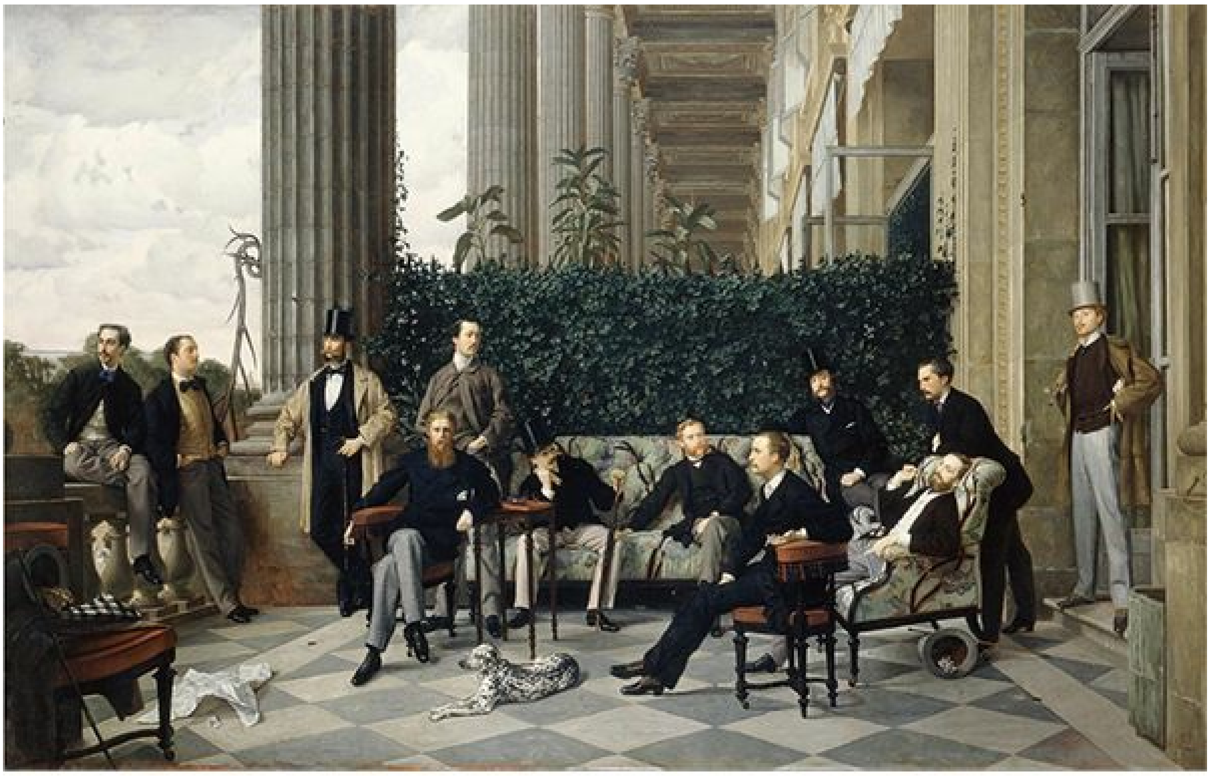
National governments played an even more important role in supporting industrialization in continental Europe than in Britain. **Tariff protection** was one such support. The French, for example, responded to a flood of cheap British goods in 1815, after the Napoleonic Wars, by laying high taxes on imported goods. Customs agreements emerged among some German states starting in 1818, and in 1834 a number of states signed a treaty creating a customs union, or *Zollverein*. The treaty allowed goods to move between member states without tariffs, while erecting a single uniform tariff against other nations.

tariff protection A government’s way of supporting and aiding its own economy by laying high taxes on imported goods from other countries, as when the French responded to the flood of cheaper British goods in their country by imposing high tariffs on some imported products.

After 1815 continental governments also bore the cost of building roads, canals, and railroads to improve transportation. Belgium led the way in the 1830s and 1840s, building a state-owned railroad network that stimulated the development of heavy industry and made the country an early industrial leader. In France the state shouldered all the expense of acquiring and laying roadbed, including bridges and tunnels.

Finally, banks, like governments, also played a larger and more creative role on the continent than in Britain. Previously, almost all banks in Europe had been private. Because of the possibility of unlimited financial loss, the partners of private banks generally avoided industrial investment as being too risky.

In the 1830s two important Belgian banks pioneered in a new direction. They received permission from the growth-oriented government to establish themselves as corporations enjoying limited liability. That is, if the bank went bankrupt, stockholders would lose only their original investments in the bank's common stock, and they could not be forced to pay for additional losses out of other property they owned. Limited liability helped these banks attract investors. They mobilized impressive resources for investment in big companies, became industrial banks, and successfully promoted industrial development. Similar corporate banks became important in France and Germany in the 1850s and 1860s.



Fine Art Images/Heritage Images/Getty Images

The Circle of the Rue Royale, Paris, 1868 The Circle of the Rue Royale was an exclusive club of aristocrats, bankers, railway owners, and other members of Parisian high society. This group portrait projects the wealth and elegance of the club's members, who are gathered on the balcony of a hotel.

The combined efforts of skilled workers, entrepreneurs, governments, and industrial banks meshed successfully between 1850 and the financial crash of 1873. In Belgium, France, and the German states key indicators of modern industrial development increased at average annual rates of 5 to 10 percent. As a result, rail networks were completed in western Europe and much of central Europe, and the leading continental countries mastered the industrial technologies that had first been developed in Great Britain. In the early 1870s Britain was still Europe's most industrial nation, but a select handful of countries were closing the gap.

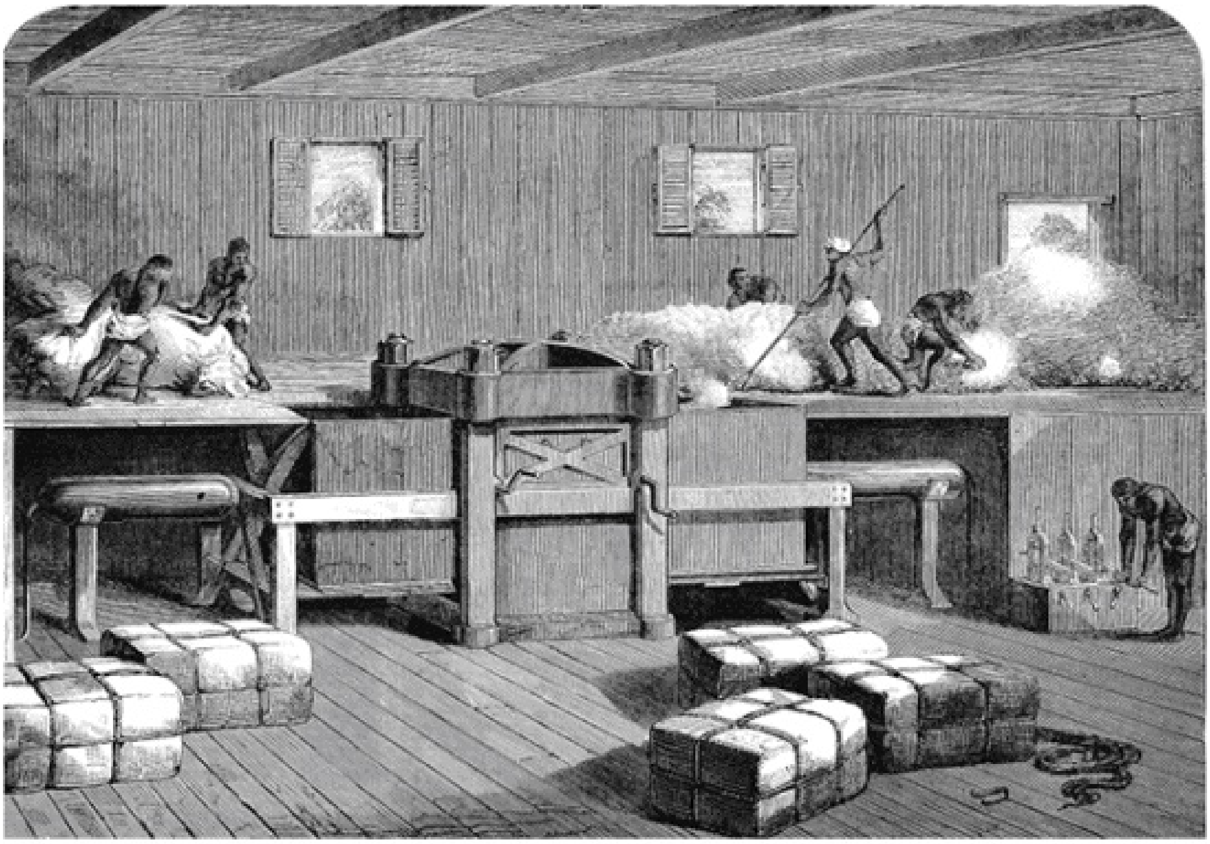
The Global Picture

The Industrial Revolution did not have a transformative impact beyond Europe prior to the 1860s, with the exception of the United States and Japan. In many countries, national governments and pioneering entrepreneurs promoted industrialization, but fell short of transitioning to an industrial economy. For example, in Russia the imperial government brought steamships to the Volga River and a railroad to the capital, St. Petersburg, in the first decades of the nineteenth century. By midcentury ambitious entrepreneurs had established steam-powered cotton factories using imported British machines. However, these advances did not lead to overall industrialization of the country. Instead Russia confirmed its role as provider of raw materials, especially timber and grain, to the hungry West.

Egypt, a territory of the Ottoman Empire, similarly began an ambitious program of modernization after a reform-minded viceroy took power in 1805. This program included the use of imported British technology and experts in textile manufacture and other industries (see "Egypt: From Reform to British Occupation" in Chapter 25). These industries, however, could not compete with lower-priced European imports. Like Russia, Egypt fell back on agricultural exports, such as sugar and cotton, to European markets.

Such examples of faltering efforts at industrialization could be found in many other places in the Middle East, Asia, and Latin America. Where European governments maintained direct or indirect control, they acted to maintain colonial markets as sources of raw materials and consumers for their own products, rather than encouraging the spread of industrialization. In India millions of poor textile workers lost their livelihood because they could not compete with industrially produced British cotton. The British charged stiff import duties on Indian cottons entering the kingdom, but prohibited the Indians from doing the same to British imports. (See "Global Viewpoints: Indian Cotton Manufacturers," above.) The arrival of railroads in India in the mid-nineteenth century served the purpose of agricultural rather than industrial development.

Latin American economies were disrupted by the early-nineteenth-century wars of independence (see "The Aftermath of Revolution in the Atlantic World" in Chapter 22). As these countries' economies recovered in the mid-nineteenth century, they increasingly adopted steam power for sugar and coffee processing and for transportation. Like elsewhere, this technology first supported increased agricultural production for export and only later drove domestic industrial production.



Granger, NYC — All rights reserved.

Press for Packing Indian Cotton, 1864 British industrialization destroyed a thriving Indian cotton textile industry, whose weavers could not compete with cheap British imports. India continued to supply raw cotton to British manufacturers.

The rise of industrialization in Britain, western Europe, and the United States thus caused other regions of the world to become increasingly economically dependent. Instead of industrializing, many territories underwent a process of deindustrialization or delayed industrialization. In turn, relative economic weakness made them vulnerable to the new wave of imperialism undertaken by industrialized nations in the second half of the nineteenth century (see “The New Imperialism, 1880–1914” in Chapter 25).

As for China, it did not adopt mechanized production until the end of the nineteenth century, but continued as a market-based, commercial society with a massive rural sector and industrial production based on traditional methods. In the 1860s and 1870s, when Japan was successfully adopting industrial methods, the Chinese government showed similar interest in Western technology and science. However, in the mid-nineteenth century China faced widespread uprisings, which drained attention and resources to the military; moreover, after the Boxer Uprising of 1900 (see “Republican Revolution” in Chapter 26), Western powers forced China to pay massive indemnities, further reducing its capacity to promote industrialization.

GLOBAL VIEWPOINTS

Indian Cotton Manufacturers

The mechanization of spinning and weaving in Britain led to tremendous increases in productivity, which in turn allowed British manufacturers to produce large volumes of cloth at low prices. The East India Company sold this cloth in India at prices lower than those for locally produced cotton, but imposed a stiff tariff on Indian cloth imported to Britain. This unequal situation and its destructive impact on Indian cloth manufacturers — who had previously led the world in cotton cloth production — quickly became apparent. Despite appeals from the manufacturers themselves, defenders of this policy claimed that it would be better for Indians to focus on producing raw cotton, which could then be brought to Britain to be finished. The two documents excerpted below exemplify the two sides of the dispute.

Petition of Natives of Bengal to the British Privy Council for Trade, 1831

■ The humble Petition of the undersigned Manufacturers and Dealers in Cotton and Silk Piece-Goods, the fabrics of Bengal;

Sheweth,

That of late years your Petitioners have found their business nearly superseded by the introduction of the fabrics of Great Britain into Bengal, the importation of which augments every year, to the great prejudice of the native manufactures.

That the fabrics of Great Britain are consumed in Bengal without any duties being levied thereon to protect the native fabrics.

That the fabrics of Bengal are charged with the following duties when they are used in Great Britain:

On manufactured cottons, 10 per cent

On manufactured silks, 24 per cent . . .

They therefore pray to be admitted to the privilege of British subjects, and humbly entreat your Lordships to allow the cotton and silk fabrics of Bengal to be used in Great Britain "free of duty," or at the same rate which may be charged on British fabrics consumed in Bengal.

Your Lordships must be aware of the immense advantages the British manufacturers derive from their skill in constructing and using machinery, which enables them to undersell the unscientific manufacturers of Bengal in their own country; . . . such an instance of justice to the natives of India would not fail to endear the British Government to them.

Robert Rickards, Testimony to the Select Committee of the House of Lords, 1821

■ I think it very likely that the further introduction of our cheap cotton manufactures into India may supersede, as they have done already to a certain degree, the use and consumption of many of the cotton manufactures of the country; but I am not aware of any injury to the population of India that is likely to result from this state of things; probably, the most beneficial trade that can be carried on between India and this country will be found to consist in the exchange of the raw produce of the East for the manufactured goods of Britain. I believe the native Indians have it in their power, from the cheapness of labour and food in that country, and the great fertility of the soil, to produce raw articles calculated for the manufactures of Britain, at a cheaper rate than perhaps any other country in the world; and if their industry should be directed to this point, instead of to local manufactures, it will interfere the less with their present occupations and employments; inasmuch as the weavers generally throughout India are cultivators of the soil also, and are occupied to the full as much in their fields as at their looms.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Why did Robert Rickards believe that Indians would not be harmed if their cloth manufacturing industry was destroyed by cheap British imports?
2. What response might the Bengal cotton and silk manufacturers have made to Rickards?

Sources: Appendix to the Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East-India Company, 16th August 1832 (London: J. L. Cox and Son, 1833), pp. 774–775; Third Report from the Select Committee Appointed to Consider the Means of Improving and Maintaining the Foreign Trade of the Country, East Indies, and China, 1821 (746), VI.340.

New Patterns of Working and Living

How did work evolve during the Industrial Revolution, and how did daily life change for working people?

Having first emerged in the British countryside in the late eighteenth century, factories and industrial labor began migrating to cities by the early nineteenth century. For some people, the Industrial Revolution brought improvements, but living and working conditions for the poor stagnated or even deteriorated until around 1850, especially in overcrowded industrial cities.

Work in Early Factories

The first factories of the Industrial Revolution were cotton mills, which began functioning in the 1770s along fast-running rivers and streams and were often located in sparsely populated areas. Cottage workers, accustomed to the putting-out system, were reluctant to work in the new factories even when they received relatively good wages. In a factory, workers had to keep up with the machine and follow its relentless tempo. Moreover, they had to show up every day, on time, and work long, monotonous hours under the constant supervision of demanding overseers.

Cottage workers were not used to that way of life. All members of the family worked hard and long, but in spurts, setting their own pace. Women and children could break up their long hours of spinning with other tasks. On Saturday afternoon the head of the family delivered the week’s work to the merchant manufacturer and got paid. Saturday night was a time of relaxation and drinking, especially for men.

Also, early factories resembled English poorhouses, where totally destitute people went to live at public expense. The similarity between large brick factories and large stone poorhouses increased the cottage workers’ fear of factories and their hatred of factory discipline. It was cottage workers’ reluctance to work in factories that prompted early cotton mill owners to turn to pauper children.

Working Families and Children

By the 1790s the early labor pattern was rapidly changing. The use of pauper apprentices was in decline, and in 1802 it was forbidden by Parliament. Many more textile factories were being built, mainly in urban areas, where they could use steam power rather than waterpower and attract a workforce more easily than in the countryside. People came from near and far to work in the cities. Collectively, these wage laborers came to be known as the "working class," a term first used in the late 1830s.

In some cases, workers accommodated to the system by carrying over familiar working traditions. Some came to the mills and the mines as family units, as they had worked on farms and in the putting-out system. The mill or mine owner bargained with the head of the family and paid him or her for the work of the whole family.

Courtesy of George Eastman Museum, accession number 1966:0039:0013

Workers at a U.S. Mill Female workers at a U.S. cotton mill in 1890 take a break from operating belt-driven weaving machines to pose for this photograph, accompanied by their male supervisor. The first textile mills, established in the 1820s in Massachusetts, employed local farm girls. As competition intensified, conditions deteriorated and the mills increasingly relied on immigrant women who had few alternatives to the long hours, noise, and dangers of factory work. By 1900 more than 1 million women worked in factories in the United States.

Ties of kinship were particularly important for newcomers, who often traveled great distances to find work. Many urban workers in Great Britain were from Ireland. They were forced out of rural Ireland by population growth and deteriorating economic conditions from 1817. Their numbers increased dramatically during the desperate years of the potato famine, from 1845 to 1851. Like many other immigrant groups held together by ethnic and religious ties, the Irish worked together, formed their own neighborhoods, and maintained their cultural traditions.

In the early decades of the nineteenth century, however, technical changes made it less and less likely that workers could continue to labor in family groups. As control and discipline passed into the hands of impersonal managers and overseers, adult workers began to protest against inhuman conditions on behalf of their children. Some enlightened employers and social reformers in Parliament agreed that more humane standards were necessary, and they used widely circulated parliamentary reports to influence public opinion. For example, Robert Owen (1771–1858), a successful textile manufacturer, testified in 1816 before an investigating committee on the basis of his experience. He argued that employing children under ten years of age as factory workers was "injurious to the children, and not beneficial to the proprietors."[5] Workers also provided graphic testimony at such hearings as the reformers pressed Parliament to pass corrective laws.

These efforts resulted in a series of British Factory Acts from 1802 to 1833 that progressively limited the workday of child laborers and set minimum hygiene and safety requirements. The **Factory Act of 1833** stated that children between ages nine and thirteen could work a maximum of eight hours per day, not including two hours for education. Teenagers aged fourteen to eighteen could work up to twelve hours, while those under nine were banned from employment. The act also installed a system of full-time professional inspectors to enforce labor regulations. The Factory Acts constituted significant progress in preventing the exploitation of children. One unintended drawback of restrictions on child labor, however, was that they broke the pattern of whole families working together in the factory, because efficiency required standardized shifts for all workers. After 1833 the number of children employed in industry declined rapidly.

Factory Act of 1833 English law that led to a sharp decline in the employment of children by limiting the hours that children over age nine could work and banning employment of children younger than nine.

The Sexual Division of Labor

With the restriction of child labor and the collapse of the family work pattern in the 1830s came a new sexual division of labor. By 1850 the man was emerging as the family's primary wage earner, while the married woman found only limited job opportunities. Generally denied good jobs at high wages in the growing urban economy, wives were expected to concentrate on their duties at home. Evolving gradually, but largely in place by 1850, this new pattern of **separate spheres** in Britain constituted a major development in the history of women and of the family.

Several factors combined to create this new sexual division of labor. First, the new and unfamiliar discipline of the clock and the machine was especially hard on married women of the laboring classes. Factory discipline conflicted with child care in a way that labor on the farm or in the cottage had not.

separate spheres A gender division of labor with the wife at home as mother and homemaker and the husband as wage earner.

Second, running a household in conditions of urban poverty was an extremely demanding job in its own right. There were no supermarkets or public transportation. Shopping and feeding the family constituted a never-ending challenge. Taking on a brutal job outside the house had limited appeal for the average married woman from the working class. Thus many women might well have accepted the emerging division of labor as the best available strategy for family survival in the industrializing society.

Third, to a large degree the young, generally unmarried women who did work for wages outside the home were segregated from men and confined to certain “women’s jobs” because the new sexual division of labor replicated long-standing patterns of gender segregation and inequality. In the preindustrial economy, a small sector of the labor market had always been defined as “women’s work,” especially tasks involving needlework, spinning, food preparation, child care, and nursing. This traditional sexual division of labor took on new overtones, however, in response to the factory system. The growth of factories and mines brought unheard-of opportunities for girls and boys to mix on the job, free of familial supervision. Such opportunities led to more unplanned pregnancies and fueled the illegitimacy explosion that had begun in the late eighteenth century and that gathered force until at least 1850. Thus segregation of jobs by gender was partly an effort by older people to help control the sexuality of working-class youths.

Investigations into the British coal industry before 1842 provide a graphic example of this concern. (See “Analyzing the Evidence: The Testimony of Young Mine Workers,” page 680.) The middle-class men leading the inquiry professed horror at the sight of girls and women working without shirts, which was a common practice because of the heat, and they quickly assumed the prevalence of licentious sex with the male miners. In fact, most girls and married women worked for related males in a family unit that provided considerable protection and restraint. Yet many witnesses from the working class also believed that the mines were inappropriate and dangerous places for women and girls. Some miners stressed particularly the danger of sexual aggression for girls working past puberty. As one explained, “I consider it a scandal for girls to work in the pits. Till they are 12 or 14 they may work very well but after that it’s an abomination. . . . The work of the pit does not hurt them, it is the effect on their morals that I complain of.”[6] The **Mines Act of 1842** prohibited underground work for all women and girls as well as for boys under ten.

Mines Act of 1842 English law prohibiting underground work for all women and girls as well as for boys under ten.

A final factor encouraging working-class women to withdraw from paid labor was the domestic ideals emanating from middle-class women, who had largely embraced the “separate spheres” ideology. Middle-class reformers published tracts and formed societies to urge poor women to devote more care and attention to their homes and families.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

The Testimony of Young Mine Workers

The use of child labor in British industrialization quickly attracted the attention of humanitarians and social reformers. This interest led to investigations by parliamentary commissions, which resulted in laws limiting the hours and the ages of children working in large factories. Designed to build a case for remedial legislation, parliamentary inquiries gave large numbers of workers a rare chance to speak directly to contemporaries and to historians.

The moving passages that follow are taken from testimony gathered in 1841 and 1842 by the Ashley Mines Commission. Interviewing employers and many male and female workers, the commissioners focused on the physical condition of the youths and on the sexual behavior of workers far underground. The subsequent Mines Act of 1842 sought to reduce immoral behavior and sexual bullying by prohibiting underground work for all women and girls (and for boys younger than ten).

Mr. Payne, Coal Master

▪ That children are employed generally at nine years old in the coal pits and sometimes at eight. In fact, the smaller the vein of coal is in height, the younger and smaller are the children required; the work occupies from six to seven hours per day in the pits; they are not ill-used or worked beyond their strength; a good deal of depravity exists but they are certainly not worse in morals than in other branches of the Sheffield trade, but upon the whole superior; the morals of this district are materially improving; Mr. Bruce, the clergyman, has been zealous and active in endeavoring to ameliorate their moral and religious education. . . .

Ann Eggley, Hurrier, 18 Years Old

▪ I'm sure I don't know how to spell my name. We go at four in the morning, and sometimes at half-past four. We begin to work as soon as we get down. We get out after four, sometimes at five, in the evening. We work the whole time except an hour for dinner, and sometimes we haven't time to eat. I hurry [move coal wagons underground] by myself, and have done so for long. I know the corves [small coal wagons] are very heavy, they are the biggest corves anywhere about. The work is far too hard for me; the sweat runs off me all over sometimes. I am very tired at night. Sometimes when we get home at night we have not power to wash us, and then we go to bed. Sometimes we fall asleep in the chair. Father said last night it was both a shame and a disgrace for girls to work as we do, but there was naught else for us to do. I began to hurry when I was seven and I have been hurrying ever since. . . . The girls are always tired. I was poorly twice this winter; it was with headache. . . . We don’t always get enough to eat and drink, but we get a good supper. I have known my father go at two in the morning to work . . . and he didn’t come out till four. I am quite sure that we work constantly 12 hours except on Saturdays. We wear trousers and our shifts in the pit and great big shoes clinkered and nailed. The girls never work naked to the waist in our pit. The men don’t insult us in the pit. The conduct of the girls in the pit is good enough sometimes and sometimes bad enough. I never went to a day-school. I went a little to a Sunday-school, but I soon gave it over. I thought it too bad to be confined both Sundays and week-days. I walk about and get the fresh air on Sundays. I have not learnt to read. I don’t know my letters. I never learnt naught. I never go to church or chapel. . . . I never heard of Christ at all. Nobody has ever told me about him, nor have my father and mother ever taught me to pray. I know no prayer; I never pray.

Patience Kershaw, Age 17

My father has been dead about a year; my mother is living and has ten children, five lads and five lasses; the oldest is about thirty, the youngest is four; three lasses go to mill; all the lads are colliers, two getters and three hurriers; one lives at home and does nothing; mother does nought but look after home.

All my sisters have been hurriers, but three went to the mill. Alice went because her legs swelled from hurrying in cold water when she was hot. I never went to day-school; I go to Sunday-school, but I cannot read or write; I go to pit at five o’clock in the morning and come out at five in the evening; I get my breakfast of porridge and milk first; I take my dinner with me, a cake, and eat it as I go; I do not stop or rest any time for the purpose; I get nothing else until I get home, and then have potatoes and meat, not every day meat. I hurry in the clothes I have now got on, trousers and ragged jacket; the bald place upon my head is made by thrusting the corves; my legs have never swelled, but sisters’ did when they went to mill; I hurry the corves a mile and more under ground and back; they weigh 300 cwt.;[*] I hurry 11 a day; I wear a belt and chain at the workings to get the corves out; the putters [miners] that I work for are *naked* except their caps; they pull off all their clothes; I see them at work when I go up; sometimes they beat me, if I am not quick enough, with their hands; they strike me upon my back; the boys take liberties with me, sometimes, they pull me about; I am the only girl in the pit; there are about 20 boys and 15 men; all the men are naked; I would rather work in mill than in coal-pit.

Isabel Wilson, Coal Putter, 38 Years Old

When women have children thick [fast] they are compelled to take them down early. I have been married 19 years and have had 10 bairns [children]; seven are in life. When on Sir John’s work was a carrier of coals, which caused me to miscarry five times from the strains, and was gai [very] ill after each. Putting is no so oppressive; last child was born on Saturday morning, and I was at work on the Friday night.

Once met with an accident; a coal brake my cheek-bone, which kept me idle some weeks. I have wrought below 30 years, and so has the guid man; he is getting touched in the breath now.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. How does Payne’s testimony compare with that of Ann Eggley and Patience Kershaw?
2. Describe the work of Eggley, Kershaw, and Wilson. What strikes you most about the testimonies of these workers?
3. The witnesses were responding to questions from middle-class commissioners. What did the commissioners seem interested in? Why?

Source: *Voices of the Industrial Revolution: Selected Readings from the Liberal Economists and Their Critics*, pp. 87–90, edited by J. Bowditch and C. Ramsland. Copyright © 1961, 1989 by the University of Michigan. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

---

[*] An old English unit of weight equaling 112 pounds.

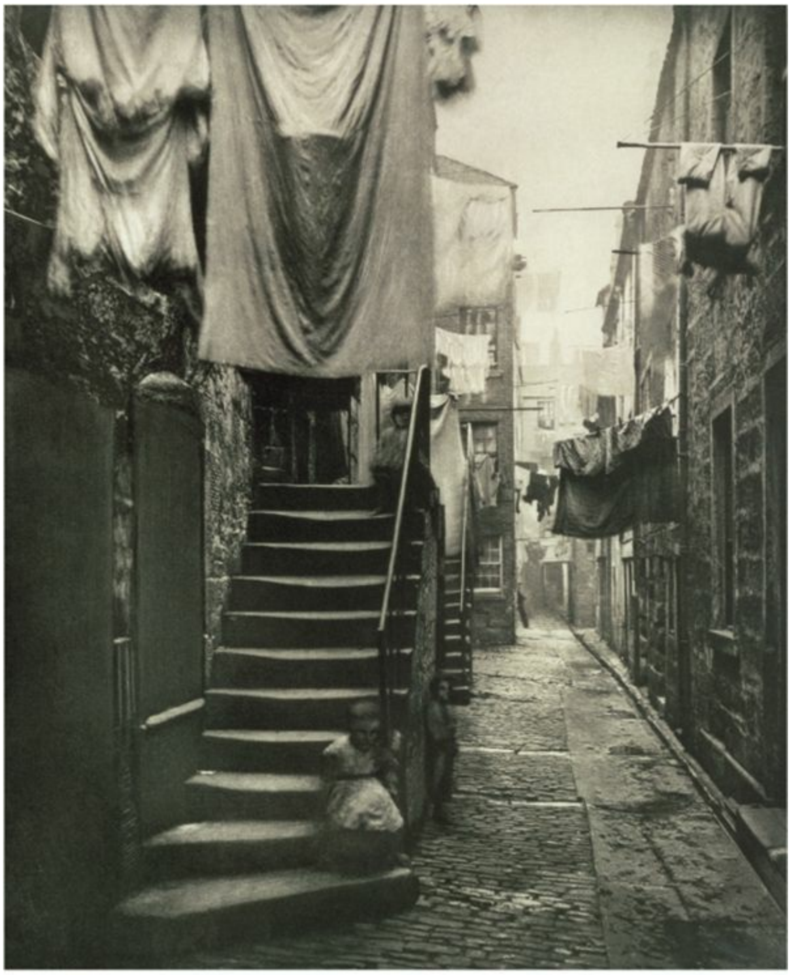
Living Standards for the Working Class

Although the evidence is complex and sometimes contradictory, most historians now agree that overall living standards for the working class did not rise substantially until 1850. Factory wages began to rise after 1815, but these gains were modest and were offset by a decline in married women's and children's participation in the labor force, meaning that many households had less total income than before. Moreover, many people still worked outside the factories as cottage workers or rural laborers, and in those sectors wages declined. Thus the increase in the productivity of industry did not lead to an increase in the purchasing power of the British working classes. Only after 1830, and especially after 1840, did real wages rise substantially, so that the average worker earned roughly 30 percent more in real terms in 1850 than in 1770.

Up to that point, the harshness of labor in the new industries probably outweighed their benefits as far as working people were concerned. With industrialization, workers toiled longer and harder at jobs that were often more grueling and more dangerous. (See "Thinking Like a Historian: Making the Industrialized Worker," page 682.) In England nonagricultural workers labored about 250 days per year in 1760 as compared to 300 days per year in 1830, while the normal workday remained an exhausting eleven hours throughout the entire period.[7]

As the factories moved to urban areas, workers followed them in large numbers, leading to an explosion in the size of cities, especially in the north of England. By the end of the nineteenth century England had become by far the most urbanized country in Europe. Life in the new industrial cities, such as Manchester and Liverpool, was grim. Given extremely high rates of infant mortality, average life expectancy was around only twenty-five to twenty-seven years, some fifteen years less than the national average.[8] Migrants to the booming cities found expensive, hastily constructed, overcrowded apartments and inadequate sanitary systems.

Another way to consider the workers' standard of living is to look at the goods they purchased, which also suggest stagnant or declining living standards until the middle of the nineteenth century. One important area of improvement was in the consumption of cotton goods, which became much cheaper and could be enjoyed by all classes. However, in other areas, food in particular, the modest growth in factory wages was not enough to compensate for rising prices.



Private Collection/The Stapleton Collection/Bridgeman Images

Working-Class Housing in Glasgow, 1868 Like other British cities, Glasgow experienced a population boom in the nineteenth century. Migrant workers from Ireland and the Highlands were housed in cramped, damp, and dark tenements without running water and were thus vulnerable to infectious disease. This photograph was taken as part of a campaign to expose the dismal living conditions of industrial workers.

From the 1850s onward, matters improved considerably as wages made substantial gains and the prices of many goods dropped. A greater variety of foods became available, including the first canned goods. Some of the most important advances were in medicine. Smallpox vaccination became routine, and surgeons began to use anesthesia in the late 1840s. By 1850 trains and steamships had revolutionized transportation for the masses, while the telegraph made instant communication possible for the first time in human history. Gaslights greatly expanded the possibilities of nighttime activity.

In addition to the technical innovations that resulted from industrialization, other, less tangible changes were also taking place. As young men and women migrated away from their villages to seek employment in urban factories, many close-knit rural communities were destroyed. The loss of skills and work autonomy, along with the loss of community, must be included in the assessment of the Industrial Revolution’s impact on the living conditions of the poor.

THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN

Making the Industrialized Worker

Looking back from the vantage point of the 1820s and 1830s, contemporary observers saw in early industrialization a process that was as much about social transformation as it was about technological transformation — a process in which changes in work conditions were closely tied to changes in workers' family lives, values, and mental habits.

1 **Peter Gaskell, *The Manufacturing Population of England: Its Moral, Social, and Physical Conditions, and the Changes Which Have Arisen from the Use of Steam Machinery*, 1833.** In this excerpt, Peter Gaskell sketches the moral, social, and physical conditions of English workers *before* industrialization took hold, linking these characteristics to preindustrial work conditions.

Prior to the year 1760, manufactures were in a great measure confined to the demands of the home market. At this period, and down to 1800 . . . the majority of the artisans engaged in them had laboured in their own houses, and in the bosoms of their families. . . .

These were, undoubtedly, the golden times of manufactures, considered in reference to the character of the labourers. By all the processes being carried on under a man's own roof, he retained his individual respectability; he was kept apart from associations that might injure his moral worth, whilst he generally earned wages which were sufficient not only to live comfortably upon, but which enabled him to rent a few acres of land; thus joining in his own person two classes, that are now daily becoming more and more distinct. . . .

Thus, removed from many of those causes which universally operate to the deterioration of the moral character of the labouring man, when brought into large towns . . . the small farmer, spinner, or hand-loom weaver presents as orderly and respectable an appearance as could be wished. It is true that the amount of labour gone through was but small; that the quantity of cloth or yarn produced was but limited — for he worked by the rule of his strength and convenience. They were, however, sufficient to clothe and feed himself and family decently, and according to their station; to lay by a penny for an evil day, and to enjoy those amusements and bodily recreations then in being. He was a respectable member of society; a good father, a good husband, and a good son.

2 **Richard Guest, *A Compendious History of the Cotton-Manufacture*, 1823.** Like Peter Gaskell, Richard Guest, one of the earliest historians of the English textile industry, believed that industrialization had "introduced great changes into the manners and habits of the people." Unlike Gaskell, however, Guest was convinced that these changes had been for the better. Where Gaskell saw moral decline, Guest saw moral awakening.

The progress of the Cotton Manufacture introduced great changes into the manners and habits of the people. The operative workmen being thrown together in great numbers had their faculties sharpened and improved by constant communication. Conversation wandered over a variety of topics not before essayed; the questions of Peace and War, which interested them importantly, inasmuch as they might produce a rise or fall of wages, became highly interesting, and this brought them into the vast field of politics and discussions on the character of their Government, and the men who composed it. They took a greater interest in the defeats and victories of their country's arms, and from being only a few degrees above their cattle in the scale of intellect, they became Political Citizens. . . .

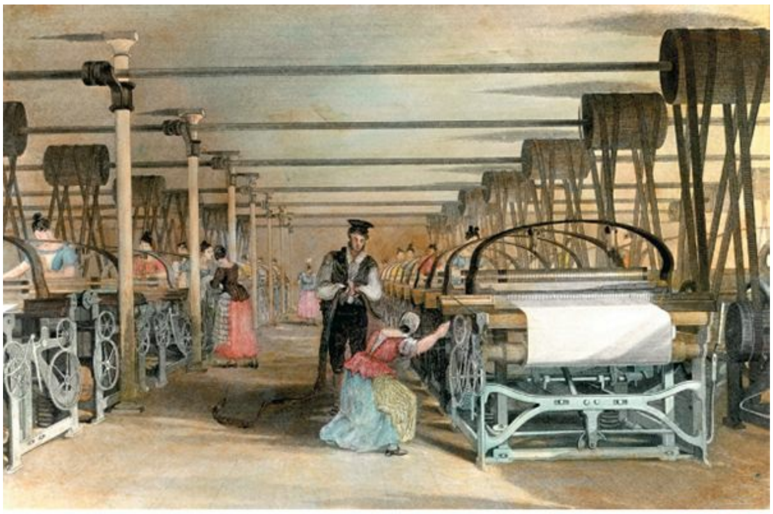
The facility with which the Weavers changed their masters, the constant effort to find out and obtain the largest remuneration for their labour, the excitement to ingenuity which the higher wages for fine manufactures and skillful workmanship produced, and a conviction that they depended mainly on their own exertions, produced in them that invaluable feeling, a spirit of freedom and independence, and that guarantee for good conduct and improvement of manners, a consciousness of the value of character and of their own weight and importance.

3 **Living conditions of the working class, 1845.** As middle-class reformers began to investigate working-class living conditions, they were shocked at what they found. This excerpt comes from an 1845 interview of doctors in a German industrial city.

■ **QUESTION:** What is your usual experience regarding the cleanliness of these classes?

DR. BLUEMNER: Bad! Mother has to go out to work, and can therefore pay little attention to the domestic economy, and even if she makes an effort, she lacks time and means. A typical woman of this kind has four children, of whom she is still suckling one, she has to look after the whole household, to take food to her husband at work, perhaps a quarter of a mile away on a building site; she therefore has no time for cleaning and then it is such a small hole inhabited by so many people. The children are left to themselves, crawl about the floor or in the streets, and are always dirty; they lack the necessary clothing to change more often, and there is no time or money to wash these frequently. There are, of course, gradations; if the mother is healthy, active and clean, and if the poverty is not too great, then things are better.

4 **Power loom weaving, 1834.** This engraving shows adult women operating power looms under the supervision of a male foreman, and it accurately reflects both the decline of family employment and the emergence of a gender-based division of labor in many British factories. The jungle of belts and shafts connecting the noisy looms to the giant steam engine on the ground floor created a constant din.



The LIFE Picture Collection/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images

5 **Robert Owen, *A New View of Society*, 1831.** Manufacturer and social reformer Robert Owen was also interested in the lessons of the early years of industrialization. He wished not to defend or decry industrialization, but to apply those lessons to the design and operation of his textile factory at New Lanark, Scotland.

The system of receiving apprentices from public charities was abolished; permanent settlers with large families were encouraged, and comfortable houses built for their accommodation. The practice of employing children in the mills, of six, seven, and eight years of age, was discontinued, and their parents advised to allow them to acquire health and education until they were ten years old. . . . The children were taught reading, writing, and arithmetic during five years, that is, from five to ten, in the village school, without expense to their parents. . . .

[A]ttention was given to the domestic arrangements of the community. Their houses were rendered more comfortable, their streets were improved, the best provisions were purchased, and sold to them at low rates. . . . They were taught to be rational, and they acted rationally. Thus both parties experienced the incalculable advantages of the system which had been adopted. Those employed became industrious, temperate, healthy, faithful to their employers, and kind to each other; while the proprietors were deriving services . . . far beyond those which could be obtained by any other means than those of mutual confidence and kindness.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. How does Richard Guest's characterization of preindustrial workers and conditions in Source 2 compare to Peter Gaskell's in Source 1? Why did Gaskell think industrialization would harm workers' morals while Guest saw it as a force for moral improvement?
2. Early-nineteenth-century artists produced many images of the new factories. How would you describe the textile mill shown in Source 4?
3. According to the German doctor in Source 3, what challenges confronted working-class women in their daily lives? To what extent does he seem to blame the women themselves for their situation? How might observations like these have affected the

new sexual division of labor discussed in the text?

4. In what ways were Robert Owen's innovations (Source 5) a response to the negative impacts of industrialization highlighted by the German doctor (Source 3)?

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

Using the sources above, along with what you have learned in class and in this chapter, create a comparison of industrial and preindustrial conditions, written from the perspective of a nineteenth-century observer. Your observer can come from any social background: he or she could be a scholar like Peter Gaskell or Richard Guest, a factory owner like Robert Owen, or an actual factory worker. As you write, be sure to consider the influence of your observer's background on his or her characterization of the changes brought by industrialization. What differences would your observer highlight? Why?

Sources: (1) Peter Gaskell, *The Manufacturing Population of England: Its Moral, Social, and Physical Conditions, and the Changes Which Have Arisen from the Use of Steam Machinery* (London: Baldwin and Cradock, 1833), pp. 15–16, 18; (2 and 5) E. Royston Pike, *Human Documents of the Industrial Revolution in Britain.* Copyright © 1966 Routledge. Published by Allen & Unwin. Reproduced by permission of Taylor & Francis Books UK. (3) Laura L. Frader, ed., *The Industrial Revolution: A History in Documents* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 85–86.

Relations Between Capital and Labor

How did the changes brought about by the Industrial Revolution lead to new social classes, and how did people respond to the new structure?

In Great Britain industrial development led to the creation of new social groups and intensified long-standing problems between capital and labor. A new class of factory owners and industrial capitalists arose. The demands of modern industry regularly brought the interests of the middle-class industrialists into conflict with those of the people who worked for them — the working class. As observers took note of these changes, they raised new questions about how industrialization affected social relationships. Meanwhile, enslaved laborers in European colonies contributed to the industrialization process in multiple ways.

The New Class of Factory Owners

Early industrialists operated in a highly competitive economic system. There were countless production problems, and success and large profits were by no means certain. Manufacturers therefore waged a constant battle to cut their production costs and stay afloat. Much of the profit had to go back into the business for new and better machinery.

Most early industrialists drew upon their families and friends for labor and capital, but they came from a variety of backgrounds. Many were from well-established merchant families with rich networks of contacts and support. Others were of modest means, especially in the early days. Artisans and skilled workers of exceptional ability had unparalleled opportunities. Members of ethnic and religious groups who had been discriminated against in the traditional occupations controlled by the landed aristocracy jumped at the new chances and often helped each other.

As factories and firms grew larger, and opportunities declined, it became harder for a gifted but poor young mechanic to start a small enterprise and end up as a wealthy manufacturer. Expensive, formal education became more important for young men as a means of success and advancement. In Britain by 1830 and in France and Germany by 1860, leading industrialists were more likely to have inherited their well-established enterprises, and they were financially much more secure than their struggling parents had been.

Just like working-class women, the wives and daughters of successful businessmen also found fewer opportunities for active participation in Europe’s business world. Rather than contributing as vital partners in a family-owned enterprise, as so many middle-class women had done before, these women were increasingly valued for their ladylike gentility.

Responses to Industrialization

From the beginning, the British Industrial Revolution had its critics. Among the first were the Romantic poets, including William Blake (1757–1827) and William Wordsworth (1770–1850). Some handicraft workers — notably the **Luddites**, who attacked factories in northern England in 1811 and later — smashed the new machines, which they believed were putting them out of work. Doctors and reformers wrote of problems in the factories and new towns, while Malthus and Ricardo concluded that workers would earn only enough to stay alive.

This pessimistic view was accepted and reinforced by Friedrich Engels (1820–1895), the future revolutionary and colleague of Karl Marx (see “The Birth of Socialism” in Chapter 24). After studying conditions in northern England, this young son of a wealthy Prussian cotton manufacturer published in 1844 *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, a blistering indictment of the capitalist classes. Engels’s extremely influential account of capitalist exploitation and increasing worker poverty was embellished by Marx and later socialists.

Luddites Group of handicraft workers who attacked factories in northern England in 1811 and after, smashing the new machines that they believed were putting them out of work.

Analysis of industrial capitalism, often combined with reflections on the French Revolution, led to the development of a new overarching interpretation — a new paradigm — regarding social relationships. Briefly, this paradigm argued that individuals were members of separate classes based on their relationship to the means of production, that is, the machines and factories that dominated the new economy. As owners of expensive industrial machinery and as dependent laborers in their factories, the two main groups of society had separate and conflicting interests. Accordingly, the comfortable, well-educated “public” of the eighteenth century came increasingly to be defined as the middle class, and the “people” gradually began to perceive themselves as composing a modern working class. And while the new class interpretation was open to criticism, it appealed to many because it seemed to explain what was happening. Therefore, conflicting classes existed, in part, because many individuals came to believe they existed and developed an awareness that they belonged to a particular social class — this awareness is what Karl Marx called **class-consciousness**.

class-consciousness An individual's sense of class differentiation, a term introduced by Karl Marx.

Meanwhile, other observers believed that conditions were improving for the working people. In his 1835 study of the cotton industry, Andrew Ure (yoo-RAY) wrote that conditions in most factories were not harsh and were even quite good. Edwin Chadwick, a government official well acquainted with the problems of the working population, concluded that the "whole mass of the laboring community" was increasingly able "to buy more of the necessities and minor luxuries of life."[9] Nevertheless, those who thought, correctly, that conditions were stagnating or getting worse for working people were probably in the majority.

The Early Labor Movement in Britain

Not everyone worked in large factories and coal mines during the Industrial Revolution. In 1850 more British people still worked on farms than in any other single occupation. The second-largest occupation was domestic service, with more than 1 million household servants, 90 percent of whom were women.

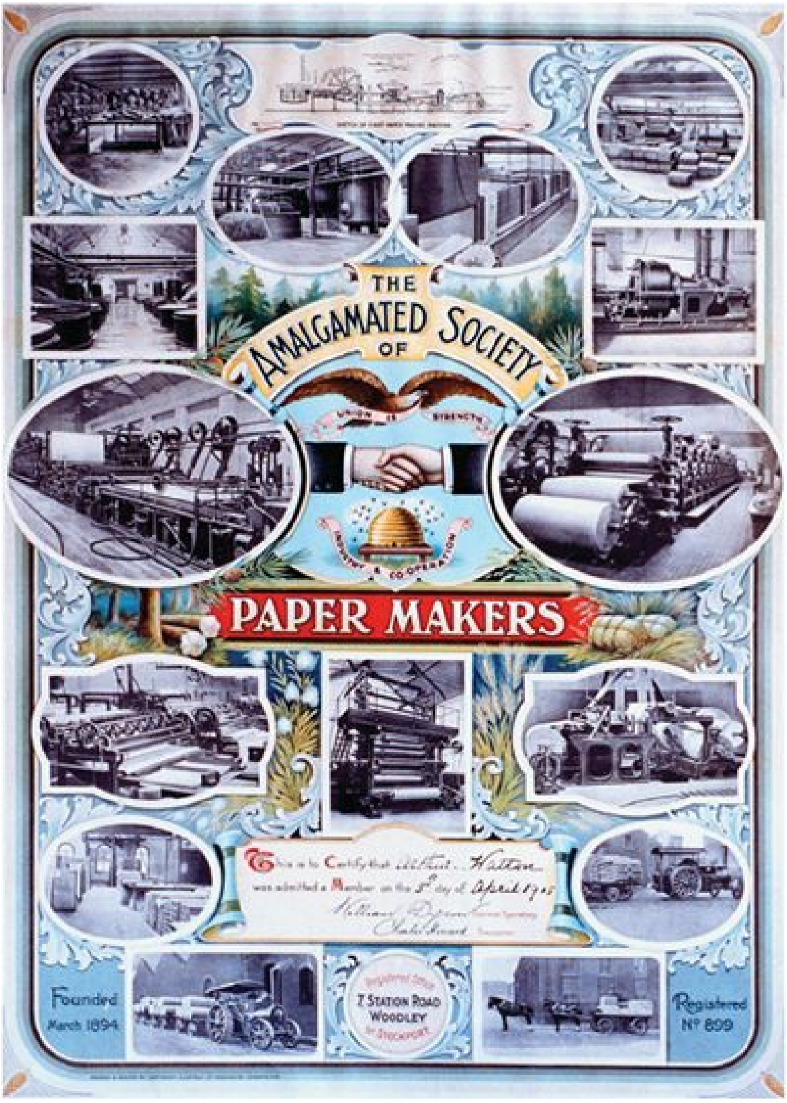
Within industry itself, the pattern of artisans working with hand tools in small shops remained unchanged in many trades, even as others were revolutionized by technological change. For example, the British iron industry was completely dominated by large-scale capitalist firms by 1850. Yet the firms that fashioned iron into small metal goods employed on average fewer than ten wage workers who used handicraft skills.

Working-class solidarity and class-consciousness developed in small workshops as well as in large factories. In the northern factory districts, anticapitalist sentiments were frequent by the 1820s. Commenting in 1825 on a strike in the woolen center of Bradford and the support it had gathered from other regions, one newspaper claimed with pride that "it is all the workers of England against a few masters of Bradford."[10]

Such sentiments ran contrary to the liberal tenets of economic freedom. Liberal economic principles were embraced by statesmen and middle-class business owners in the late eighteenth century and continued to gather strength in the early nineteenth century. In 1799 Parliament passed the

Combination Acts, which outlawed unions and strikes. In 1813 and 1814 Parliament repealed an old law regulating the wages of artisans and the conditions of apprenticeship. As a result of these and other measures, certain skilled artisan workers found aggressive capitalists ignoring traditional work rules and trying to flood their trades with unorganized women workers and children to beat down wages.

Combination Acts English laws passed in 1799 that outlawed unions and strikes, favoring capitalist business owners over skilled artisans. Bitterly resented and widely disregarded by many craft guilds, the acts were repealed by Parliament in 1824.


THE AMALGAMATED SOCIETY OF PAPER MAKERS

UNION IS STRENGTH

INDUSTRY & CO-OPERATION

Founded March 1894

Registered Office
7 Station Road
Woodley
nr Stockport

Registered Nº 899

Courtesy, Sylvia Waddell

Union Membership Certificate This handsome membership certificate belonged to Arthur Watton, a properly trained and certified papermaker of Kings Norton in Birmingham, England. Members of such unions proudly framed their certificates and displayed them in their homes, showing that they were skilled workers. (Courtesy, Sylvia Waddell)

The capitalist attack on artisan guilds and work rules was bitterly resented by many craftworkers, who subsequently played an important part in Great Britain and in other countries in gradually building a modern labor movement. The Combination Acts were widely disregarded by workers. Craftsmen continued to take collective action, and societies of skilled factory workers also organized unions. Unions sought to control the number of skilled workers, to limit apprenticeship to members' own children, and to bargain with owners over wages. In the face of widespread union activity, Parliament repealed the Combination Acts in 1824, and unions were tolerated, though not fully accepted, after 1825.

The next stage in the development of the British trade-union movement was the attempt to create a single large national union. This effort was led not so much by working people as by social reformers such as Robert Owen. Owen, a self-made cotton manufacturer, had pioneered in industrial relations by combining firm discipline with concern for the health, safety, and hours of his workers. After 1815 he experimented with cooperative and socialist communities. Then in 1834 Owen organized one of the largest and most visionary of the early national unions, the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union.

When Owen's and other grandiose schemes collapsed, the British labor movement moved once again after 1851 in the direction of craft unions. These unions won real benefits for members by fairly conservative means and thus became an accepted part of the industrial scene.

British workers also engaged in direct political activity in defense of their interests. After the collapse of Owen's national trade union, many working people went into the Chartist movement, which fought for universal manhood suffrage. Workers were also active in campaigns to limit the workday in factories to ten hours and to permit duty-free importation of wheat into Great Britain to secure cheap bread. Thus working people developed a sense of their own identity and played an active role in shaping the new industrial system. They were neither helpless victims nor passive beneficiaries.

The Impact of Slavery

Another mass labor force of the Industrial Revolution was composed of the millions of enslaved men, women, and children who toiled in European colonies in the Caribbean and in the nations of North and South America.

Historians have long debated the extent to which revenue from slavery contributed to Britain’s achievements in the Industrial Revolution.

Most now agree that profits from colonial plantations and slave trading were a small portion of British national income in the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, the impact of slavery on Britain’s economy was much broader than direct profits alone. In the mid-eighteenth century the need for items to exchange for colonial cotton, sugar, tobacco, and slaves stimulated demand for British manufactured goods in the Caribbean, North America, and West Africa. Britain’s dominance in the slave trade also led to the development of finance and credit institutions that would help early industrialists obtain capital for their businesses.

The British Parliament abolished the slave trade in 1807 and freed all slaves in British territories in 1833, but by 1850 most of the cotton processed by British mills was supplied by the coerced labor of slaves in the southern United States. Thus the Industrial Revolution was integrally connected to the Atlantic world and the misery of slavery.

Chapter Summary

As markets for manufactured goods increased both domestically and overseas, Britain was able to respond with increased production, largely because of its stable government, abundant natural resources, and flexible labor force. The first factories arose as a result of innovations in the textile industry. The demand for improvements in energy led to innovations and improvements in the steam engine, which transformed the iron industry, among others. In the early nineteenth century transportation of goods was greatly enhanced with the adoption of steam-powered trains and ships.

After 1815 continental European countries gradually built on England’s technical breakthroughs. Entrepreneurs set up their own factories and hired skilled local artisans along with English immigrants experienced in the new technologies. Newly established corporate banks worked in conjunction with government interventions in finance and tariff controls to promote railroads and other industries. Beginning around 1850 Japan and the United States also began to rapidly industrialize, but generally the Industrial Revolution spread more slowly outside Europe, as many countries were confined to producing agricultural goods and other raw materials to serve European markets.

The rise of modern industry had a profound impact on society, beginning in Britain in the late eighteenth century. Industrialization led to the growing size and wealth of the middle class and the rise of a modern industrial working class. Rigid rules, stern discipline, and long hours weighed heavily on factory workers, and improvements in the standard of living came slowly, but they were substantial by 1850. Married women withdrew increasingly from wage work and concentrated on child care and household responsibilities. The era of industrialization also fostered new attitudes toward child labor, encouraged protective factory legislation, and called forth a new sense of class feeling and an assertive labor movement. Slave labor in European colonies contributed to the rise of the Industrial Revolution by increasing markets for European goods, supplying raw materials, and encouraging the development of financial systems.

CONNECTIONS

For much of its history, Europe lagged behind older and more sophisticated civilizations in China and the Middle East. And yet by 1800 Europe had broken ahead of the other regions of the world in terms of wealth and power, a process historians have termed “the Great Divergence.”[11]

One prerequisite for the rise of Europe was its growing control over world trade, first in the Indian Ocean in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and then in the eighteenth-century Atlantic world. A second crucial factor behind the Great Divergence was the Industrial Revolution, which dramatically increased the pace of production and distribution while reducing their cost, thereby allowing Europeans to control other countries first economically and then politically. By the middle of the nineteenth century the gap between Western industrial production and standards of living and those of the non-West had grown dramatically, bringing with it the economic dependence of non-Western nations, meager wages for their largely impoverished populations, and increasingly aggressive Western imperial ambitions (see “The World Market” in Chapter 25). In the late nineteenth century non-Western countries began to experience their own processes of industrialization. Today’s world is witnessing a surge in productivity in China, India, and other non-Western nations, with uncertain consequences for the global balance of power.

CHAPTER 23 Review and Explore

Identify Key Terms

Identify and explain the significance of each item below.

Industrial Revolution (p. 663)
spinning jenny (p. 663)
water frame (p. 663)
steam engines (p. 666)
Rocket (p. 667)
Crystal Palace (p. 668)
iron law of wages (p. 670)
tariff protection (p. 672)
Factory Act of 1833 (p. 677)
separate spheres (p. 677)
Mines Act of 1842 (p. 679)
Luddites (p. 684)
class-consciousness (p. 684)
Combination Acts (p. 684)

Review the Main Ideas

Answer the focus questions from each section of the chapter.

1. Why did the Industrial Revolution begin in Britain, and how did it develop between 1780 and 1850? (p. 662)
2. How did countries in Europe and around the world respond to the challenge of industrialization after 1815? (p. 670)
3. How did work evolve during the Industrial Revolution, and how did daily life change for working people? (p. 676)
4. How did the changes brought about by the Industrial Revolution lead to new social classes, and how did people respond to the new structure? (p. 680)

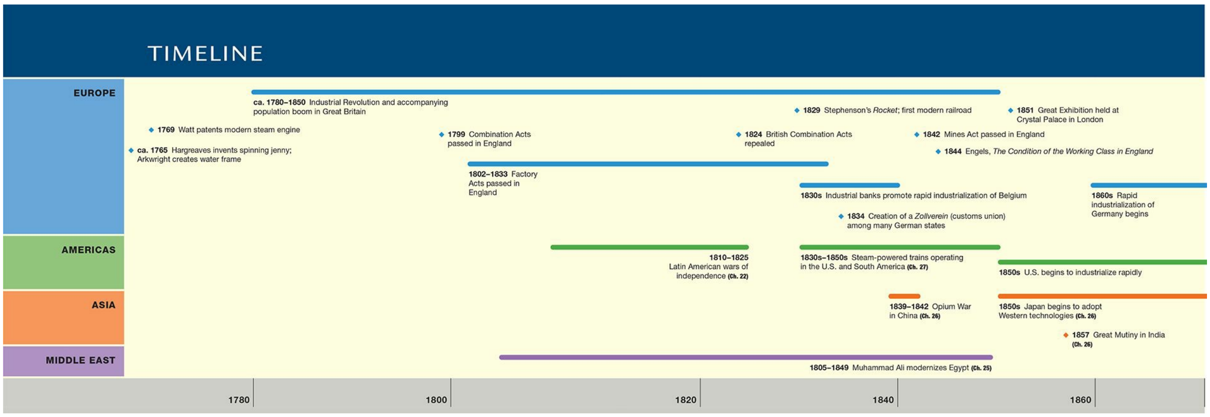
Make Comparisons and Connections

Analyze the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters.

1. Why did Great Britain take the lead in industrialization, and when did other countries begin to adopt the new techniques and organization of production?
2. How did historical developments between 1600 and 1800 contribute to the rise of Europe to world dominance in the nineteenth century? Argue for or against the following proposition: “Given contemporary trends, the dominance of the West in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries should be

seen as a temporary aberration, rather than as a fundamental and permanent shift in the global balance of power.”

3. How would you compare the legacy of the political revolutions of the late eighteenth century (Chapter 22) with that of the Industrial Revolution? Which seems to you to have created the most important changes, and why?



TIMELINE
EUROPE
ca. 1780–1850 Industrial Revolution and accompanying population boom in Great Britain
1769 Watt patents modern steam engine
ca. 1765 Hargreaves invents spinning jenny; Arkwright creates water frame
1799 Combination Acts passed in England
1802–1833 Factory Acts passed in England
1824 British Combination Acts repealed
1829 Stephenson’s *Rocket*; first modern railroad
1830s Industrial banks promote rapid industrialization of Belgium
1834 Creation of a *Zollverein* (customs union) among many German states
1842 Mines Act passed in England
1844 Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*
1851 Great Exhibition held at Crystal Palace in London
1860s Rapid industrialization of Germany begins
AMERICAS
1810–1825 Latin American wars of independence (Ch. 22)
1830s–1850s Steam-powered trains operating in the U.S. and South America (Ch. 27)
1850s U.S. begins to industrialize rapidly
ASIA
1839–1842 Opium War in China (Ch. 26)
1850s Japan begins to adopt Western technologies (Ch. 26)
1857 Great Mutiny in India (Ch. 26)
MIDDLE EAST
1805–1849 Muhammad Ali modernizes Egypt (Ch. 25)
1780
1800
1820
1840
1860

Suggested Resources

Books

Allen, Robert C. *The British Industrial Revolution in Global Perspective.* 2009. Explains the origins of the Industrial Revolution and why it took place in Britain and not elsewhere.

Davidoff, Leonore, and Catherine Hall. *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1750–1850*, rev. ed. 2003. Examines both economic activities and cultural beliefs with great skill.

Griffin, Emma. *A Short History of the British Industrial Revolution.* 2010. An accessible and lively introduction to the subject.

Horn, Jeff, Leonard N. Rosenband, and Merritt Roe Smith. *Reconceptualizing the Industrial Revolution.* 2010. A collection of essays by leading scholars that re-examines the most contentious debates in the field.

Humphries, Jane. *Childhood and Child Labour in the British Industrial Revolution.* 2010. A moving account of the experience of children during the Industrial Revolution, based on numerous autobiographies.

James, Harold. *Family Capitalism.* 2006. A study of the entrepreneurial dynasties of the British Industrial Revolution.

Mokyr, Joel. *The Enlightened Economy: An Economic History of Britain, 1700–1850.* 2009. A masterful explanation of industrialization and economic growth in Britain that emphasizes the impact of Enlightenment openness and curiosity.

Morris, Charles R. *The Dawn of Innovation: The First American Industrial Revolution*. 2012. Tells the story of the individuals, inventions, and trade networks that transformed the United States from a rural economy to a global industrial power.

Prados de la Escosura, Leandro, ed. *Exceptionalism and Industrialisation:*

Britain and Its European Rivals, 1688–1815. 2004. Compares the path toward economic development in Britain and the rest of Europe.

Rosenthal, Jean-Laurent, and R. Bin Wong, *Before and Beyond Divergence: The Politics of Economic Change in China and Europe*. 2011. A study of the similarities and differences between Europe and China that led to the origins and growth of industrialization in Europe.

Stearns, Peter N. *The Industrial Revolution in World History*, 4th ed. 2012. A useful brief survey.

Documentaries

The Children Who Built Victorian Britain (BBC, 2011). An account of the role of child labor in the Industrial Revolution, based on written testimonies from children of that era.

The Men Who Built America (History Channel, 2013). A miniseries on the bankers and industrialists who created modern America from the Civil War to the Great Depression.

Mill Times (PBS, 2006). A combination of documentary video and animated re-enactments that tells the story of the mechanization of the cotton industry in Britain and the United States.

Feature Films and Television Dramas

Germinal (Claude Berri, 1993). In a European coal-mining town during the Industrial Revolution, exploited workers go on strike and encounter brutal repression from the authorities.

Hard Times (Granada TV, 1977). A four-hour miniseries adaptation of Charles Dickens's famous novel about the bitter life of mill workers in England during the Industrial Revolution.

Oliver Twist (Roman Polanski, 2005). A film based on a novel by Charles Dickens depicting the harsh conditions of life for orphans and poor children in nineteenth-century London.

Websites

Images of the Industrial Revolution in Britain. A collection of annotated images from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries covering various aspects of the Industrial Revolution. **www.netnicholls.com/neh2001/index.html**

Spinning the Web. A website offering comprehensive information on the people, places, industrial processes, and products involved in the mechanization of the British cotton industry. **www.spinningtheweb.org.uk/industry**

Women Working, 1800–1930. A digital collection of the Harvard University Library, with sources and links related to women's labor in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. **ocp.hul.harvard.edu/ww**

24

Ideologies of Change in Europe

1815–1914

VOTES FOR WOMEN

© Maurice Branger/Roger-Viollet/The Image Works

Christabel Pankhurst, Militant Suffragette

Christabel Pankhurst led the British Women's Social and Political Union, whose motto was "deeds, not words." This photo was taken in 1912 in Paris, where Pankhurst was living to avoid

arrest for her increasingly violent actions to obtain the vote for women, including bombing the home of the future prime minister. Women in Britain and many other countries gained the right to vote in the years immediately after World War I.

The momentous transformations wrought by the political and economic revolutions of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries left a legacy of unfinished hopes and dreams for many Europeans: for democracy, liberty, and equality and for higher living standards for all. These aspirations would play out with unpredictable and tumultuous consequences over the course of the nineteenth century. After 1815 the powers that defeated Napoleon united under a revived conservatism to stamp out the spread of liberal and democratic reforms. But the political and social innovations made possible by the unfinished revolutions proved difficult to contain.

In politics, powerful ideologies — liberalism, nationalism, and socialism — emerged to oppose conservatism. All played critical roles in the political and social battles of the era and the great popular upheaval that eventually swept across Europe in the revolutions of 1848. These revolutions failed, however, and gave way to more sober — and more successful — nation building in the 1860s. European political leaders and middle-class nationalists also began to deal effectively with the challenges of the emerging urban society. One way they did so was through nationalism — mass identification with a nation-state that was increasingly responsive to the needs of its people. At the same time, the triumph of nationalism promoted bitter rivalries between states and peoples, spurred a second great wave of imperialism, and in the twentieth century brought an era of tragic global conflict.

CHAPTER PREVIEW

A CONSERVATIVE PEACE GIVES WAY TO RADICAL IDEAS
How did the allies fashion a peace settlement in 1815, and what radical ideas emerged between 1815 and 1848?

REFORMS AND REVOLUTIONS, 1815–1850
Why did revolutions triumph briefly throughout most of Europe in 1848, and why did they fail?

NATION BUILDING IN ITALY, GERMANY, AND RUSSIA
How did strong leaders and nation building transform Italy, Germany, and Russia?

URBAN LIFE IN THE AGE OF IDEOLOGIES

What was the impact of urban growth on cities, social classes, families, and ideas?

NATIONALISM AND SOCIALISM, 1871–1914

How did nationalism and socialism shape European politics in the decades before the Great War?

A Conservative Peace Gives Way to Radical Ideas

How did the allies fashion a peace settlement in 1815, and what radical ideas emerged between 1815 and 1848?

After finally defeating Napoleon, the conservative aristocratic monarchies of Russia, Prussia, Austria, and Great Britain — known as the Quadruple Alliance (see "The Grand Empire and Its End" in Chapter 22) — reaffirmed their determination to hold France in line and to defeat the intertwined dangers of war and revolution. At the **Congress of Vienna** (1814–1815), they fashioned a lasting peace settlement that helped produce fifty years without major warfare in Europe. On the domestic front, they sought to restore order and limit the spread of revolutionary ideas.

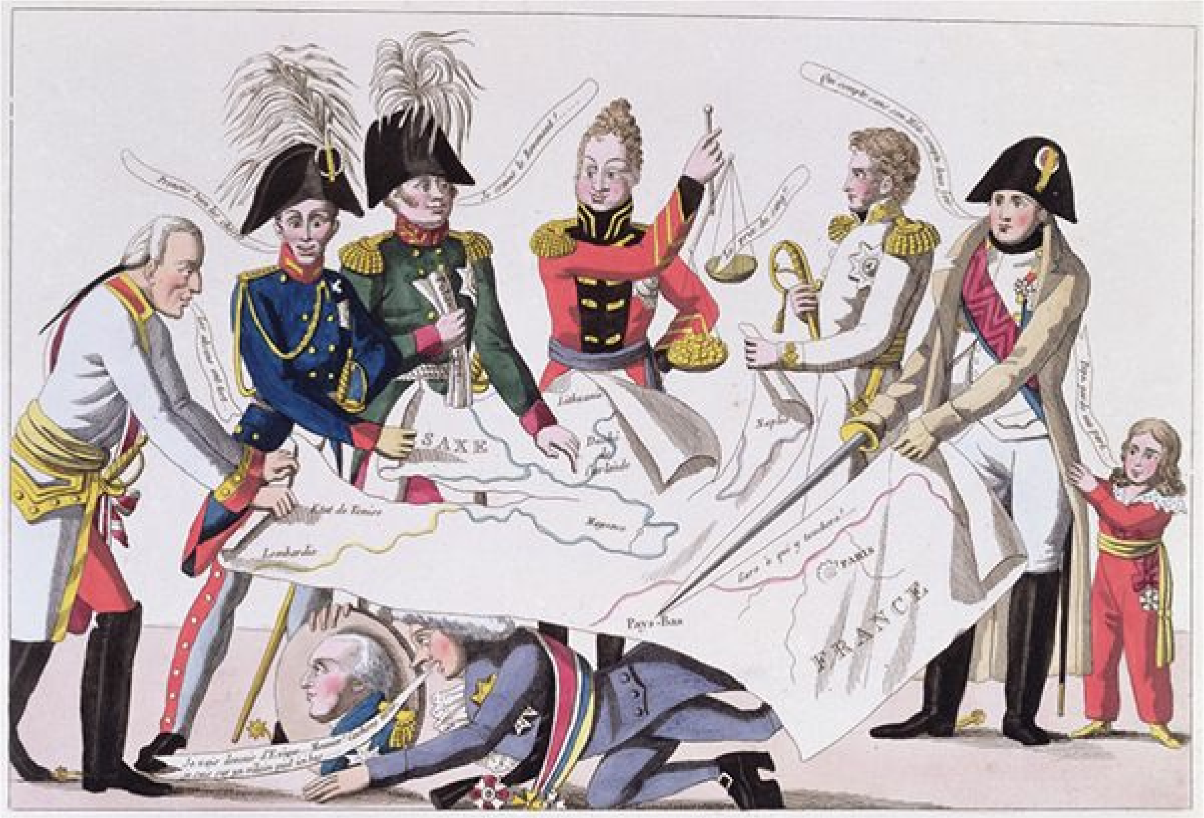
Congress of Vienna A meeting of the Quadruple Alliance (Russia, Prussia, Austria, Great Britain) and France held in 1814–1815 to fashion a general peace settlement after the defeat of Napoleonic France.

Despite the congress's success on the diplomatic front, many observers at the time were frustrated by the high-handed dictates of the Great Powers and their refusal to adopt social reforms. After 1815 such critics sought to harness the radical ideas of the revolutionary age to new political movements. Many rejected **conservatism**, a political philosophy that stressed retaining traditional values and institutions, including hereditary monarchy and a strong landowning aristocracy. Radical thinkers developed alternative ideologies and tried to convince society to act on them.

conservatism A political philosophy that stressed retaining traditional values and institutions, including hereditary monarchy and a strong landowning aristocracy.

The Political and Social Situation After 1815

When the Quadruple Alliance, along with representatives of minor powers, met together at the Congress of Vienna they combined leniency toward France with strong defensive measures. The Low Countries — Belgium and Holland — were united under an enlarged Dutch monarchy capable of opposing France more effectively. Prussia received considerably more territory along France's eastern border to stand as a "sentinel on the Rhine" against renewed French aggression. The congress recognized the neutrality of certain territories — for example, the cantons of Switzerland — as a means of creating buffer zones between potentially hostile states. The first Peace of Paris returned France to the boundaries it possessed in 1792, which were larger than those of 1789. Even after Napoleon's brief return to power tested the allies' patience, France did not have to give up much additional territory and had to pay only modest reparations.



Musée de la Ville de Paris, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, France/Archives Charmet/Bridgeman Images

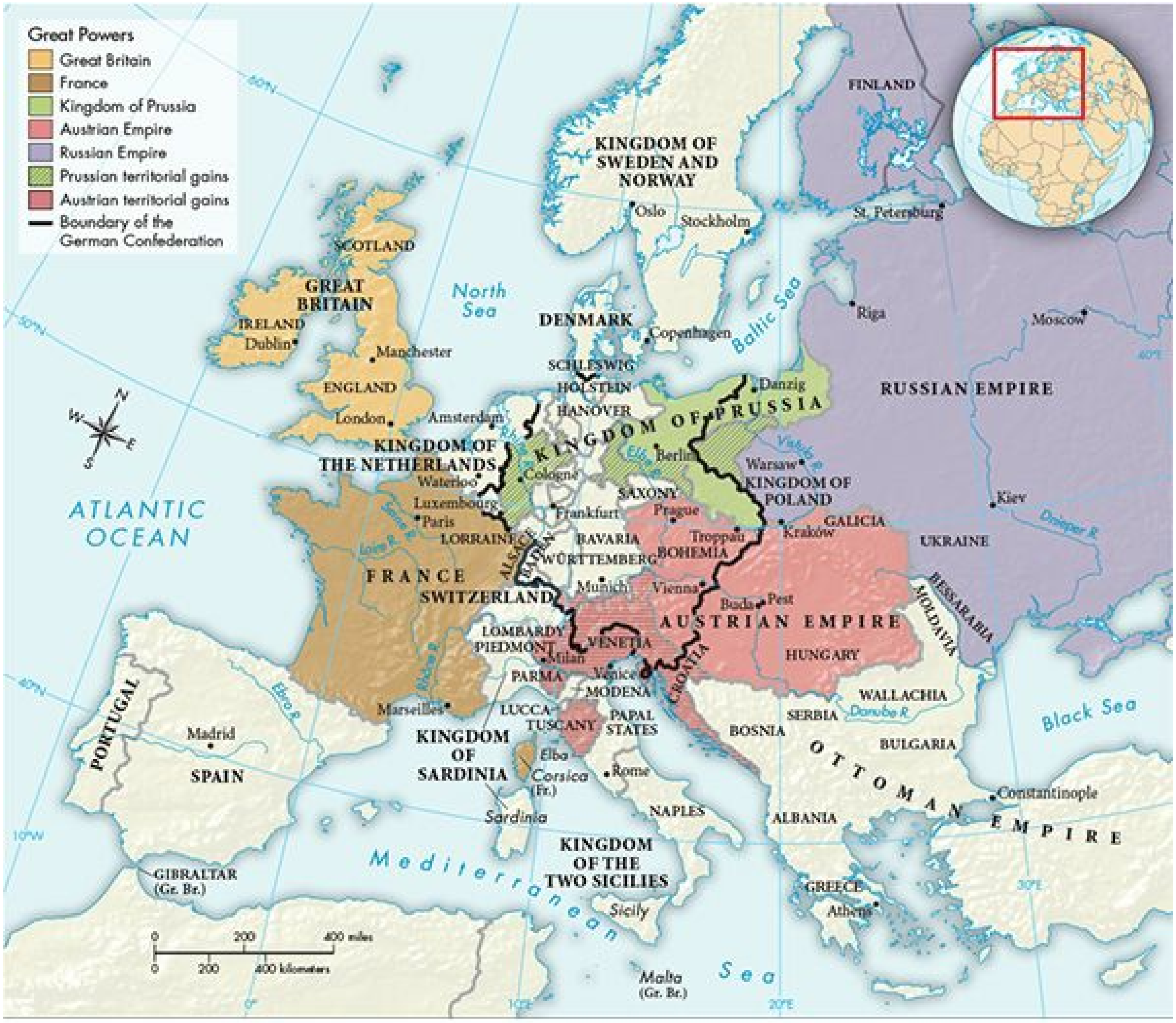
The Congress of Vienna A French political cartoon shows the rulers of Europe dividing the map of Europe among themselves at the Congress of Vienna. Meanwhile, Napoleon (who had escaped from Elba at the time) removes the section with France on it, and the English representative holds a set of scales loaded with gold coins, a reference to the English role in financing the allies.

In their moderation toward France, the allies were motivated by self-interest and traditional ideas about the balance of power. To the peacemakers, especially to Klemens von Metternich (1773–1859), Austria's foreign minister, the balance of power meant an international equilibrium of political and military forces that would discourage aggression by any state or combination of states. This required, among other measures, ensuring the internal stability of France. The Quadruple Alliance members also agreed to meet periodically to discuss their common interests and to consider appropriate measures to maintain peace in Europe. This agreement represented a transformation of European diplomacy; the “congress system” it inaugurated lasted long into the nineteenth century.

The leaders of the congress reached their decisions with little recognition of the interests of smaller states and subject peoples within multiethnic states. They also left aside the question of the European territories of the Ottoman Empire, which Napoleon had schemed to divide between France and Russia. With the rise of nationalism, these neglected issues would pose serious threats to the post-1815 order. On a more positive note, the leading powers of the congress, led by Britain, issued a declaration condemning the slave trade and calling on European states to begin the process of abolition.

Conservatism After 1815

In 1815, under Metternich’s leadership, Austria, Prussia, and Russia formed the Holy Alliance, dedicated to crushing the ideas and politics of the revolutionary era. Metternich’s policies dominated the entire German Confederation of thirty-eight independent German states (Map 24.1). It was through the German Confederation that Metternich had the repressive Karlsbad Decrees issued in 1819. These decrees required the member states to root out radical ideas in their universities and newspapers, and a permanent committee was established to investigate and punish any liberal or radical organizations.


Great Powers
🟧 Great Britain
🟫 France
🟩 Kingdom of Prussia
🟥 Austrian Empire
🟪 Russian Empire
▨ Prussian territorial gains
▨ Austrian territorial gains
— Boundary of the German Confederation
ATLANTIC OCEAN
North Sea
Baltic Sea
Black Sea
Mediterranean Sea
FINLAND
KINGDOM OF SWEDEN AND NORWAY
Oslo
Stockholm
St. Petersburg
Riga
Moscow
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
SCOTLAND
GREAT BRITAIN
IRELAND
Dublin
Manchester
ENGLAND
London
DENMARK
Copenhagen
SCHLESWIG
HOLSTEIN
HANOVER
Danzig
KINGDOM OF PRUSSIA
Amsterdam
KINGDOM OF THE NETHERLANDS
Waterloo
Cologne
Berlin
Warsaw
KINGDOM OF POLAND
Kiev
UKRAINE
Luxembourg
Paris
LORRAINE
ALSACE
BADEN
Frankfurt
SAXONY
Prague
BAVARIA
WÜRTTEMBERG
Troppau
BOHEMIA
Kraków
GALICIA
FRANCE
SWITZERLAND
Munich
Vienna
Buda
Pest
AUSTRIAN EMPIRE
HUNGARY
MOLDAVIA
BESSARABIA
LOMBARDY
PIEDMONT
Milan
VENETIA
Venice
CROATIA
PARMA
MODENA
Marseilles
LUCCA
TUSCANY
PAPAL STATES
WALLACHIA
SERBIA
Danube R.
BOSNIA
BULGARIA
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Constantinople
PORTUGAL
Madrid
SPAIN
KINGDOM OF SARDINIA
Elba
Corsica (Fr.)
Rome
NAPLES
ALBANIA
Sardinia
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES
Sicily
GREECE
Athens
GIBRALTAR (Gr. Br.)
Malta (Gr. Br.)
Rhine R.
Elbe R.
Vistula R.
Dnieper R.
Seine R.
Loire R.
Rhône R.
Ebro R.
N
S
E
W
60°N
50°N
40°N
10°W
0°
10°E
20°E
30°E
40°E
0
200
400 miles
0
200
400 kilometers

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Mapping the Past

MAP 24.1 Europe in 1815 In 1815 Europe contained many different states, but after the defeat of Napoleon international politics was dominated by the five Great Powers: Russia, Prussia, Austria, Great Britain, and France. (The number rises to six if one includes the Ottoman Empire.)

ANALYZING THE MAP Trace the political boundaries of each Great Power, and compare their geographical strengths and weaknesses. What territories did Prussia and Austria gain as a result of the war with Napoleon?

CONNECTIONS How did Prussia's and Austria's territorial gains contribute to the balance of power established at the Congress of Vienna? What other factors enabled the Great Powers to achieve such a long-lasting peace?

Adhering to a conservative political philosophy, Metternich believed that strong governments were needed to protect society from its worst instincts. Like many European conservatives of his time, Metternich believed that liberalism (see the next section), as embodied in revolutionary America and France, had been responsible for a generation of war with untold bloodshed and suffering. He blamed liberal revolutionaries for stirring up the lower classes, which he believed desired nothing more than peace and quiet.

Another belief that Metternich opposed, which was often allied with liberalism, was nationalism, the idea that each national group had a right to establish its own independent government. The Habsburg's Austrian Empire was a dynastic state dominated by Germans but containing many other national groups. This multinational state was both strong and weak. It was strong because of its large population and vast territories, but weak because of its many and potentially dissatisfied nationalities. In these circumstances, Metternich opposed both liberalism and nationalism, for Austria could not accommodate those ideologies and remain a powerful empire. Metternich's antinationalist efforts were supported by the two great multinational empires on Austria's borders, Russia and the Ottoman Empire.

Liberalism and the Middle Class

The principal ideas of **liberalism** — liberty and equality — were by no means defeated in 1815. First realized in the American Revolution and then achieved in part in the French and Latin American Revolutions, liberalism demanded representative government and equality before the law. The idea of liberty also meant specific individual freedoms: freedom of the press, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and freedom from arbitrary arrest. In Europe only France, with Louis XVIII's Constitutional Charter, and Great Britain, with its Parliament and historic liberties of English men and women, had realized much of the liberal program in 1815. Even in those countries, liberalism had only begun to succeed

liberalism A philosophy whose principal ideas were equality and liberty; liberals demanded representative government and equality before the law as well as such individual freedoms as freedom of the press, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and freedom from arbitrary arrest.

Liberalism faced more radical ideological competitors in the early nineteenth century. Opponents of liberalism especially criticized its economic principles, which called for unrestricted private enterprise and no government interference in the economy. This philosophy was popularly known as the doctrine of **laissez faire** (lay-say FEHR). In early-nineteenth-century Britain economic liberalism was embraced most enthusiastically by business groups and thus became a doctrine associated with corporate interests.

laissez faire A doctrine of economic liberalism advocating unrestricted private enterprise and no government interference in the economy.

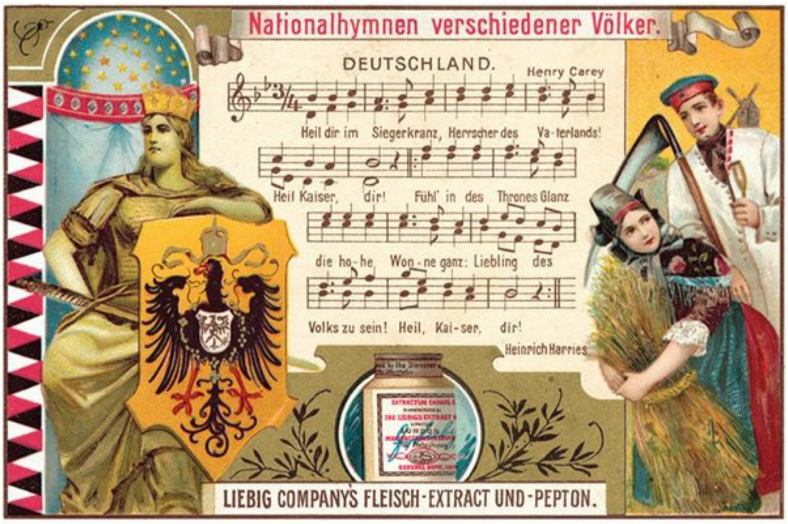
In the early nineteenth century liberal political ideals also became more closely associated with narrow class interests. Early-nineteenth-century liberals favored representative government, but they generally wanted property qualifications attached to the right to vote and to serve in Parliament.

As liberalism became increasingly identified with the middle class after 1815, some intellectuals and foes of conservatism felt that liberalism did not go nearly far enough. They called for replacing monarchical rule with republics, for democracy through universal male suffrage, and for greater economic and social equality. These democrats and republicans were more radical than the liberals, and they were more willing to endorse violence to achieve goals. As a result, liberals and radical republicans could join forces against conservatives only up to a point.

The Growing Appeal of Nationalism

Nationalism was a radical new ideology that emerged in the years after 1815 — an idea destined to have an enormous influence in the modern world. Early advocates of the "national idea" argued that the members of what we would call today an ethnic group had their own spirit and their own cultural unity, which were manifested especially in a common language, history, and territory. In fact, such cultural unity was more a dream than a reality as local dialects abounded, historical memory divided the inhabitants of the different states as much as it unified them, and a variety of ethnic groups shared the territory of most states.

nationalism The idea that each people had its own spirit and its own cultural unity, which manifested itself especially in a common language and history and could serve as the basis for an independent political state.


Nationalhymnen verschiedener Völker.
DEUTSCHLAND.
Henry Carey
Heil dir im Siegerkranz, Herrscher des Va-terlands!
Heil Kaiser, dir! Fühl' in des Thrones Glanz
die ho-he Won-ne ganz: Liebling des
Volks zu sein! Heil, Kai-ser, dir!
Heinrich Harries
LIEBIG COMPANY'S FLEISCH-EXTRACT UND-PEPTON.

Private Collection/© Look and Learn/Bridgeman Images

Popular Image of the National Anthem of Germany In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, patriotic nationalism swept European populations. This attitude was encouraged by printed images such as this trading card (distributed in packets of beef bouillon cubes) that showed the words and music for the new German national anthem, flanked by a female embodiment of the new nation and a pair of happy peasants in folkloric dress.

Nevertheless, many European nationalists sought to make the territory of each people coincide with well-defined boundaries in an independent nation-state. It was this political goal that made nationalism so explosive in central and eastern Europe after 1815, when there were either too few states (Austria, Russia, and the Ottoman Empire) or too many (the Italian peninsula and the German Confederation), and when different peoples overlapped and intermingled.

Between 1815 and 1850 most people who believed in nationalism also believed in either liberalism or radical democratic republicanism. A common faith in the creativity and nobility of the people was perhaps the single most important reason for the linking of these two concepts. Liberals and especially democrats saw the people as the ultimate source of all good government. They agreed that the benefits of self-government would be possible only if the people were united by common traditions that transcended class and local interests. Thus individual liberty and love of a free nation overlapped greatly.

Yet early nationalists also stressed the differences among peoples, and they developed a strong sense of “we” and “they.” Thus, while European nationalism’s main thrust was liberal and democratic, below the surface lurked ideas of national superiority and national mission.

The Birth of Socialism

Socialism, a second radical doctrine after 1815, began in France. Early French socialists shared a sense of disappointment in the outcome of the French Revolution. They were also alarmed by the rise of laissez faire and the emergence of modern industry, which they saw as fostering inequality and selfish individualism. There was, they believed, an urgent need for a further reorganization of society to establish cooperation and a new sense of community.

socialism A radical political doctrine that opposed individualism and that advocated cooperation and a sense of community; key ideas were economic planning, greater economic equality, and state regulation of property.

Early French socialists felt an intense desire to help the poor, whose conditions had not been improved by industrial advances, and they preached greater economic equality between the rich and the poor. Inspired by the economic planning implemented in revolutionary France (see "The National Convention" in Chapter 22), they argued that the government should rationally organize the economy to control prices and prevent unemployment. Socialists also believed that government should regulate private property or that private property should be abolished and replaced by state or community ownership.

Up to the 1840s France was the center of socialism, as it had been the center of revolution in Europe, but in the following decades the German intellectual Karl Marx (1818–1883) would weave the diffuse strands of social thought into a distinctly modern ideology. Marx had studied philosophy at the University of Berlin before turning to journalism and economics. In 1848 the thirty-year-old Karl Marx and the twenty-eight-year-old Friedrich Engels published *The Communist Manifesto*, which became the guiding text of socialism.

Marx argued that middle-class interests and those of the industrial working class were inevitably opposed to each other. According to the *Manifesto*, the "history of all previously existing society is the history of class struggles." In Marx's view, one class had always exploited the other, and, with the advent of modern industry, society was split more clearly than ever before: between the well-educated and prosperous middle class — the **bourgeoisie** — and the modern working class — the **proletariat**.

bourgeoisie The well-educated, prosperous, middle-class groups.

proletariat The Marxist term for the working class of modern industrialized society.

Just as the bourgeoisie had triumphed over the feudal aristocracy in the French Revolution, Marx predicted that the proletariat would conquer the bourgeoisie in a new revolution. While a tiny majority owned the means of production and grew richer, the ever-poorer proletariat was constantly growing in size and in class-consciousness. Marx believed that the critical moment when class conflict would result in revolution was very near, as the last lines of *The Communist Manifesto* make clear:

> Germany . . . is on the eve of a bourgeois revolution, that is bound to be . . . the prelude to an immediately following proletarian revolution. . . .
>
> Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. WORKING MEN OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

Marx drew on the arguments of Adam Smith and David Ricardo, who taught that labor was the source of all value. He went on to argue that profits were really wages stolen from the workers. Moreover, Marx incorporated Friedrich Engels's account of the terrible oppression of the new class of factory workers in England. Thus Marx pulled together powerful ideas and insights to create one of the great secular religions out of the intellectual ferment of the early nineteenth century.

Reforms and Revolutions, 1815–1850

Why did revolutions triumph briefly throughout most of Europe in 1848, and why did they fail?

As liberal, nationalist, and socialist forces battered the conservatism of 1815, social and economic conditions continued to deteriorate for many Europeans, adding to the mounting pressures. In some countries, such as Great Britain, change occurred gradually and largely peacefully, but in 1848 radical political and social ideologies combined with economic crisis to produce revolutionary movements that demanded an end to repressive government. Between 1815 and 1848 many European countries, including France, Austria, and Prussia, experienced variations on this basic theme.

Social and Economic Conflict

The slow and uneven spread of industrialization in Europe after 1815 meant that the benefits of higher productivity were not felt by many. In Great Britain, the earliest adopter of industrial methods, living standards only began to rise after 1850, and this trend took longer to spread to the continent. Indeed, for many people in the cities and countryside, the first half of the nineteenth century brought a decline in the conditions of daily life. In Europe's rapidly growing cities, migrants encountered overcrowding, shoddy housing, and poor sanitation, ideal conditions for the spread of infectious disease.

Despite booming urbanization, much of the continent remained agricultural, and the traditional social hierarchy, dominated by a landowning aristocracy, persisted. Serfdom still existed in the Hungarian provinces of the Austrian Empire, Prussian Silesia, and Russia. In the early nineteenth century, however, the pressures of a rapidly growing population, the adoption of new forms of agriculture, and the spread of exploitative rural industry destabilized these existing patterns. Many peasants lost access to collective land due to enclosure and the adoption of more efficient farming techniques. Meanwhile, the growing number of cottage workers resisted exploitation by merchant capitalists, and journeymen battled masters in urban industries.

Social malaise was exacerbated by the fact that the retracing of borders at the Congress of Vienna had placed many populations in new and unfamiliar states. Lack of loyalty to the central government only worsened popular anger over rising tax rates and other burdens. These simmering tensions broke to the surface in the 1840s, as widespread crop failure in

1845–1846 led to economic crisis.

In spring 1848 many people’s grievances about enclosure and taxation resembled those of the eighteenth century. What transformed these conflicts was the political ideologies born from the struggles and unfulfilled hopes of the French Revolution — liberalism, nationalism, and socialism — as well as the newly invigorated conservatism that stood against them. These ideologies helped turn economic and social conflicts into the revolutions of 1848.

Liberal Reform in Great Britain

The English parliamentary system guaranteed basic civil rights, but only about 8 percent of the population could vote for representatives to Parliament. By the 1780s there was growing interest in reform, but the French Revolution threw the British aristocracy into a panic. After 1815 the British government put down popular protests over unemployment and the high cost of grain caused by the Napoleonic Wars with repressive legislation and military force.

By the early 1830s the social and economic changes created by industrialization began to be felt in politics. In 1832 continuous pressure from the liberal middle classes and popular unrest convinced the king and the House of Lords that they needed to act. The Reform Bill of 1832 moved British politics in a more democratic direction by giving new industrial areas increased representation in the House of Commons and by increasing the number of voters by about 50 percent. For the first time, comfortable middle-class urban groups, the main beneficiaries of industrialization, as well as some substantial farmers, received the vote. Two years later, the New Poor Law called for unemployed and indigent families to be placed in harsh workhouses rather than receiving aid from local parishes to remain in their own homes. With this act, Britain’s rulers sought to relieve middle-class taxpayers of the burden of poor relief and to encourage unemployed rural workers to migrate to cities and take up industrial work.

Thus limited democratic reform was counterbalanced by harsh measures against the poor, both linked to the new social and economic circumstances of the Industrial Revolution. Many working people protested their exclusion from voting and the terms of the New Poor Law. Between 1838 and 1848 they joined the Chartist movement (see “The Early Labor Movement in Britain” in Chapter 23), which demanded universal male suffrage. In 1847 the ruling conservative party, known as the Tories, sought to appease working people with the Ten Hours Act, which limited the workday for women and young people in factories to ten hours. Tory aristocrats championed such legislation in order to compete with the middle class for working-class support.

This competition meant that the Parliamentary state relied on eliciting support from its people and thereby succeeded in managing unrest without the outbreak of revolution. Another factor favoring Great Britain's largely peaceful evolution in the nineteenth century was the fact that living standards had begun to rise significantly by the late 1840s, as the benefits of industrialization finally began to be felt. Thus England avoided the violence and turmoil of the revolutions of 1848 that shook continental Europe.

The people of Ireland did not benefit from these circumstances. Long ruled as a conquered people, the population was mostly composed of Irish Catholic peasants who rented their land from a tiny minority of Protestant landowners, many of whom resided in England. Ruthlessly exploited and growing rapidly in numbers, the rural population around 1800 lived under abominable conditions.

In spite of terrible conditions, Ireland's population doubled from 4 million to 8 million between 1780 and 1840, fueled in large part by the calories and nutritive qualities of the potato. However, the potato crop failed in 1845, 1846, 1848, and 1851 in Ireland and throughout much of Europe. Many suffered in Europe, but in Ireland, where dependency on the potato was much more widespread, the result was starvation and death. The British government, committed to laissez-faire economic policies, reacted slowly and utterly inadequately. One and a half million people died, while another million fled between 1845 and 1851, primarily to the United States and Great Britain. The Great Famine, as this tragedy came to be known, intensified anti-British feeling and promoted Irish nationalism.

Revolutions in France

Louis XVIII's Constitutional Charter of 1814 was essentially a liberal constitution. It protected economic and social gains made by the middle class and the peasantry in the French Revolution, recognized intellectual and artistic freedom, and created a parliament with upper and lower houses. The charter was anything but democratic, however. Only a tiny minority of males had the right to vote for the legislative deputies who, with the king and his ministers, made the nation's laws.

Louis's conservative successor, Charles X (r. 1824–1830), wanted to re-establish the old order in France. To rally French nationalism and gain popular support, he exploited a long-standing dispute with Muslim Algeria, a vassal state of the Ottoman Empire. In June 1830 a French force crossed the Mediterranean and took the capital of Algiers. The French continued to wage war against Algerian resistance until 1847, when they finally subdued the country. Bringing French and other European settlers to Algeria and expropriating large amounts of Muslim-owned land, the conquest of Algeria marked the rebirth of French colonial expansion.

Buoyed by this success, Charles overplayed his hand and repudiated the Constitutional Charter. After three days of uprisings in Paris, which sparked a series of revolts by frustrated liberals and democrats across Europe, Charles fled. His cousin Louis Philippe (r. 1830–1848) accepted the Constitutional Charter of 1814 and assumed the title of the "king of the French people." Still, the situation in France remained fundamentally unchanged. Political and social reformers and the poor of Paris were bitterly disappointed.

During the 1840s this sense of disappointment was worsened by bad harvests and the slow development of industrialization, which meant that living conditions for the majority of the working classes were deteriorating rather than improving. Similar conditions prevailed across continental Europe, which was soon rocked by insurrections. In February full-scale revolution broke out in France, and its shock waves rippled across the continent.

Louis Philippe had refused to approve social legislation or consider electoral reform. Frustrated desires for change, high-level financial scandals, and crop failures in 1845 and 1846 united diverse groups of the king's opponents, including merchants, intellectuals, shopkeepers, and workers. In February 1848, as popular revolt broke out, barricades went up and Louis Philippe abdicated. (See "Analyzing the Evidence: The Triumph of Democratic Republics," at right.)

The revolutionaries quickly drafted a democratic, republican constitution for France's Second Republic, granting the right to vote to every adult male. Slaves in the French colonies were freed, the death penalty was abolished, and national workshops were established for unemployed Parisian workers.

Yet there were profound differences within the revolutionary coalition in Paris. The socialism promoted by radical republicans frightened not only the liberal middle and upper classes but also the peasants, many of whom owned land. When the French masses voted for delegates to the new Constituent Assembly in late April 1848, the monarchists won a clear majority. When the new government dissolved the national workshops in Paris, workers rose in a spontaneous insurrection. After three terrible "June Days" and the death or injury of more than ten thousand people, the republican army stood triumphant in a sea of working-class blood and hatred.

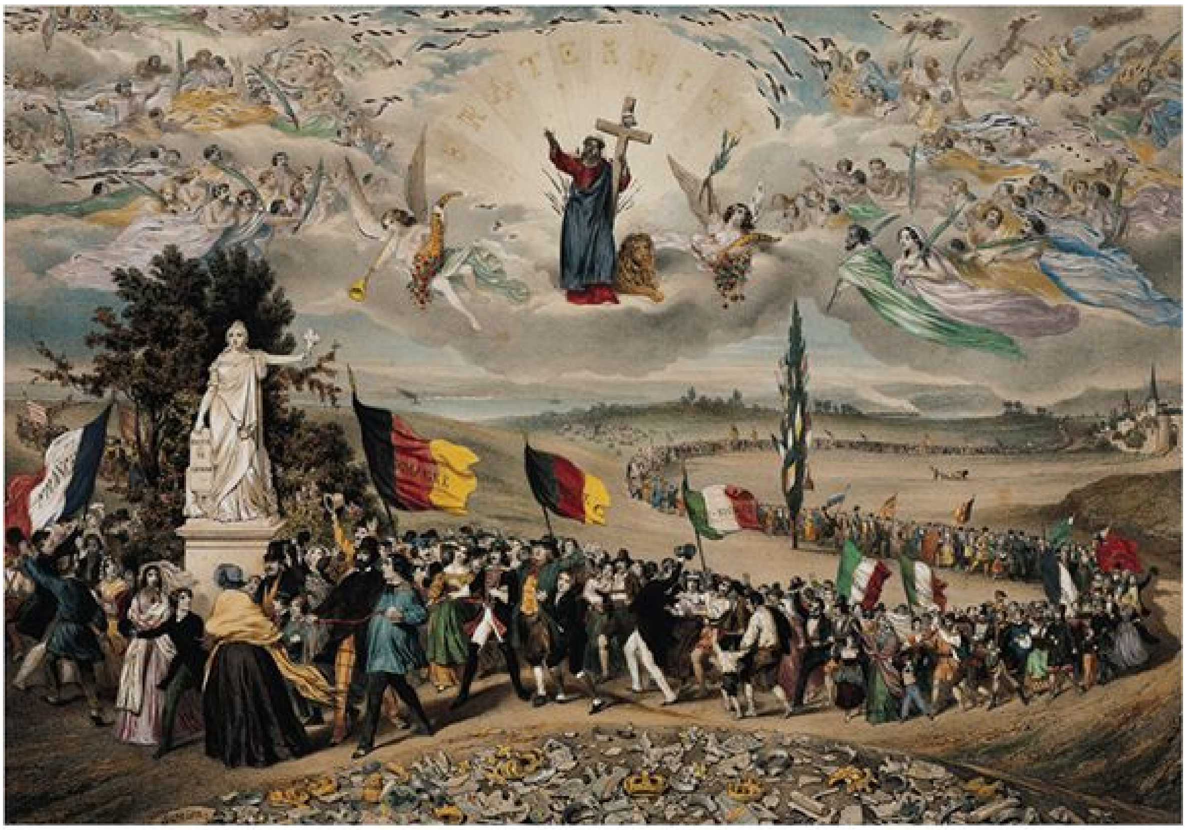
The revolution in France thus ended in failure. The middle and working classes had turned against each other. In place of a generous democratic republic, the Constituent Assembly completed a constitution featuring a strong executive. This allowed Louis Napoleon, nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte, to win a landslide victory in the December 1848 election based on promises to lead a strong government in favor of popular interests.

President Louis Napoleon at first shared power with a conservative National Assembly. But in 1851 Louis Napoleon dismissed the Assembly and seized power in a coup d’état. A year later he called on the French to make him hereditary emperor, and 97 percent voted to do so in a national plebiscite. Louis Napoleon then ruled France’s Second Empire as Napoleon III, initiating policies favoring economic growth and urban development to appease the populace.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

The Triumph of Democratic Republics

In spring 1848 French artist Frédéric Sorrieu completed a series of four lithographs celebrating the democratic and republican forces sweeping across Europe. This image shows the nations of Europe assembled carrying their flags and wearing distinctive national costumes. They are shown joyfully marching past the statue of a woman, who holds the torch of Enlightenment and the 1789 Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. The statue also echoes the first French Revolution by depicting liberty as a woman. In the foreground, symbols of absolutism and the church are shown in crumbled ruins.



Universal Democratic and Social Republics, 1848, by Frédéric Sorrieu [1807–ca. 1861] [lithograph]/Musée de la Ville de Paris, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, France/Bridgeman Images

Sorrieu arranged the nations based on his perception of their progress toward democracy and freedom. The United States and Switzerland, two pre-existing free republics, have already passed the Statue of Liberty (shown behind the French flag on the left). France is shown passing the statue, suggesting that Sorrieu's homeland was at that moment in the process of achieving liberty and equality. Right behind France comes Germany, with its people carrying a black, red, and gold flag. Germany was not unified as a nation-state until 1871; this image reveals a dream of German national unification decades before it took place.

As this image suggests, radical visions of democracy and republicanism often went hand in hand with nationalist fervor. For Sorrieu, the political ideal consisted of distinct and peaceful nation-states whose people were united by shared national pride and culture. Despite apparent differences of wealth and social status, each nation is joined under its flag and marching together toward greater freedom. The appearance of Christ, who stands beneath the banner of "brotherhood" surrounded by angels, reveals divine support for this vision.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. How many different flags can you count and identify? What message do the flags send to viewers of the lithograph? Is this an image about nationalism or republicanism?
2. How would you characterize the types of people marching and the mood of the crowd? What does the composition of the crowd tell us about the gathered nations?
3. What do the angels, Statue of Liberty, and discarded crowns suggest about the artist's view of the events of 1848? Do you think this illustration was created before or after the collapse of the revolution in France? Why?

The Revolutions of 1848 in Central Europe

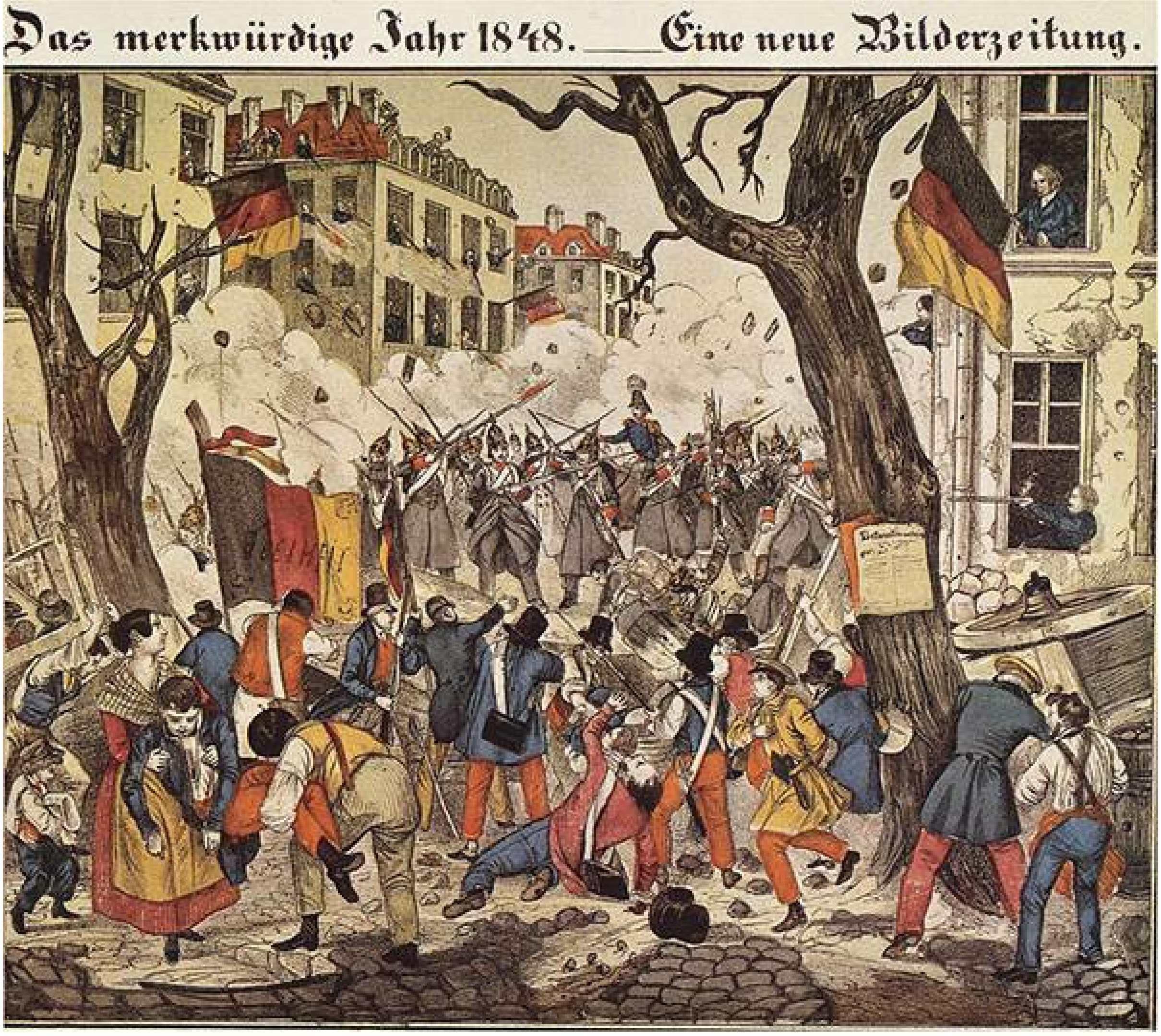
Throughout central Europe, social conflicts were exacerbated by the economic crises of 1845 to 1846. News of the upheaval in France in 1848 provoked the outbreak of revolution. Liberals demanded written constitutions, representative government, and greater civil liberties from authoritarian regimes. When governments hesitated, popular revolts followed. Urban workers and students allied with middle-class liberals and peasants. In the face of these coalitions, monarchs made hasty concessions. Soon, however, popular revolutionary fronts broke down as they had in France.

Compared with the situation in France, where political participation by working people reached its peak, revolts in central Europe tended to be dominated by social elites. They were also more sharply divided between moderate constitutionalists and radical republicans. The revolution in the Austrian Empire began in 1848 in Hungary, when nationalistic Hungarians demanded national autonomy, full civil liberties, and universal suffrage. When Viennese students and workers also took to the streets and peasant disorders broke out, the Habsburg emperor Ferdinand I (r. 1835–1848) capitulated and promised reforms and a liberal constitution. The coalition of revolutionaries was not stable, however. When the monarchy abolished serfdom, the newly free peasants lost interest in the political and social questions agitating the cities.

The revolutionary coalition was also weakened and ultimately destroyed by conflicting national aspirations. In March the Hungarian revolutionary leaders pushed through an extremely liberal constitution, but they also sought to create a unified Hungarian nation. The minority groups, including Romanians, Serbs, and Croats, that formed half the population objected that such unification would hinder their own political autonomy and cultural independence. Likewise, Czech (CHEK) nationalists based in Bohemia and the city of Prague came into conflict with German nationalists. Thus nationalism within the Austrian Empire enabled the monarchy to play off one ethnic group against the other.

The monarchy's first breakthrough came in June when the army crushed a working-class revolt in Prague. In October the predominantly peasant troops of the regular Austrian army attacked the student and working-class radicals in Vienna and retook the city. When Ferdinand I abdicated in favor of his young nephew, Franz Joseph (see "Great Britain and the Austro-Hungarian Empire"), only Hungary had yet to be brought under control. Fearing the spread of liberal ideas to his realm, Nicholas I of Russia (r. 1825–1855) obligingly lent his support. In June 1849, 130,000 Russian troops poured into Hungary and subdued the country. For a number of years the Habsburgs ruled Hungary as a conquered territory.

After Austria, Prussia was the largest and most influential kingdom in the German Confederation. Prior to 1848 middle-class Prussian liberals had sought to reshape Prussia into a liberal constitutional monarchy, which would lead the confederation’s thirty-eight states into a unified nation. When artisans and factory workers in Berlin exploded in revolt in March 1848 and joined with middle-class liberals against the monarchy, Prussian king Frederick William IV (r. 1840–1861) caved in. On March 21 he promised to grant Prussia a liberal constitution and to merge Prussia into a new national German state.


Das merkwürdige Jahr 1848.___Eine neue Bilderzeitung.

akg-images

Street Fighting in Berlin, 1848 This contemporary lithograph portrays a street battle on March 18, 1848, between Prussian troops loyal to King Frederick William IV and civilian men and women demonstrators. The king withdrew his troops the following day rather than kill any more of his “beloved Berliners.” Revolutionaries across Europe often dug up paving stones and used them as weapons. The tricolor flag achieved prominence during the revolution as the symbol of a united and democratic Germany.

Elections were held across the German Confederation for a national parliament, which convened to write a federal constitution for a unified German state. Members of the new parliament completed drafting a liberal constitution in March 1849 and elected King Frederick William of Prussia emperor of the new German national state. By early 1849, however, Frederick William had reasserted his royal authority, contemptuously refusing to accept the “crown from the gutter.” When Frederick William tried to get the small monarchs of Germany to elect him emperor on his own terms, with authoritarian power, Austria balked. Supported by Russia, Austria forced Prussia to renounce all its unification schemes in late 1850.

Thus, across Europe, the uprisings of 1848, which had been inspired by the legacy of the late-eighteenth-century revolutionary era, were unsuccessful. Reform movements splintered into competing factions, while the forces of order proved better organized and more united, on both a domestic and international level.

Nation Building in Italy, Germany, and Russia

How did strong leaders and nation building transform Italy, Germany, and Russia?

Louis Napoleon's triumph in 1848 and his authoritarian rule in the 1850s provided Europe's victorious forces of order with a new political model. To what extent might the expanding urban middle classes and even portions of the working classes rally to a strong and essentially conservative national state that also promised change? This was one of the great political questions in the 1850s and 1860s. In central Europe a resounding answer came with the national unification of Germany and Italy. (See "Global Viewpoints: German and Italian Views on Nationalism," page 702.)

The Russian Empire also experienced profound political crises in this period, but they were unlike those in Germany or Italy because Russia was already a vast multinational state. It became clear to Russian leaders that they had to embrace the process of **modernization**, defined narrowly as the changes that enable a country to compete effectively with the leading countries at a given time.

modernization The changes that enable a country to compete effectively with the leading countries at a given time.

GLOBAL VIEWPOINTS

German and Italian Views on Nationalism

German philosopher Johann Gottfried von Herder's *Ideas for the Philosophy of History of Humanity* (1784–1791) described the long evolution of human communities. According to Herder, this process had produced distinct national communities in Europe, each united by a common language and shared traditions. Herder respected these cultural traditions but did not believe they should lead to distinct nation-states. Instead he celebrated the common spirit that existed among Europeans based on their centuries-old history of interaction. By contrast, Giuseppe Mazzini, the leading prophet of Italian nationalism before 1848, believed fervently that nations should exist as sovereign states. He founded a secret society to fight for the unification of the Italian states in a democratic republic. The excerpt below was written in 1858 and addressed to Italian workingmen.

Johann Gottfried von Herder, *Ideas for the Philosophy of History of Humanity*

■ This is more or less a picture of the peoples of Europe. What a multicolored and composite picture! . . . Sea voyages and long migrations of people finally produced on the small continent of Europe the conditions for a great league of nations. Unwittingly the Romans had prepared it by their conquests. Such a league of nations was unthinkable outside of Europe. Nowhere else have people intermingled so much, nowhere else have they changed so often and so much their habitats and thereby their customs and ways of life. In many European countries it would be difficult today for the inhabitants, especially for single families and individuals, to say, from which people they descend, whether from Goths, Moors, Jews, Carthaginians or Romans, whether from Gauls, Burgundians, Franks, Normans, Saxons, Slavs, Finns or Illyrians, or how in the long line of their ancestors their blood had been mixed. Hundreds of causes have tempered and changed the old tribal composition of the European nations in the course of the centuries; without such an intermingling the common spirit of Europe could hardly have been awakened.

Giuseppe Mazzini, "Duties Towards Your Country"

■ God gave you the means of multiplying your forces and your powers of action indefinitely when he gave you a Country, when, like a wise overseer of labor, who distributes the different parts of the work according to the capacity of the workmen, he divided Humanity into distinct groups upon the face of our globe, and thus planted the seeds of nations. Evil governments have disfigured the design of God, which you may see clearly marked out, as far, at least, as regards Europe, by the courses of the great rivers, by the lines of the lofty mountains, and by other geographical conditions; they have disfigured it by conquest, by greed, by jealousy of the just sovereignty of others; disfigured it so much that today there is perhaps no nation except England and France whose confines correspond to this design.

[These evil governments] did not, and they do not, recognize any country except their own families and dynasties, the egoism of caste. But the divine design will infallibly be fulfilled. Natural divisions, the innate spontaneous tendencies of the peoples will replace the arbitrary divisions sanctioned by evil governments. The map of Europe will be remade. The Countries of the People will rise, defined by the voice of the free, upon the ruins of the Countries of Kings and privileged castes. . . .

Without Country you have neither name, voice, nor rights, no admissions as brothers into the fellowships of the Peoples. You are the bastards of Humanity. Soldiers without a banner, . . . you will find neither faith nor protection. . . . Do not beguile yourselves with the hope of emancipation from unjust social conditions if you do not first conquer a Country for yourselves; where there is no Country there is no common agreement to which you can appeal; . . . and he who has the upper hand keeps it, since there is no common safeguard for the interests of all.

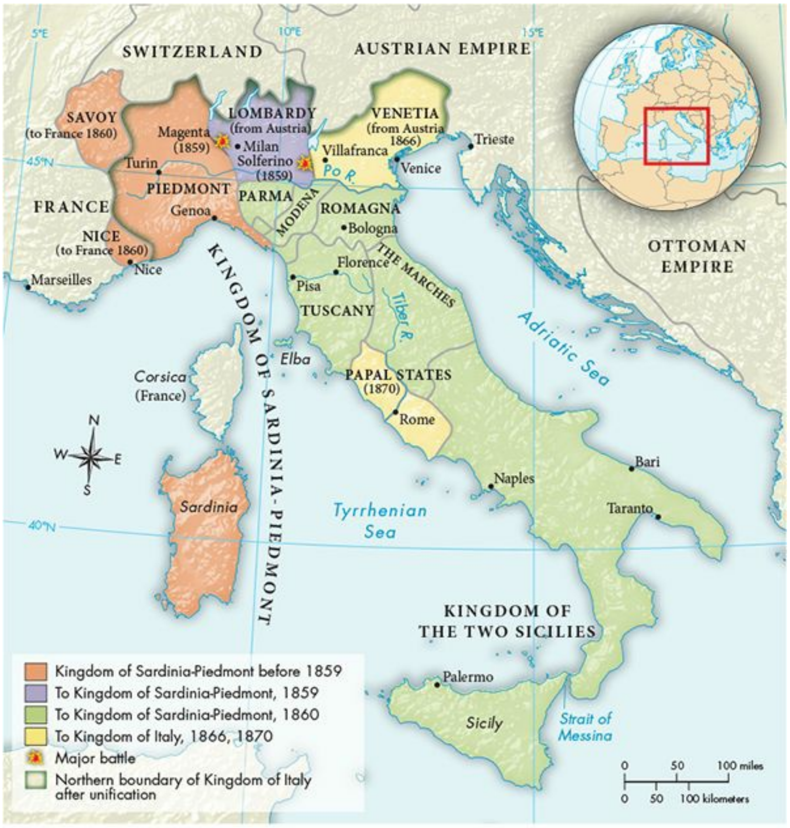
QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. How does Herder describe the “common spirit” of Europe, and what is his explanation for how it came into being?
2. How does Mazzini explain and justify the existence of individual countries (or nations)? According to Mazzini, why have Italians been prevented from having their own nation, and why is it so important that they obtain one?
3. How would you compare the views of Herder and Mazzini?

Sources: Hans Kohn, *Nationalism: Its Idea and History* (Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1955), pp. 108–110; G. Mazzini, *The Duties of Man and Other Essays* (London: M. M. Dent and Sons, 1907), pp. 51–54.

Cavour, Garibaldi, and the Unification of Italy

Italy had never been a united nation prior to 1850. A battleground for the Great Powers after 1494, Italy was reorganized in 1815 at the Congress of Vienna. Austria received the rich northern provinces of Lombardy and Venetia (vih-NEE-shuh). Sardinia and Piedmont fell under the rule of an Italian monarch, and Tuscany shared north-central Italy with several smaller states. The papacy ruled over central Italy and Rome, while a branch of the Bourbons ruled Naples and Sicily (Map 24.2).


5°E
10°E
15°E
45°N
40°N
SWITZERLAND
AUSTRIAN EMPIRE
SAVOY (to France 1860)
LOMBARDY (from Austria)
VENETIA (from Austria 1866)
Magenta (1859)
Milan
Solferino (1859)
Villafranca
Trieste
Venice
Turin
Po R.
PIEDMONT
PARMA
MODENA
ROMAGNA
Bologna
FRANCE
Genoa
NICE (to France 1860)
Nice
Marseilles
Florence
THE MARCHES
Pisa
TUSCANY
Tiber R.
KINGDOM OF SARDINIA-PIEDMONT
Elba
Corsica (France)
PAPAL STATES (1870)
Rome
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Adriatic Sea
N
W
E
S
Sardinia
Tyrrhenian Sea
Bari
Naples
Taranto
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES
Palermo
Sicily
Strait of Messina
0 50 100 miles
0 50 100 kilometers
Kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont before 1859
To Kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont, 1859
To Kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont, 1860
To Kingdom of Italy, 1866, 1870
Major battle
Northern boundary of Kingdom of Italy after unification

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 24.2 The Unification of Italy, 1859–1870 The leadership of Sardinia-Piedmont, nationalist fervor, and Garibaldi's attack on the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies were decisive factors in the unification of Italy.

After 1815 the goal of a unified Italian nation captivated many Italians, but there was no agreement on how it could be achieved. In 1848 the efforts of idealistic nationalist Giuseppe Mazzini (joo-ZEP-pay maht-SEE-nee) to form a democratic Italian republic were crushed by Austrian forces. Temporarily driven from Rome during the upheavals of 1848, a frightened Pope Pius IX (pontificate 1846–1878) turned against most modern trends, including national unification. At the same time, Victor Emmanuel, king of independent Sardinia, retained the moderate liberal constitution granted under duress in March 1848. To the Italian middle classes, Sardinia (see Map 24.2) appeared to be a liberal, progressive state ideally suited to drive Austria out of northern Italy and achieve the goal of national unification.

Sardinia had the good fortune of being led by Count Camillo Benso di Cavour. Cavour's national goals were limited and realistic. Cavour came from a noble family and embraced the economic doctrines and business activities associated with the prosperous middle class. Until 1859 he sought unity only for the states of northern and perhaps central Italy in a greatly expanded kingdom of Sardinia.

In the 1850s Cavour worked to consolidate Sardinia as a liberal constitutional state capable of leading northern Italy. He entered a secret alliance with Napoleon III, and in July 1858 he goaded Austria into attacking Sardinia. The combined Franco-Sardinian forces were victorious, but Napoleon III decided on a compromise peace with the Austrians in July 1859 to avoid offending French Catholics by supporting an enemy of the pope. Sardinia would receive only Lombardy, the area around Milan. Cavour resigned in protest.

Popular revolts and Italian nationalism salvaged Cavour's plans. While the war against Austria raged in the north, dedicated nationalists in central Italy had risen and driven out their rulers. Cavour returned to power in early 1860, and the people of central Italy voted overwhelmingly to join a greatly enlarged kingdom of Sardinia. Cavour had achieved his original goal of a north Italian state (see Map 24.2).

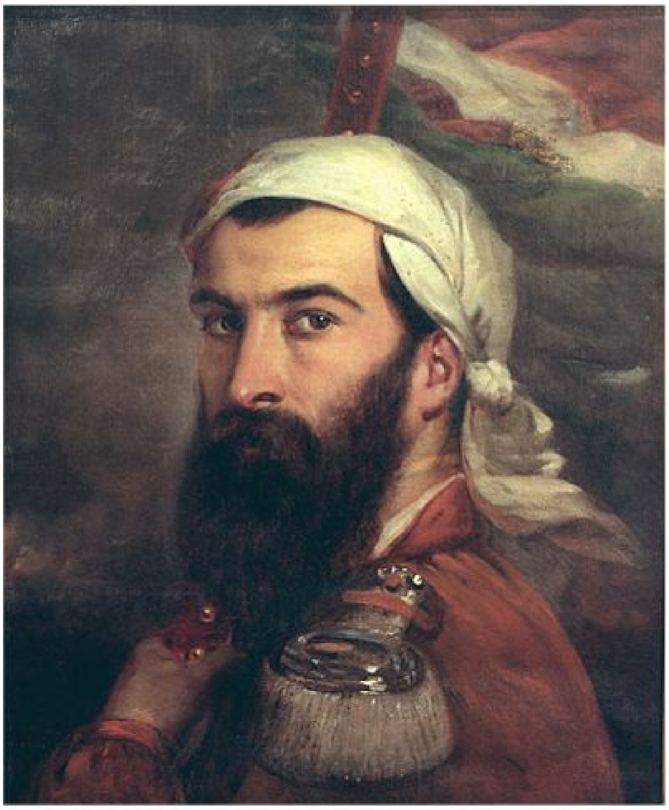
For superpatriots such as Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807–1882), the job of unification was still only half done. A poor sailor's son, Garibaldi personified the romantic revolutionary nationalism of 1848. Having led a unit of volunteers to several victories over Austrian troops in 1859, Garibaldi emerged in 1860 as an independent force in Italian politics. (See "Individuals in Society: Giuseppe Garibaldi," page 704.)

Secretly supported by Cavour, Garibaldi landed on the shores of Sicily in May 1860. His guerrilla band captured the imagination of the Sicilian peasantry, which rose in rebellion. Garibaldi captured Palermo and crossed to the mainland. When Garibaldi and Victor Emmanuel rode through Naples to cheering crowds, they symbolically sealed the union of north and south, of monarch and people.

The new kingdom of Italy, which did not include Venice until 1866 or Rome until 1870, was a parliamentary monarchy under Victor Emmanuel, neither radical nor democratic. Only a small minority of Italian males could vote. Despite political unity, the propertied classes and the common people were divided. A great social and cultural gap separated the industrializing north from the agrarian south.

INDIVIDUALS IN SOCIETY

Giuseppe Garibaldi



Giuseppe Garibaldi, 1850, by Auguste Etienne [1794–1865] [oil on panel]/Musée de l'Armée, Paris, France/akg-images

Giuseppe Garibaldi, the charismatic leader, shown in a portrait painted in 1850.

WHEN GIUSEPPE GARIBALDI VISITED ENGLAND in 1864, he received the most triumphant welcome ever given to any foreigner. Honored and fêted by politicians and high society, he also captivated the masses. An unprecedented crowd of a half million people cheered his carriage through the streets of London. These ovations were no fluke. In his time, Garibaldi was probably the most famous and most beloved figure in the world.[*] How could this be?

A rare combination of wild adventure and extraordinary achievement partly accounted for his demigod status. Born in Nice, Garibaldi went to sea at fifteen and sailed the Mediterranean for twelve years. At seventeen his travels took him to Rome, and he was converted in an almost religious experience to the “New Italy, the Italy of all the Italians.” As he later wrote in his bestselling *Autobiography*, “The Rome that I beheld with the eyes of youthful imagination was the Rome of the future — the dominant thought of my whole life.”

Sentenced to death in 1834 for his part in a revolutionary uprising in Genoa, Garibaldi barely escaped to South America. For twelve years he led a guerrilla band in Uruguay’s struggle for independence from Argentina. “Shipwrecked, ambushed, shot through the neck,” he found in a tough young woman, Anna da Silva, a mate and companion in arms. Their first children nearly starved in the jungle while Garibaldi, clad in his long red shirt, fashioned a legend as a fearless freedom fighter.

After he returned to Italy in 1848, the campaigns of his patriotic volunteers against the Austrians in 1848 and 1859 mobilized democratic nationalists. The stage was set for his volunteer army to liberate Sicily against enormous odds, astonishing the world and creating a large Italian state. Garibaldi’s achievement matched his legend.

A brilliant fighter, the handsome and inspiring leader was an uncompromising idealist of absolute integrity. He never drew personal profit from his exploits, continuing to milk his goats and rarely possessing more than one change of clothing. When Victor Emmanuel offered him lands and titles after his great victory in 1860, even as the left-leaning volunteers were disbanded and humiliated, Garibaldi declined, saying he could not be bought off. Returning to his farm on a tiny rocky island, he denounced the government without hesitation when he concluded that it was betraying the dream of unification with its ruthless rule in the south. Yet even after a duplicitous Italian government caused two later attacks on Rome to fail, his faith in the generative power of national unity never wavered. Garibaldi showed that ideas and ideals count in history.

Above all, millions of ordinary men and women identified with Garibaldi because they believed that he was fighting for them. They recognized him as one of their own and saw that he remained true to them in spite of his triumphs, thereby ennobling their own lives and aspirations. Welcoming runaway slaves as equals in Latin America, advocating the emancipation of women, introducing social reforms in the south, and pressing for free education and a broader suffrage in the new Italy, Garibaldi the national hero fought for freedom and human dignity. The common people understood and loved him for it.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Why was Garibaldi so famous and popular?
2. Nationalism evolved and developed in the nineteenth century. How did

Garibaldi fit into this evolution? What kind of a nationalist was he?

[*] Denis Mack Smith, *Garibaldi: A Great Life in Brief* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956), pp. 136–147; Denis Mack Smith, “Giuseppe Garibaldi,” *History Today*, August 1991, pp. 20–26.

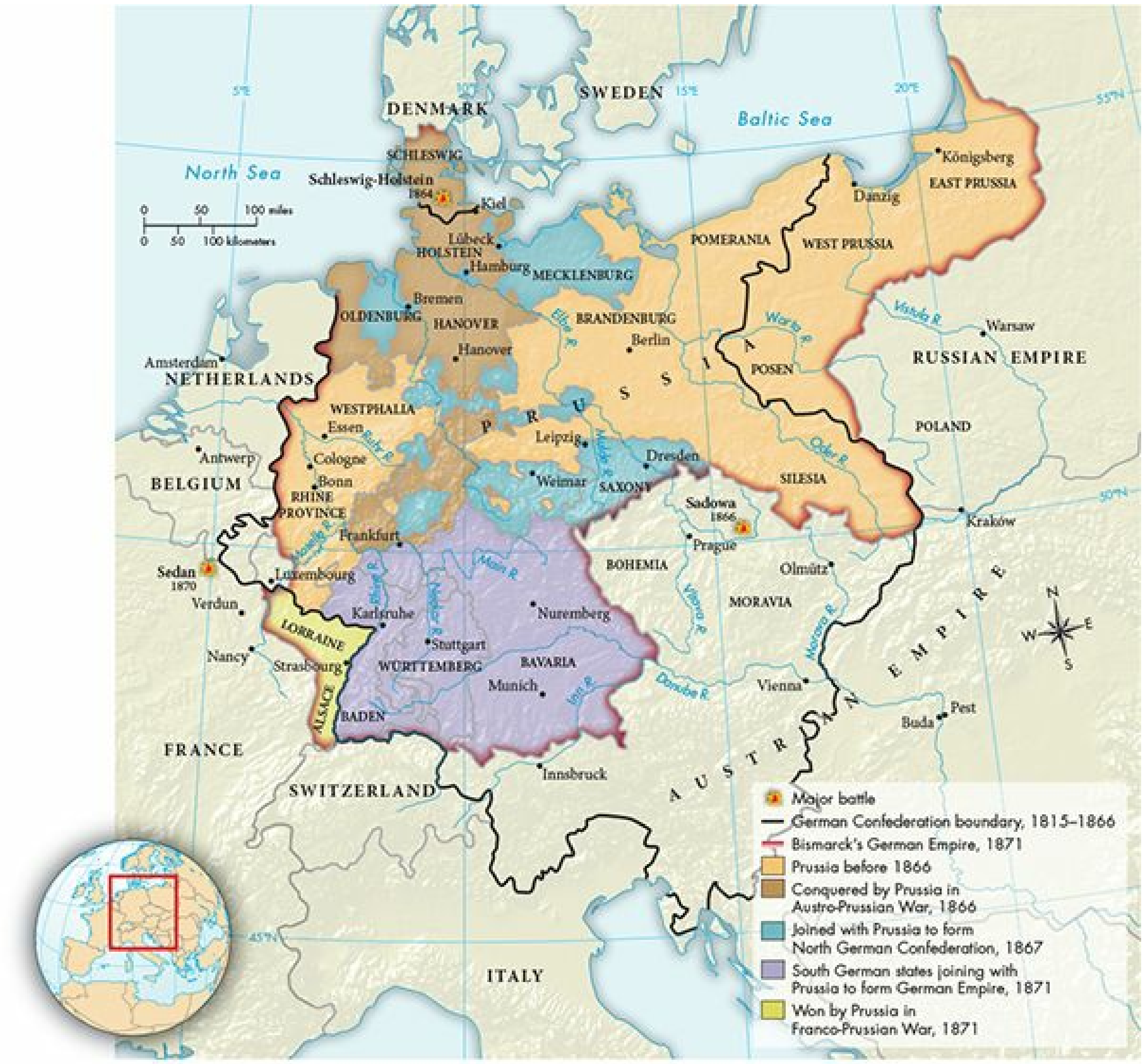
Bismarck and German Unification

In the aftermath of 1848 the German states, particularly Austria and Prussia, were locked in a political stalemate, each seeking to block the power of the other within the German Confederation. At the same time, powerful economic forces were undermining the political status quo. Modern industry was growing rapidly within the German customs union, or *Zollverein*. By 1853 all the German states except Austria had joined the customs union, and a new Germany excluding Austria was becoming an economic reality. Rising prosperity from the rapid growth of industrialization after 1850 gave new impetus to middle-class liberals.

By 1859 liberals had assumed control of the parliament that emerged from the upheavals of 1848 in Prussia. The national uprising in Italy in 1859, however, convinced Prussia's tough-minded Wilhelm I (r. 1861–1888) that political change and even war with Austria or France was possible. Wilhelm I pushed to raise taxes and increase the defense budget to double the army's size. The Prussian parliament, reflecting the middle class's desire for a less militaristic society, rejected the military budget in 1862, and the liberals triumphed in new elections. King Wilhelm then called on Count Otto von Bismarck (1815–1898) to head a new ministry and defy the parliament.

Born into the Prussian landowning aristocracy, Bismarck (BIZ-mark) loved power, but he was also extraordinarily flexible and pragmatic in pursuing his goals. When Bismarck took office as chief minister in 1862, he declared that government would rule without parliamentary consent. Bismarck had the Prussian bureaucracy continue to collect taxes even though the parliament refused to approve the budget, and he reorganized the army. For their part, the voters of Prussia continued to express their opposition to Bismarck's policies by sending large liberal majorities to the parliament from 1862 to 1866.

In 1866 Bismarck launched the Austro-Prussian War with the intent of expelling Austria from German politics. The war lasted only seven weeks, as the reorganized Prussian army defeated Austria decisively. Bismarck forced Austria to withdraw from German affairs and dissolved the existing German Confederation. The mainly Protestant states north of the Main River were grouped in the new North German Confederation, led by an expanded Prussia (Map 24.3, page 705). Each state retained its own local government, but the federal government — Wilhelm I and Bismarck — controlled the army and foreign affairs.


DENMARK
SWEDEN
Baltic Sea
North Sea
SCHLESWIG
Schleswig-Holstein 1864
Kiel
Lübeck
HOLSTEIN
Hamburg
MECKLENBURG
Königsberg
EAST PRUSSIA
Danzig
POMERANIA
WEST PRUSSIA
Bremen
OLDENBURG
HANOVER
Hanover
BRANDENBURG
Berlin
Elbe R.
Warta R.
Vistula R.
Warsaw
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
POSEN
Amsterdam
NETHERLANDS
WESTPHALIA
Essen
Ruhr R.
P R U S S I A
Leipzig
Mulde R.
Dresden
POLAND
Oder R.
Antwerp
Cologne
BELGIUM
Bonn
RHINE PROVINCE
Weimar
SAXONY
SILESIA
Sadowa 1866
Kraków
Moselle R.
Frankfurt
Prague
Sedan 1870
Luxembourg
Main R.
BOHEMIA
Olmütz
Verdun
Rhine R.
Neckar R.
Karlsruhe
Nuremberg
Vltava R.
MORAVIA
LORRAINE
Stuttgart
Morava R.
Nancy
Strasbourg
WÜRTTEMBERG
BAVARIA
Munich
Inn R.
Danube R.
Vienna
ALSACE
BADEN
Buda
Pest
AUSTRIAN EMPIRE
FRANCE
SWITZERLAND
Innsbruck
ITALY
0 50 100 miles
0 50 100 kilometers
5°E
10°E
15°E
20°E
55°N
50°N
45°N
N
E
S
W
Major battle
German Confederation boundary, 1815–1866
Bismarck's German Empire, 1871
Prussia before 1866
Conquered by Prussia in Austro-Prussian War, 1866
Joined with Prussia to form North German Confederation, 1867
South German states joining with Prussia to form German Empire, 1871
Won by Prussia in Franco-Prussian War, 1871

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 24.3 The Unification of Germany, 1866–1871 This map shows how Prussia expanded and a new German Empire was created through two wars, the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 and the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871.

To make peace with the liberal middle class and the nationalist movement, Bismarck asked the Prussian parliament to approve after the fact all the government's "illegal" spending between 1862 and 1866. Overawed by Bismarck's achievements, middle-class liberals now jumped at the chance to cooperate, opting for national unity and military glory over the battle for truly liberal institutions. Bismarck also followed Napoleon III's example by creating a legislature with members of the lower house elected by universal male suffrage, allowing him to bypass the middle class and appeal directly to the people if necessary. The constitutional struggle in Prussia was over, and the German middle class was respectfully accepting the monarchical authority and aristocratic superiority that Bismarck represented.

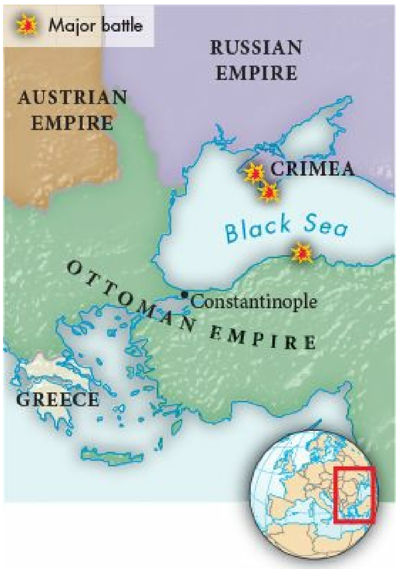
The final act in the drama of German unification followed quickly with a patriotic war against France. The apparent issue — whether a distant relative of Prussia's Wilhelm I might become king of Spain — was only a diplomatic pretext. By 1870, alarmed by Prussia's growing power, French leaders had decided on a war to teach Prussia a lesson.

As soon as war against France began in 1870, Bismarck had the wholehearted support of the south German states. The Germans quickly defeated Louis Napoleon's armies at Sedan on September 1, 1870. Three days later French patriots in Paris proclaimed yet another French republic and vowed to continue fighting. But after five months, in January 1871, a starving Paris surrendered, and France accepted Bismarck's harsh peace terms. By this time the south German states had agreed to join a new German Empire.

The Franco-Prussian War released an enormous surge of patriotic feeling in Germany. The new German Empire had become Europe's most powerful state, and most Germans were enormously proud. Semi-authoritarian nationalism and a "new conservatism," which was based on an alliance of the propertied classes and sought the active support of the working classes, had triumphed in Germany.

The Modernization of Russia

In the 1850s Russia was a poor agrarian society with a rapidly growing population. Almost 90 percent of the population lived off the land, and serfdom was still the basic social institution. Then the Crimean War of 1853 to 1856 arose from the breakdown of the balance of power established at the Congress of Vienna, European competition over influence in the Middle East, and Russian desires to expand into European territories held by the Ottoman Empire. France and Great Britain, aided by Sardinia and the Ottoman Empire, inflicted a humiliating defeat on Russia.



Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e,
© 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

The Crimean War, 1853–1856

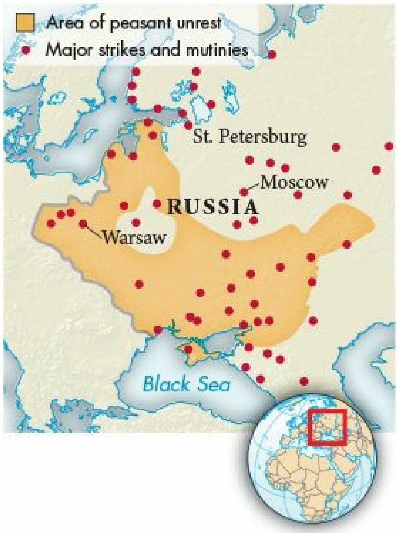
Russia's military defeat showed that it had fallen behind the industrializing nations of western Europe. Moreover, the war had caused hardship and raised the specter of massive peasant rebellion. Military disaster thus forced the new tsar, Alexander II (r. 1855–1881), and his ministers along the path of rapid social change and general modernization.

The first and greatest of the reforms was the freeing of the serfs in 1861. The emancipated peasants received, on average, about half of the land, which was to be collectively owned by peasant villages. The prices for the land were high, and collective ownership limited the possibilities of agricultural improvement and migration to urban areas. Thus the effects of the reform were limited. More successful was reform of the legal system, which established independent courts and equality before the law. The government also relaxed censorship and partially liberalized policies toward Russian Jews.

Russia's greatest strides toward modernization were economic rather than political. Rapid, government-subsidized railroad construction to 1880 enabled agricultural Russia to export grain and thus earn money for further industrialization. Industrial suburbs grew up around Moscow and St. Petersburg, and a class of modern factory workers began to take shape. Russia began seizing territory in far eastern Siberia, on the border with China; in Central Asia, north of Afghanistan; and in the Islamic lands of the Caucasus.

In 1881 an anarchist assassinated Alexander II, and the reform era came to an abrupt end. Political modernization remained frozen until 1905, but economic modernization sped forward in the massive industrial surge of the 1890s. The key leader was Sergei Witte (suhr-GAY VIH-tuh), the energetic minister of finance. Under Witte’s leadership, the government doubled Russia’s railroad network by the end of the century and promoted Russian industry with high protective tariffs.

By 1900 Russia was catching up with western Europe and expanding its empire in Asia. By 1903 Russia had established a sphere of influence in Chinese Manchuria and was eyeing northern Korea. When the protests of equally imperialistic Japan were ignored, the Japanese launched a surprise attack on Russian forces in Manchuria in February 1904. After Japan scored repeated victories, Russia was forced in September 1905 to accept a humiliating defeat.

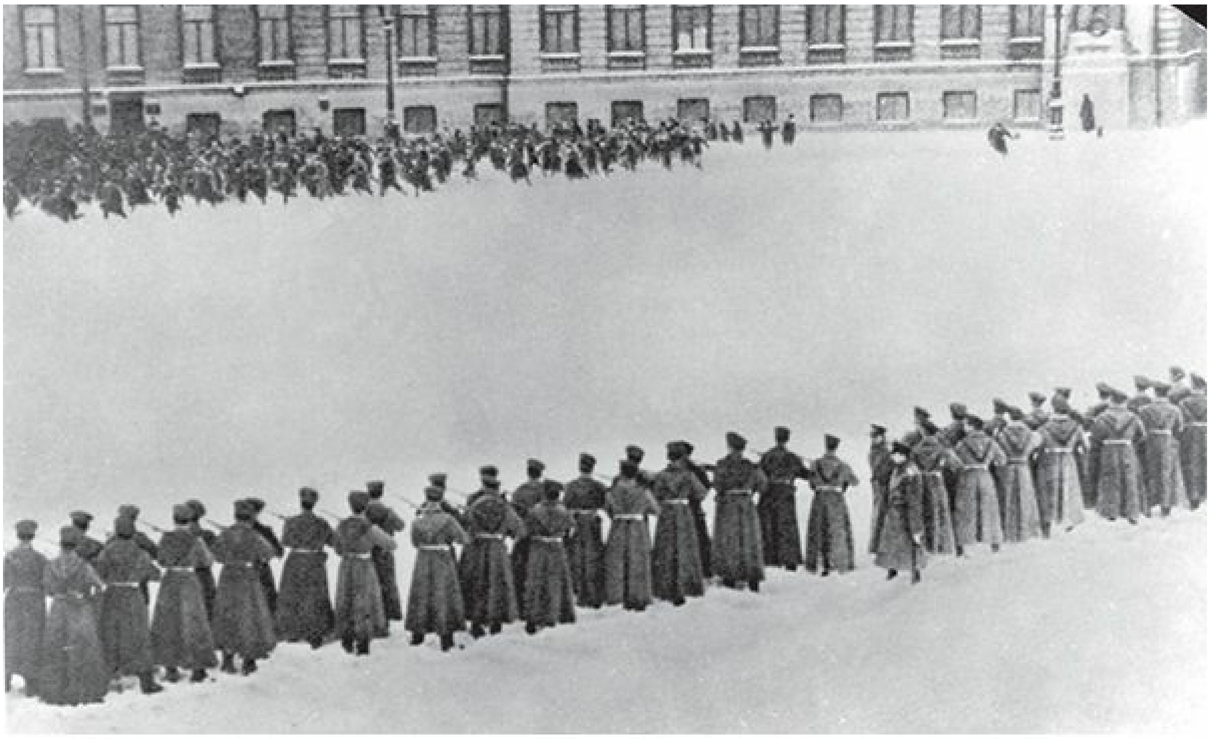


Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin’s

The Russian Revolution of 1905

Military disaster in East Asia brought political upheaval at home. On January 22, 1905, workers peacefully protesting for improved working conditions and higher wages were attacked by the tsar’s troops outside the Winter Palace. This event, known as Bloody Sunday, set off a wave of strikes, peasant uprisings, and troop mutinies across Russia. The revolutionary surge culminated in October 1905 in a paralyzing general strike, which forced the government to capitulate. The tsar, Nicholas II (r. 1894–1917), issued the **October Manifesto**, which granted full civil rights and promised a popularly elected Duma (DOO-muh) (parliament) with real legislative power.

October Manifesto The result of a great general strike in Russia in October 1905, it granted full civil rights and promised a popularly elected Duma (parliament) with real legislative power.



Laski Diffusion/Newsmakers/Getty Images

Bloody Sunday, Russia, 1905 On January 22, 1905, Russian troops fired on striking workers who had peacefully assembled in front of the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg, hoping to present their grievances to the tsar. Over a hundred demonstrators died and many hundreds more were injured in the ensuing massacre. The event, known as Bloody Sunday, helped rouse resistance to the imperial government.

Under the new constitution, Nicholas II retained great powers and the Duma had only limited authority. The middle-class liberals, the largest group in the newly elected Duma, were badly disappointed, and efforts to cooperate with the tsar’s ministers soon broke down. In 1907 Nicholas II and his reactionary advisers rewrote the electoral law so as to greatly increase the weight of the propertied classes. On the eve of World War I, Russia was a partially modernized nation, a conservative constitutional monarchy with an agrarian but industrializing economy.

Urban Life in the Age of Ideologies

What was the impact of urban growth on cities, social classes, families, and ideas?

By 1900 western Europe was urban and industrial as surely as it had been rural and agrarian in 1800. Rapid urban growth in the nineteenth century worsened long-standing overcrowding and unhealthy living conditions, lending support to voices calling for revolutionary change. In response, government leaders, city planners, reformers, and scientists urgently sought solutions to these challenges. Over the long term, success in improving the urban environment and the introduction of social welfare measures encouraged people to put their faith in a responsive national state.

Urban Development

Since the Middle Ages, European cities had been centers of government, culture, and large-scale commerce. They had also been congested, dirty, and unhealthy. Industrialization greatly worsened these conditions. The steam engine freed industrialists from dependence on the energy of streams and rivers so that by 1800 there was every incentive to build new factories in cities, which had better shipping facilities and a large and ready workforce. Therefore, as industry grew, overcrowded and unhealthy cities expanded rapidly.

In the 1820s and 1830s people in Britain and France began to worry about the condition of their cities. Parks and open areas were almost nonexistent, and narrow houses were built wall to wall in long rows. Highly concentrated urban populations lived in extremely unsanitary conditions, with open drains and sewers flowing alongside or down the middle of unpaved streets. Infected water contributed to a European cholera epidemic in 1831–1832, killing hundreds of thousands and contributing to social unrest.

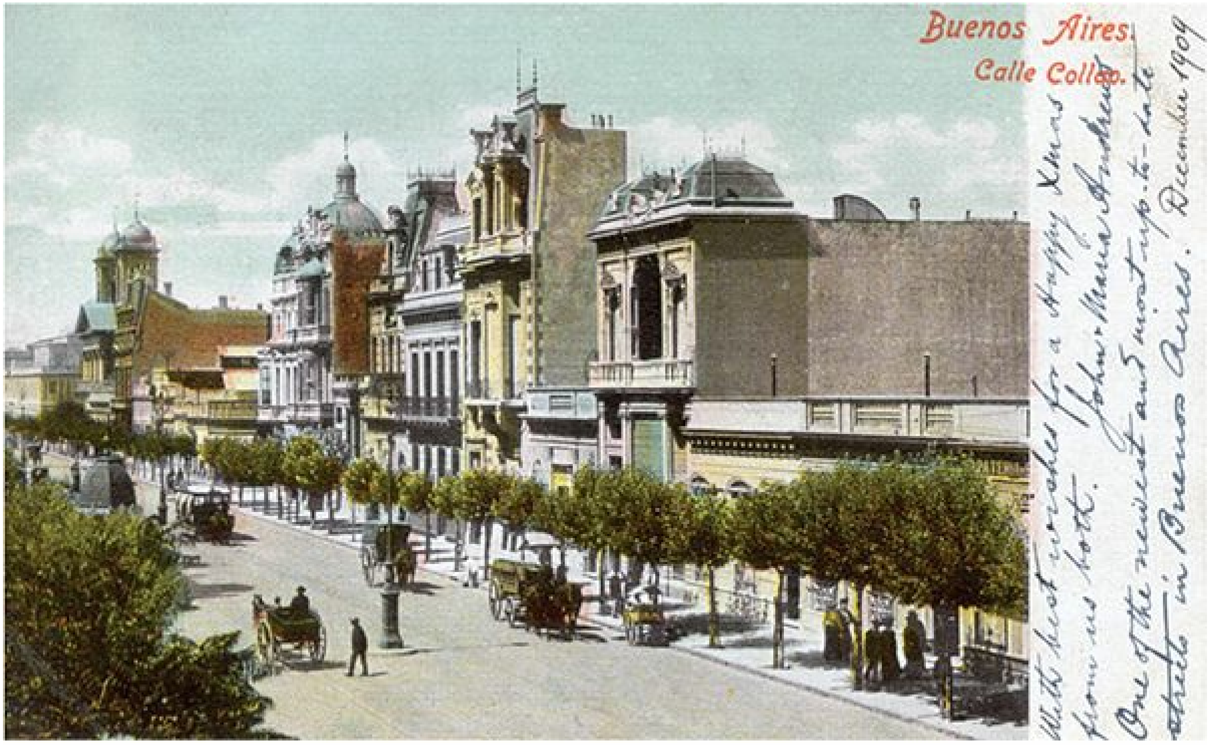
The urban challenge — and the pressure of radical ideas including those of the revolutions of 1848 — eventually brought an energetic response from a generation of reformers. The most famous early reformer was Edwin Chadwick, a British official. Collecting detailed reports from local officials and publishing his findings in 1842, Chadwick concluded that the stinking excrement of communal outhouses could be carried off by water through sewers at less than one-twentieth the cost of removing it by hand. In 1848 Chadwick's report became the basis of Great Britain's first public health law, which created a national health board and gave cities broad authority to build modern sanitary systems. Such sanitary movements won dedicated supporters in the United States, France, and Germany from the 1840s on.

Early sanitary reformers were handicapped by the prevailing miasmatic theory of disease — the belief that people contract disease when they breathe foul odors. In the 1840s and 1850s keen observation by doctors and public health officials suggested that contagion spread through physical contact with filth and not by its odors, thus weakening the miasmatic idea. An understanding of how this occurred came out of the work of Louis Pasteur (1822–1895), who developed the **germ theory** of disease. By 1870 the work of Pasteur and others had demonstrated that specific living organisms caused specific diseases and that those organisms could be controlled. These discoveries led to the development of a number of effective vaccines. Surgeons also applied the germ theory in hospitals, sterilizing not only the wound but everything else that entered the operating room.

germ theory The idea that disease is caused by the spread of living organisms that can be controlled.

The achievements of the bacterial revolution coupled with the public health movement saved millions of lives, particularly after about 1890. In England, France, and Germany death rates declined dramatically, and diphtheria, typhoid, typhus, cholera, and yellow fever became vanishing diseases in the industrializing nations.

More effective urban planning after 1850 also improved the quality of urban life. France took the lead during the rule of Napoleon III (r. 1848–1870), who believed that rebuilding Paris would provide employment, improve living conditions, and glorify and strengthen his empire. Baron Georges Haussmann (HOWSS-mun) (1809–1884), whom Napoleon III placed in charge of Paris, destroyed the old medieval core of Paris to create broad tree-lined boulevards, long open vistas, monumental buildings, middle-class housing, parks, and improved sewers and aqueducts. In addition to easing traffic and providing impressive vistas, the broad boulevards were intended to prevent a recurrence of the easy construction and defense of barricades by revolutionary crowds that had occurred in 1848. The rebuilding of Paris stimulated urban development throughout Europe, particularly after 1870.


Buenos Aires.
Calle Callao.
With best wishes for a Happy Xmas
from us both. John & Maria Andrews
One of the newest and most up-to-date
streets in Buenos Aires. December 1909

© Mary Evans Picture Library/Grenville Collins Postcard Collection/The Image Works

Buenos Aires Postcard, ca. 1908 Between 1880 and 1910 the modern city of Buenos Aires, the capital of Argentina, emerged. City planners adopted the wide boulevards, monuments, and long vistas that Baron Haussmann had brought to Paris in the mid-nineteenth century.

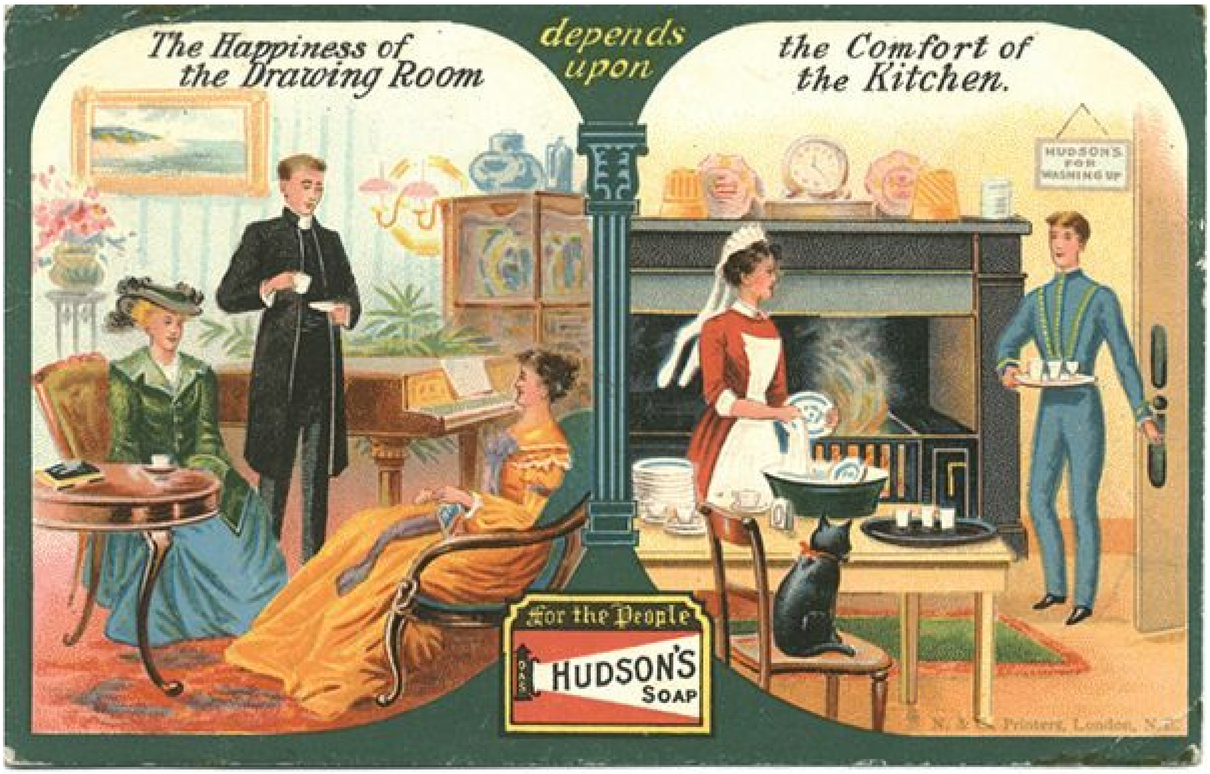
Mass public transportation was also of great importance in the improvement of urban living conditions. In the 1890s countries in North America and Europe adopted an American transit innovation, the electric streetcar. Millions of riders hopped on board during the workweek. On weekends and holidays streetcars carried city people on outings to parks and the countryside, racetracks, and music halls.[1] Electric streetcars also gave people of modest means access to improved housing, as the still-crowded city was able to expand and become less congested.

Industrialization and the growth of global trade led to urbanization outside of Europe. The tremendous appetite of industrializing nations for raw materials, food, and other goods caused the rapid growth of port cities and mining centers across the world. These included Alexandria in Egypt, the major port for transporting Egyptian cotton, and mining cities like San Francisco in California and Johannesburg in South Africa. Many of these new cities consciously emulated European urban planning. For example, from 1880 to 1910 the Argentine capital of Buenos Aires modernized rapidly. The development of Buenos Aires was greatly stimulated by the arrival of many Italian and Spanish immigrants, part of a much larger wave of European migration in this period (see “Immigration” in Chapter

27).

Social Inequality and Class

By 1850 at the latest, the wages and living conditions of the working classes were finally improving. Greater economic rewards, however, did not significantly narrow the gap between rich and poor. In fact, economic inequality worsened in Europe over the course of the nineteenth century and reached its height on the eve of World War I. In every industrialized country around 1900, the richest 20 percent of households received anywhere from 50 to 60 percent of all national income, whereas the bottom 30 percent of households received 10 percent or less of all income. Despite the promises of the political and economic revolutions of the late eighteenth century, the gap between rich and poor in the early twentieth century was thus as great as or even wider than it had been in the eighteenth-century age of agriculture and aristocracy.



Amoret Tanner Collection/The Art Archive at Art Resource, NY

Hudson's Soap Advertising Postcard, ca. 1903 Early-twentieth-century advertisements, such as this one for Hudson's Soap, reflected the strict class divisions of society.

Despite extreme social inequality, society had not split into two sharply defined opposing classes, as Marx had predicted. Instead economic specialization created an almost unlimited range of jobs, skills, and earnings; one group or subclass blended into another in a complex, confusing hierarchy.

Between the tiny elite of the very rich and the sizable mass of the dreadfully poor existed a range of subclasses, each filled with individuals struggling to rise or at least to hold their own in the social order. A confederation of middle classes was loosely linked by occupations requiring mental, rather than physical, skill. As the upper middle class, composed mainly of successful business families, gained in income and progressively lost all traces of radicalism after the trauma of 1848, they were drawn toward the aristocratic lifestyle.

One step below was a much larger group of moderately successful industrialists and merchants, professionals in law and medicine, and midlevel managers of large public and private institutions. The expansion of industry and technology called for experts with specialized knowledge, and the most valuable of the specialties became solid middle-class professions. Next came independent shopkeepers, small traders, and tiny manufacturers — the lower middle class. Industrialization and urbanization also diversified the lower middle class and expanded the number of white-collar employees. White-collar employees were propertyless, but generally they were fiercely committed to the middle class and to the ideal of moving up in society.

Food, housing, clothes, and behavior all expressed middle-class values. Employment of at least one full-time maid was the clearest sign that a family had crossed the divide from the working classes into the middle classes. Freed from domestic labor, the middle-class wife directed her servants, supervised her children’s education, and used her own appearance and that of her home to display the family’s status. The middle classes shared a code of expected behavior and morality, which stressed hard work, self-discipline, and personal achievement.

At the beginning of the twentieth century about four out of five Europeans belonged to the working classes — that is, people whose livelihoods depended primarily on physical labor. Many of them were small landowning peasants and hired farm hands, especially in eastern Europe. The urban working classes were even less unified than the middle classes. Economic development and increased specialization during the nineteenth century expanded the traditional range of working-class skills, earnings, and experiences. Skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled workers accordingly developed widely divergent lifestyles and cultural values, and their differences contributed to a keen sense of social status and hierarchy within the working classes.

Highly skilled workers, who made up about 15 percent of the working classes, became known as the labor aristocracy. They were led by construction bosses and factory foremen. The labor aristocracy also included members of the traditional highly skilled handicraft trades that had not transitioned to mechanized production, as well as new kinds of skilled workers such as shipbuilders and railway locomotive engineers.

Below the labor aristocracy stood the complex world of semiskilled and unskilled urban workers. A large number of the semiskilled were factory workers who earned good wages and whose relative importance in the labor force was increasing. Below the semiskilled workers was a larger group of unskilled workers that included day laborers and domestic servants.

To make ends meet, many working-class wives had to join the ranks of working women in the “sweated industries.” These industries resembled the old putting-out and cottage industries of earlier times, and they were similar to what we call sweatshops today. The women normally worked at home and were paid by the piece, often making clothing after the advent of the sewing machine in the 1850s.

Despite their harsh lives, the urban working classes found outlets for fun and recreation. Across Europe drinking remained a favorite working-class leisure-time activity along with sports and music halls. Religion continued to provide working people with solace and meaning, although church attendance among the urban working classes declined in the late nineteenth century, especially among men.

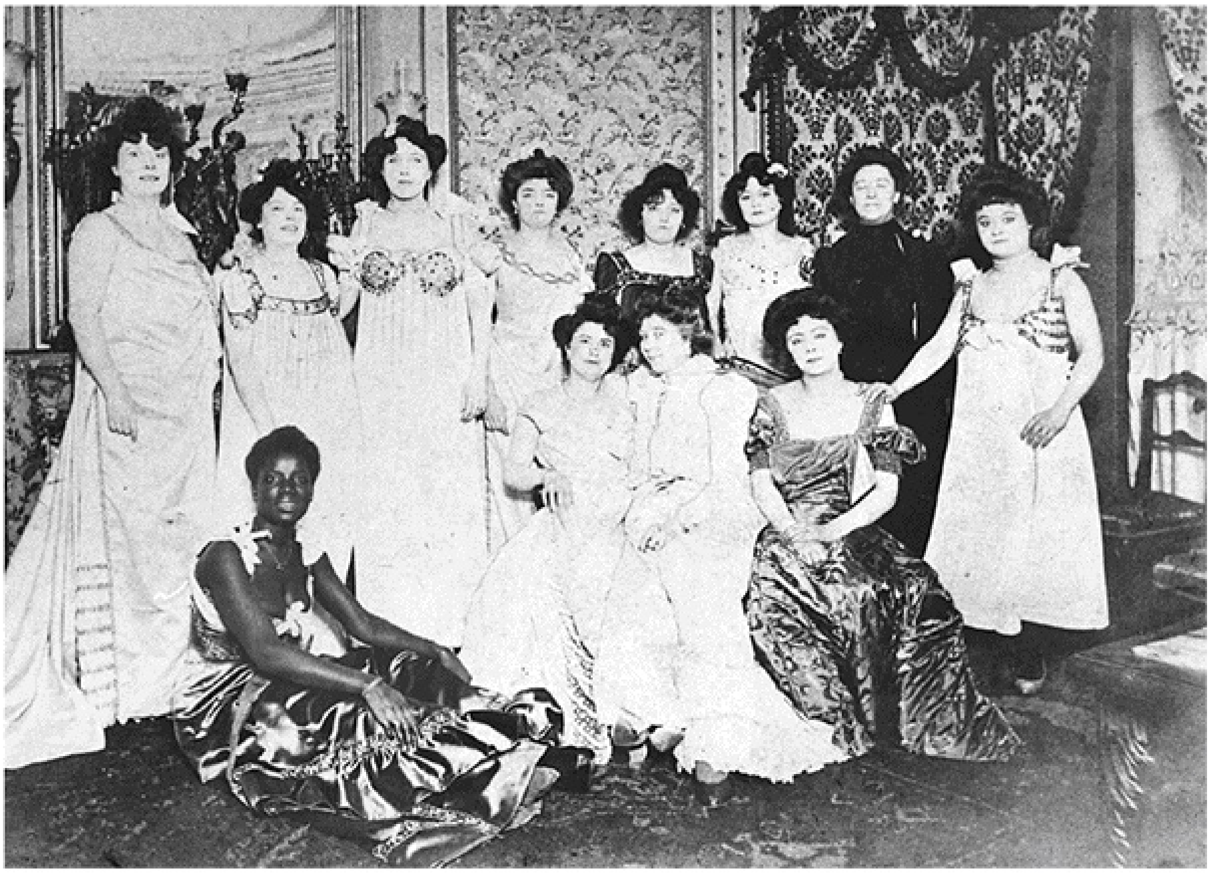
The Changing Family

Industrialization and the growth of modern cities also brought great changes to the lives of women and families. As economic conditions improved, only women in poor families tended to work outside the home. The ideal became separate spheres, the strict division of labor by sex. This rigid division meant that married women faced great obstacles if they needed or wanted to move into the world of paid employment outside the home. Well-paying jobs were off-limits to women, and a woman’s wage was almost always less than a man’s, even for the same work.

Because they needed to be able to support their wives, middle-class men did not marry until they were well established in their careers. The system encouraged marriages between older men and younger women with little experience with adult life. Men were encouraged to see themselves as the protectors of their fragile and vulnerable wives.

As the ideology and practice of rigidly separate spheres narrowed women’s horizons, their control and influence in the home became increasingly strong throughout Europe in the late nineteenth century. The comfortable home run by the middle-class wife was idealized as a warm shelter in a hard and impersonal urban world. By 1900 working-class families had adopted many middle-class values, but they did not have the means to fully realize the ideals of domestic comfort or separate spheres. Nevertheless, the working-class wife generally determined how the family’s money was spent and took charge of all major domestic decisions. The woman’s guidance of the household went hand in hand with the increased emotional importance of home and family for all social groups.

Ideas about sexuality within marriage varied. Many French marriage manuals of the late nineteenth century stressed that women had legitimate sexual needs. In the more puritanical United States, however, sex manuals recommended sexual abstinence for unmarried men and limited sexual activity for married men. Respectable women were thought to experience no sexual pleasure at all from sexual activity, and anything vaguely sexual was to be removed from their surroundings; even the legs of pianos were to be covered. (See “Analyzing the Evidence: Stefan Zweig on Middle-Class Youth and Sexuality,” page 712.)



Musée de la Ville de Paris, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, France/Archives Charmet/Bridgeman Images

Paris Brothel, ca. 1900 This photograph of a Parisian brothel at the turn of the twentieth century shows the efforts made to create a luxurious and glamorous atmosphere for its patrons. (Musée de la Ville de Paris, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, France/Archives Charmet/Bridgeman Images)

Medical doctors in both Europe and the United States began to study sexual desires and behavior more closely, and to determine what was considered “normal” and “abnormal.” Same-sex attraction, labeled “homosexuality” for the first time, was identified as a “perversion.” Governments increasingly regulated prostitution, the treatment of venereal disease, and access to birth control in ways that were shaped by class and gender hierarchies. Medical science also turned its attention to motherhood, and a wave of books instructed middle-class women on how to be better mothers.

Ideas about sexuality and motherhood were inextricably tied up with ideas about race. As European nations embarked on imperialist expansion in the second half of the nineteenth century, the need to maintain the racial superiority that justified empire led to increased concerns about the possible dilution or weakening of the European races. Maintaining healthy bodies, restricting sexuality, preventing interracial marriages, and ensuring that women properly raised their children were all components of racial strength, in the eyes of many European thinkers.

Women in industrializing countries also began to limit the number of children they bore. This revolutionary reduction in family size, in which the comfortable and well-educated classes took the lead, was founded on parents’ desire to improve their economic and social position and that of their children. By having fewer youngsters, parents could give those they had advantages, from music lessons to expensive university educations.

The ideal of separate spheres and the rigid gender division of labor meant that middle-class women lacked legal rights and faced discrimination in education and employment. Organizations founded by middle-class feminists campaigned for legal equality as well as for access to higher education and professional employment. In the late nineteenth century middle-class women scored some significant victories, such as the 1882 law giving British married women full property rights. Rather than contesting existing notions of women as morally superior guardians of the home, feminists drew on these ideas for legitimacy in speaking out about social issues.

Socialist women leaders usually took a different path. They argued that the liberation of working-class women would come only with the liberation of the entire working class. In the meantime, they championed the cause of working women and won some practical improvements. In a general way, these different approaches to women’s issues reflected the diversity of classes and political views in urban society.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

Stefan Zweig on Middle-Class Youth and Sexuality

Growing up in Vienna in a prosperous Jewish family, Stefan Zweig (1881–1942) became an influential voice calling for humanitarian values and international culture in early-twentieth-century Europe. Passionately opposed to the First World War, Zweig wrote poetry, plays, and novels. But he was most famous for his biographies: shrewd psychological portraits of historical figures such as Magellan and Marie Antoinette. After Hitler came to power in 1933, Zweig lived in exile until his death in 1942. Zweig's last work was *The World of Yesterday* (1943), one of the truly fascinating autobiographies of the twentieth century. In the following passage, Zweig recalls the romantic experiences and sexual separation of middle-class youth before the First World War.

During the eight years of our higher schooling [beyond grade school], something had occurred which was of great importance to each one of us: we ten-year-olds had grown into virile young men of sixteen, seventeen, and eighteen, and Nature began to assert its rights. . . . It did not take us long to discover that those authorities in whom we had previously confided — school, family, and public morals — manifested an astonishing insincerity in this matter of sex. But what is more, they also demanded secrecy and reserve from us in this connection. . . .

This "social morality," which on the one hand privately presupposed the existence of sexuality and its natural course, but on the other would not recognize it openly at any price, was doubly deceitful. While it winked one eye at a young man and even encouraged him with the other "to sow his wild oats," as the kindly language of the home put it, in the case of a woman it studiously shut both eyes and acted as if it were blind. That a man could experience desires, and was permitted to experience them, was silently admitted by custom. But to admit frankly that a woman could be subject to similar desires, or that creation for its eternal purposes also required a female polarity, would have transgressed the conception of the "sanctity of womanhood." In the pre-Freudian era, therefore, the axiom was agreed upon that a female person could have no physical desires as long as they had not been awakened by man, and that, obviously, was officially permitted only in marriage. But even in those moral times, in Vienna in particular, the air was full of dangerous erotic infection, and a girl of good family had to live in a completely sterilized atmosphere, from the day of her birth until the day when she left the altar on her husband's arm. In order to protect young girls, they were not left alone for a single moment. . . . Every book which they read was inspected, and above all else, young girls were constantly kept busy to divert their attention from any possible dangerous thoughts. They had to practise the piano, learn singing and drawing, foreign languages, and the history of literature and art. They were educated and overeducated. But while the aim was to make them as educated and as socially correct as possible, at the same time society anxiously took great pains that they should remain innocent of all natural things to a degree unthinkable today. A young girl of good family was not allowed to have any idea of how the male body was formed, or to know how children came into the world, for the angel was to enter into matrimony not only physically untouched, but completely "pure" spiritually as well. "Good breeding," for a young girl of that time, was identical with ignorance of life; and this ignorance ofttimes lasted for the rest of their lives. . . .

What possibilities actually existed for a young man of the middle-class world? In all the others, in the so-called lower classes, the problem was no problem at all. . . . In most of our Alpine villages the number of natural children greatly exceeded the legitimate ones. Among the proletariat, the worker, before he could get married, lived with another worker in free love. . . . It was only in our middle-class society that such a remedy as an early marriage was scorned. . . . And so there was an artificial interval of six, eight, or ten years between actual manhood and manhood as society accepted it; and in this interval the young man had to take care of his own "affairs" or adventures.

Those days did not give him too many opportunities. Only a very few particularly rich young men could afford the luxury of keeping a mistress, that is, taking an apartment and paying her expenses. And only a very few fortunate young men achieved the literary ideal of love of the times — the only one which it was permitted to describe in novels — an affair with a married woman. The others helped themselves for the most part with shopgirls and waitresses, and this offered little inner satisfaction. . . . But, generally speaking, prostitution was still the foundation of the erotic life outside of marriage; in a certain sense it constituted a dark underground vault over which rose the gorgeous structure of middle-class society with its faultless, radiant façade.

The present generation has hardly any idea of the gigantic extent of prostitution in Europe before the [First] World War. Whereas today it is as rare to meet a prostitute on the streets of a big city as it is to meet a wagon in the road, then the sidewalks were so sprinkled with women for sale that it was more difficult to avoid than to find them. To this was added the countless number of "closed houses," the night clubs, the cabarets, the dance parlours with their dancers and singers, and the bars with their "come-on" girls. At that time female wares were offered for sale at every hour and at every price. . . . And this was the same city, the same society, the same morality, that was indignant when young girls rode bicycles, and declared it a disgrace to the dignity of science when Freud in his calm, clear, and penetrating manner established truths that they did not wish to be true. The same world that so pathetically defended the purity of womanhood allowed this cruel sale of women, organized it, and even profited thereby.

We should not permit ourselves to be misled by sentimental novels or stories of that epoch. It was a bad time for youth. The young girls were hermetically locked up under the control of the family, hindered in their free bodily as well as intellectual development. The young men were forced to secrecy and reticence by a morality which fundamentally no one believed or obeyed. Unhampered, honest relationships — in other words, all that could have made youth happy and joyous according to the laws of Nature — were permitted only to the very few.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

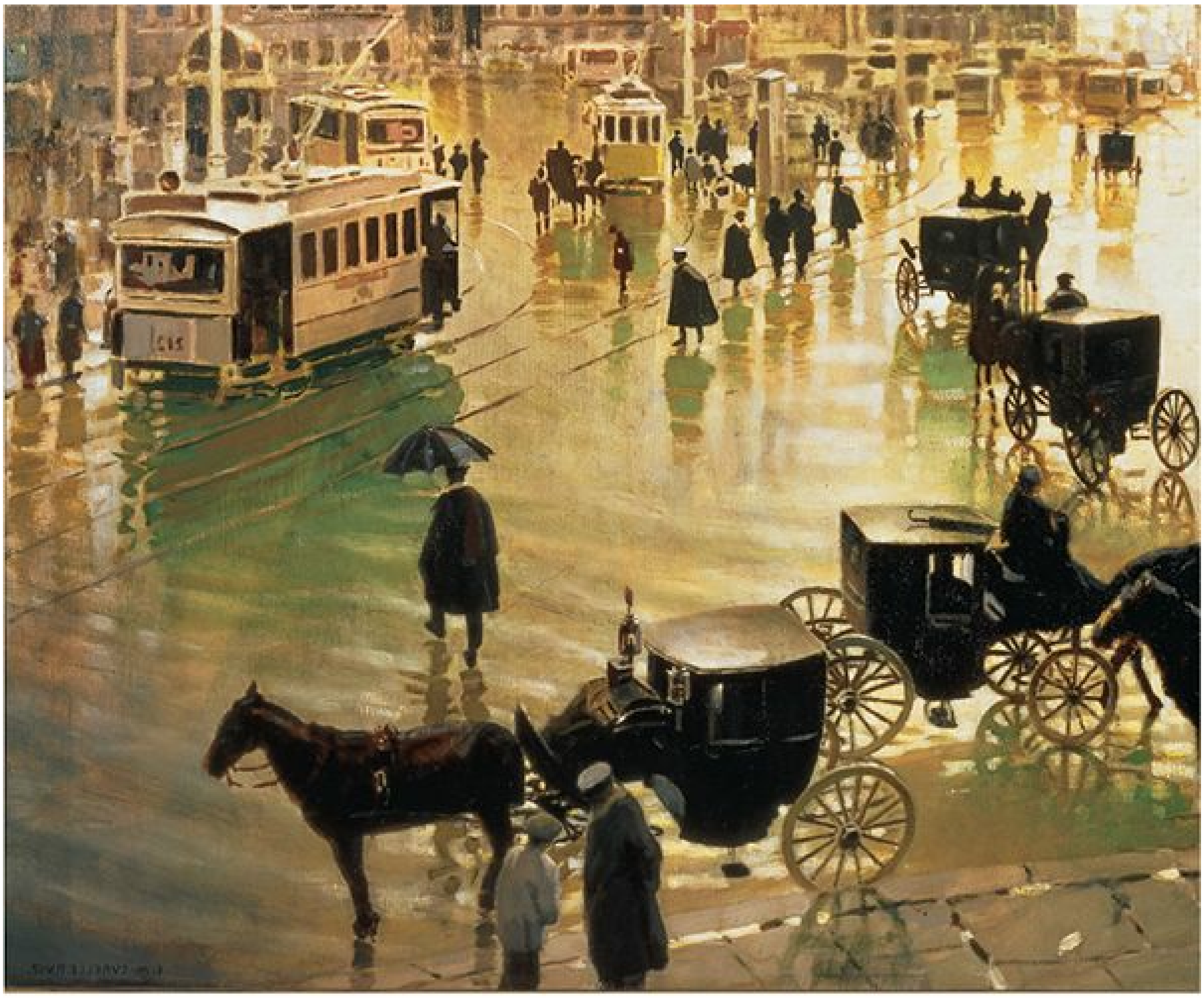
1. According to Zweig, how did the sex lives of young middle-class women and young middle-class men differ? What accounted for these differences?
2. What were the differences between the sex lives of the middle class and those of the so-called lower classes? What was Zweig’s opinion of these differences?
3. Zweig ends with a value judgment: “It was a bad time for youth.” Do you agree or disagree? Why?

Source: Excerpts from *World of Yesterday* by Stefan Zweig, translated by Helmut Ripperger and B. W. Huebsch, translation copyright 1943, renewed © 1971 by the Viking Press, Inc. Used by permission of Viking Books, an imprint of Penguin Publishing Group, a division of Penguin Random House LLC. All rights reserved. Any third party use of this material, outside of this publication, is prohibited. Interested parties must apply directly to Penguin Random House LLC for permission.

Science for the Masses

Breakthroughs in industrial technology stimulated basic scientific inquiry as researchers sought to explain how such things as steam engines and blast furnaces actually worked. The result from the 1830s onward was an explosive growth of fundamental scientific discoveries that were increasingly transformed into material improvements for the general population.

A perfect example of the translation of better scientific knowledge into practical human benefits was the development of the branch of physics known as thermodynamics, the study of the relationship between heat and mechanical energy. By midcentury physicists had formulated the fundamental laws of thermodynamics, which were then applied to mechanical engineering, chemical processes, and many other fields. Electricity was transformed from a curiosity in 1800 to a commercial form of energy. (See “Thinking Like a Historian: The Promise of Electricity,” page 716.) By 1890 the internal combustion engine fueled by petroleum was an emerging competitor to steam and electricity.



Museo Municipal, Madrid, Spain/Bridgeman Images

Madrid in 1900 This wistful painting of a Spanish square on a rainy day, by Enrique Martínez Cubells y Ruiz (1874–1917), includes a revealing commentary on how scientific discoveries transformed urban life. Coachmen wait atop their expensive hackney cabs for a wealthy clientele, while modern electric streetcars that carry the masses converge on the square from all directions. In this way the development of electricity brought improved urban transportation and enabled the city to expand to the suburbs.

Everyday experience and innumerable articles in newspapers and magazines impressed the importance of science on the popular mind. The methods of science acquired unrivaled prestige after 1850. Many educated people came to believe that the union of careful experiment and abstract theory was the only reliable route to truth and objective reality. The Enlightenment idea that natural processes were determined by rigid laws, leaving little room for either divine intervention or human will, won broad acceptance.

Living in an era of rapid change, nineteenth-century thinkers in Europe were fascinated with the idea of evolution and dynamic development. The most influential of all nineteenth-century evolutionary thinkers was Charles Darwin (1809–1882). Darwin believed that all life had gradually evolved from a common ancestral origin in an unending “struggle for survival.” Darwin’s theory of **evolution** is summarized in the title of his work *On the Origin of Species by the Means of Natural Selection* (1859). He argued that small variations within individuals in one species enabled them to acquire more food and better living conditions and made them more successful in reproducing, thus allowing them to pass their genetic material to the next generation. When a number of individuals within a species became distinct enough that they could no longer interbreed successfully with others, they became a new species.

evolution The idea, developed by Charles Darwin, that all life had gradually evolved from a common origin through a process of natural selection.

Darwin’s theory of natural selection provoked resistance, particularly because he extended the theory to humans. His findings reinforced the teachings of secularists such as Marx, who scornfully dismissed religious belief in favor of agnostic or atheistic materialism. Many writers also applied the theory of biological evolution to human affairs. Herbert Spencer (1820–1903), an English philosopher, saw the human race as driven forward to ever-greater specialization and progress by a brutal economic struggle that determines the “survival of the fittest.” The idea that human society also evolves, and that the stronger will become powerful and prosperous while the weaker will be conquered or remain poor, became known as **Social Darwinism**. Powerful nations used this ideology to justify nationalism and expansion, and colonizers to justify imperialism.

Social Darwinism The application of the theory of biological evolution to human affairs, it sees the human race as driven to ever-greater specialization and progress by an unending economic struggle that determines the survival of the fittest.

Not only did science shape society, but society also shaped science. As nations asserted their differences from one another, they sought “scientific” proof for those differences, which generally meant proof of their own superiority. European and American scientists, anthropologists, and physicians sought to prove that Europeans and those of European descent were more intelligent than other races, and that northern

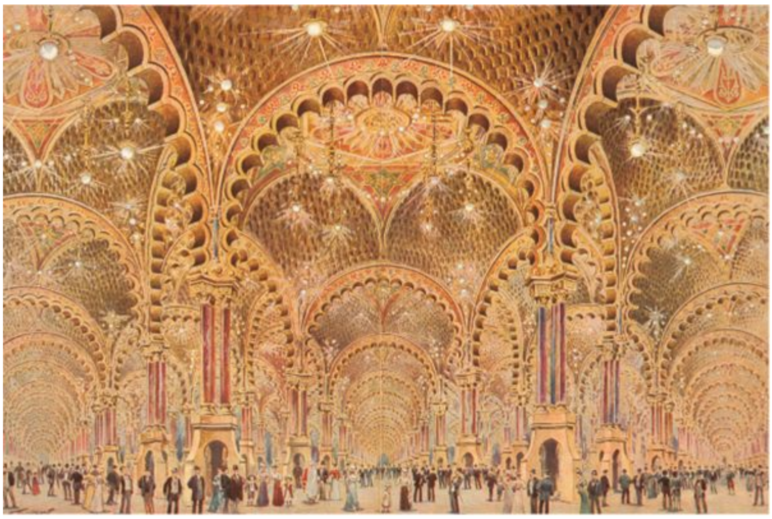
Europeans were more advanced than southern Europeans. Africans were described and depicted as “missing links” between chimpanzees and Europeans. This scientific racism extended to Jews, who were increasingly described as a separate and inferior race, not a religious group.

THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN

The Promise of Electricity

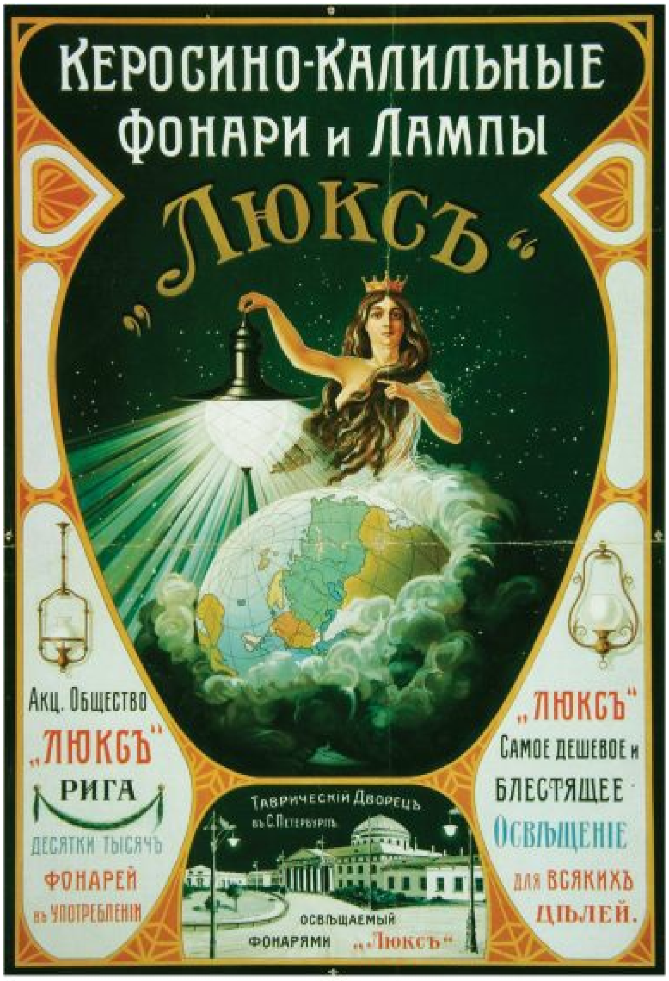
The commercialization and widespread use of electricity around 1900 made possible a broad spectrum of new technologies in the late nineteenth century, including telephones and telegraphs; radio; electric lights in public and private space; electric railroads, trams, and subways; electrochemistry and electrometallurgy; power plants, generators, and batteries; and electric motors and machines. How did the arrival of electricity change people's lives?

1 **The Palace of Electricity, 1900 Universal Exhibition, Paris.** The ever-popular world fairs and expositions organized around the turn of the century typically included a pavilion dedicated to the wonders of electricity, with spectacular electric light displays, sponsored by local electric power companies. This engraving shows spectators in the magnificent "Palace of Electricity" at the 1900 Universal Exhibition in Paris.



akg-images

2 **"Luks' — The Least Expensive and Brightest Lighting for All Occasions," ca. 1900.** This Russian poster advertising lighting systems from the Luks' (Deluxe) lighting company in Riga portrays a princess of light, with flowing locks and diaphanous gown, holding an electric bulb that illuminates first the Russian Empire and then the rest of the globe. The small scene at the bottom shows the historic Tauride Palace in St. Petersburg — "illuminated by Luks' lights" — and suggests the revolutionary effect of electric light on public spaces.


КЕРОСИНО-КАЛИЛЬНЫЕ
ФОНАРИ и ЛАМПЫ
„ЛЮКСЪ"
Акц. Общество
„ЛЮКСЪ"
РИГА
ДЕСЯТКИ ТЫСЯЧЪ
ФОНАРЕЙ
въ УПОТРЕБЛЕНІИ
Таврическій Дворецъ
въ С.Петербургѣ
ОСВѢЩАЕМЫЙ
ФОНАРЯМИ „Люксъ"
„ЛЮКСЪ"
САМОЕ ДЕШЕВОЕ и
БЛЕСТЯЩЕЕ
ОСВѢЩЕНІЕ
для ВСЯКИХЪ
ЦѢЛЕЙ.

Russian Master State History Museum, Moscow, Russia/Fine Art Images/Getty Images

3 **“Electrical Progress in Great Britain During 1909.”** An American journal for electricians offered glowing approval of the electrification of Great Britain. Along with the United States, Britain was a world leader in electrification around 1900; other European nations were not far behind.

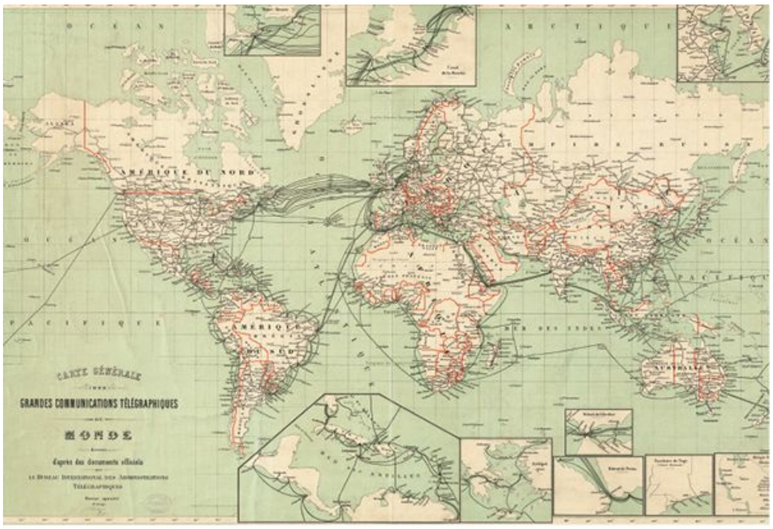
■ The most noticeable and at the same time the most hopeful, feature of the year 1909 in the United Kingdom, has been the great progress made in bringing electricity within the compass of the “small man.” This movement, which means so much for the future of all electrical industry, has occupied the close attention of a large proportion of the electricity works managers and engineers and of most manufacturing and importing businesses. . . .

[T]he forward movement [of the filament lamp] is now in full swing. The wire lamp is everywhere working wonders in reducing the cost of electric lighting on existing installations and that fact together with the very strong support that is being given by other influences, is making it easier to get electrical applications adopted in many places where it seemed impossible before. . . .

[The London power companies] are now jointly using the daily press in an advertising campaign so conducted as to command the attention of all who read, educating them as to the rightful claims of electricity. One of the companies has opened a model "Electric Home" in its area, fitted throughout with electric lighting, heating, and small power. The house is occupied by a tenant who is under special arrangement to admit the public between certain hours every day, to demonstrate to them the manifold domestic applications of electricity and their convenience and cleanliness. Neither coal nor gas is used for any purpose whatsoever in the house. . . . This popularizing work is still very necessary indeed, for really the public does not know yet much that it ought to know. . . .

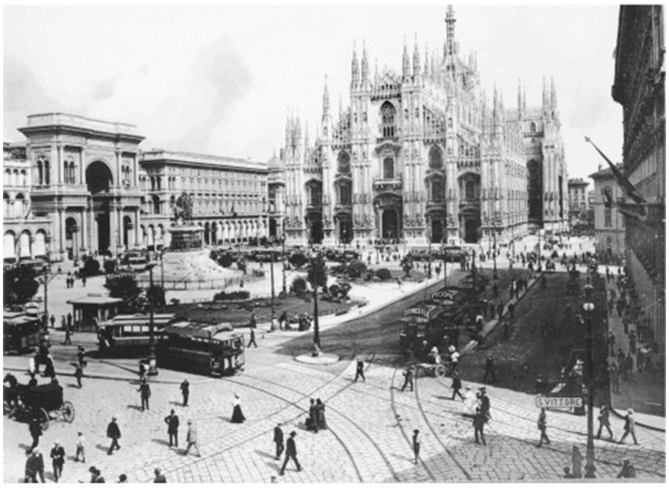
[The report then describes a number of technological advances, including newly built electric-generating plants, electric-powered steel mills, and the use of electric motors in a variety of industrial applications.]

4 **"General Map of Large-Scale World Telegraph Communications, 1901/03."** After some equipment failures, British and U.S. engineers successfully completed the first transatlantic telegraph cable, fired by electric current, in 1858. By 1900 telegraph cables circled the globe. (Boston Public Library/Bridgeman Images)



Boston Public Library/Bridgeman Images

5 **Electric trams and lines in Piazza del Duomo, Milan, Italy, ca. 1900.** Electric streetcar and subway systems made quick travel through urban spaces accessible and inexpensive. In Milan, the tracks and streetcars, and the installation of electric streetlights, strike a modern contrast to the Gothic cathedral and Neoclassical triumphal arch that frame the central square.



DEA Picture Library/Getty Images

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. What aspects of electrification do the images in Sources 1 and 2 portray to viewers? How would you compare the visual evocation of electricity in those images with the textual description of the benefits of "electrical progress" in Source 3?
2. How did the adoption of electricity for transportation and communication (Sources 4 and 5) change the way time and space were experienced both in cities and across the globe?
3. Why do you think Source 2 uses a female figure to personify electricity? Consider also Sources 1, 4, and 5. Do the benefits of electricity seem different for members of each sex? Or for people of different social classes?
4. Do the sources suggest any negative consequences related to electrification? Are there elements of these sources that might have been disturbing to contemporary observers?

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

Using the sources above, along with what you have learned in class and in Chapters 23 and 24, write a short essay that describes the effects of electrification on European society. Was electricity a fundamental driving force in the history of Western society?

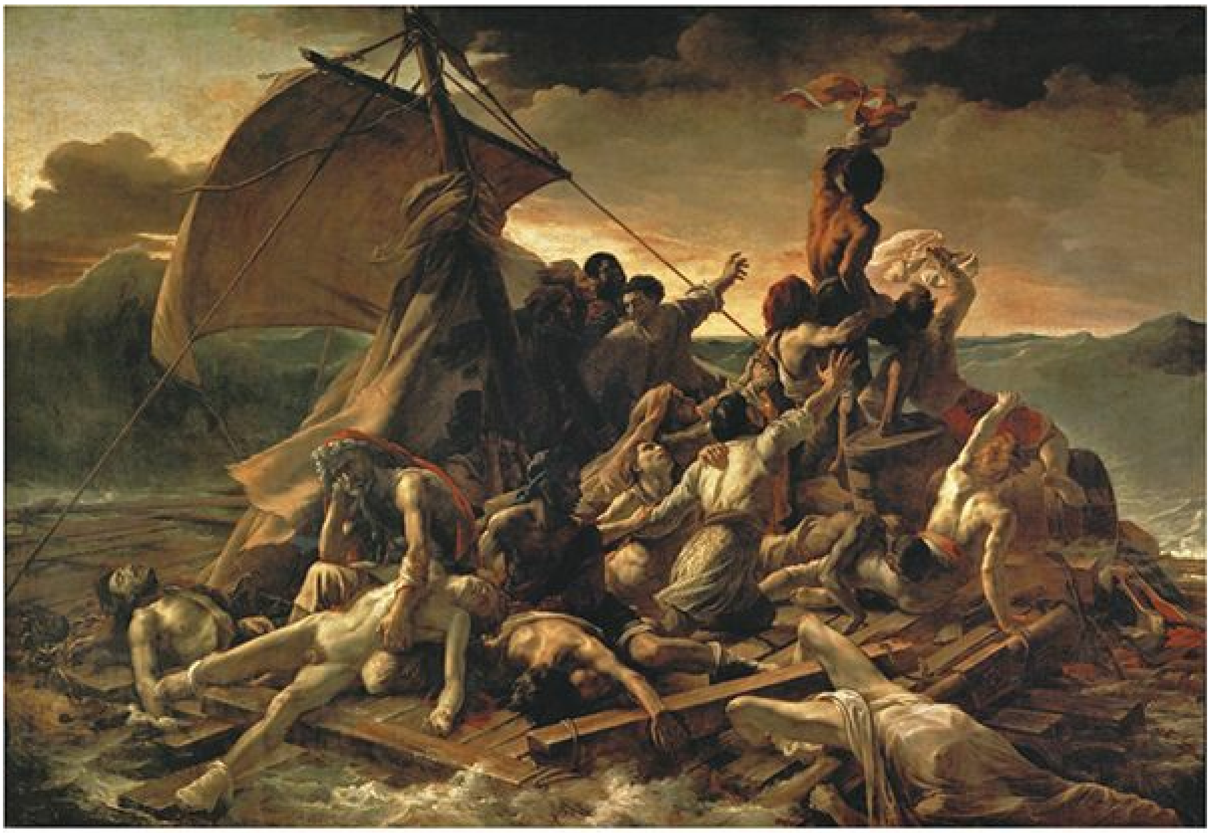
Source: (3) Albert H. Bridge, "Electrical Progress in Great Britain in 1909," *Electrical Review and Western Electrician*, January 1, 1910, 17–19.

Cultural Shifts

The French Revolution kindled the belief that radical reconstructions of politics and society were also possible in cultural and artistic life. The most significant expression of this belief in the early nineteenth century was the Romantic movement. In part a revolt against what was perceived as the cold rationality of the Enlightenment, **Romanticism** was characterized by a belief in emotional exuberance, unrestrained imagination, and spontaneity in both art and personal life. Preoccupied with emotional excess, Romantic works explored the awesome power of love and desire and of hatred, guilt, and despair. Where Enlightenment thinkers embraced secularization and civic life, Romantics delved into religious ecstasy and the hidden recesses of the self. The Romantics were passionately moved by nature and decried the growth of modern industry and industrial cities.

Romanticism A movement in art, literature, and music characterized by a belief in emotional exuberance, unrestrained imagination, and spontaneity in both art and personal life.

The French Romantic painter Eugène Delacroix (oo-ZHEHN deh-luh-KWAH) (1798–1863) depicted dramatic, colorful scenes that stirred the emotions. He frequently painted non-European places and people, whether lion hunts in Morocco or women in a sultan’s harem. Like other Romantic works, Delacroix’s art reveals the undercurrents of desire and fascination within Europe’s imperial ambitions in “exotic” and “savage” places in the nineteenth century.



Louvre, Paris, France/Bridgeman Images

Théodore Géricault, *The Raft of the Medusa*, 1819 In 1816 the *Medusa*, a French navy frigate on a colonizing expedition to Senegal, ran aground on a sandbank. This painting, by the Romantic master Théodore Géricault, evokes the horror and despair of sailors stranded on a makeshift raft who vainly hail a passing ship. Only 10 of the 150 men who took refuge on the raft ultimately survived. (Louvre, Paris, France/Bridgeman Images)

It was in music that Romanticism realized most fully and permanently its goals of free expression and emotional intensity. Abandoning well-defined structures, the great Romantic composers used a wide range of forms to create musical landscapes and evoke powerful emotion. The first great Romantic composer is among the most revered today, Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1827).

Romanticism also found a distinctive voice in poetry. In 1798 William Wordsworth (1770–1850) and his fellow Romantic poet Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772–1834) published their *Lyrical Ballads*, which abandoned flowery classical conventions for the language of ordinary speech. Wordsworth described his conception of poetry as the “spontaneous overflow of powerful feeling recollected in tranquility.”

Victor Hugo’s (1802–1885) powerful novels exemplified the Romantic fascination with fantastic characters, strange settings, and human emotions. The hero of Hugo’s famous *Hunchback of Notre Dame* (1831) is the great cathedral’s deformed bell-ringer, a “human gargoyle” overlooking the teeming life of fifteenth-century Paris.

The study of history became a Romantic passion. History was the key to a universe that was now perceived to be organic and dynamic, not mechanical and static as the Enlightenment thinkers had believed. Historical studies supported the development of national aspirations and encouraged entire peoples to seek in the past their special destinies.

In central and eastern Europe, in particular, literary Romanticism and early nationalism reinforced each other. Romantics turned their attention to peasant life and transcribed the folk songs, tales, and proverbs that the cosmopolitan Enlightenment had disdained. The brothers Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm were particularly successful at rescuing German fairy tales from oblivion. In the Slavic lands Romantics played a decisive role in converting spoken peasant languages into modern written languages.

Beginning in the 1840s Romanticism gave way to a new artistic genre, Realism. Influenced by the growing prestige of science in this period, Realist writers believed that literature should depict life exactly as it is. Forsaking poetry for prose and replacing the personal, emotional viewpoint of the Romantics with strict scientific objectivity, the Realists simply observed and recorded.

Realist writers focused on creating fiction based on contemporary everyday life. Beginning with a dissection of the middle classes, from which most of them sprang, many Realists eventually focused on the working classes, especially the urban working classes, which had been neglected in literature before this time. The Realists put a microscope to unexplored and taboo topics — sex, strikes, violence, alcoholism — shocking middle-class critics.

The Realists’ claims of objectivity did not prevent the elaboration of a definite worldview. Realists such as the famous French novelist Émile Zola (1840–1902) and English novelist Thomas Hardy (1840–1928) were determinists. They believed that human beings, like atoms, are components of the physical world and that all human actions are caused by unalterable natural laws: heredity and environment determine human behavior; good and evil are merely social conventions. They were also critical of the failures of industrial society; by depicting the plight of poor workers, they hoped to bring about positive social change.

Nationalism and Socialism, 1871–1914

How did nationalism and socialism shape European politics in the decades before the Great War?

After 1871 Europe's heartland was organized into strong national states. Only on Europe's borders — in Ireland and Russia, in Austria-Hungary and the Balkans — did people still strive for national unity and independence. Nationalism served, for better or worse, as a new unifying political principle. At the same time, socialist parties grew rapidly. Governing elites manipulated national feeling to create a sense of unity to divert attention from underlying class conflicts, and increasingly channeled national sentiment in an antiliberal and militaristic direction, tolerating anti-Semitism and waging wars in non-Western lands. This policy helped manage domestic conflicts, but only at the expense of increasing the international tensions that erupted in World War I.

Trends in Suffrage

There were good reasons why ordinary people felt increasing loyalty to their governments in central and western Europe by the turn of the twentieth century. Ordinary men felt they were becoming "part of the system," quite simply, because more of them could vote. By 1914 universal male suffrage had become the rule rather than the exception.

Women also began to demand the right to vote. The first important successes occurred in Scandinavia and Australia. In Sweden taxpaying single women and widows could vote in municipal elections after 1862. Australia and Finland gave women the right to vote in national elections and stand for parliament in 1902 and 1906, respectively (although restrictions on Aboriginal women's voting rights in Australia continued until the 1960s). In the western United States, women could vote in twelve states by 1913. One example among the thousands of courageous "suffragettes" was French socialist Hubertine Auclert (ew-ber-TEEN o-CLAIR), who in 1880–1881 led demonstrations, organized women in a property-tax boycott, and created the first suffragist newspaper in France.[2] Auclert and her counterparts elsewhere in Europe had little success before 1914, but they prepared the way for the female vote in many countries immediately after World War I.

As the right to vote spread, politicians and parties in national parliaments usually represented the people more responsively. The multiparty system prevailing in most countries meant that parliamentary majorities were built on shifting coalitions, which gave political parties leverage to obtain benefits for their supporters. Governments also passed laws to alleviate general problems, thereby acquiring greater legitimacy and appearing more worthy of support.

The German Empire

The new German Empire was a federal union of Prussia and twenty-four smaller states. The separate states conducted much of the everyday business of government. Unifying the whole was a strong national government with a chancellor — Bismarck until 1890 — and a popularly elected parliament called the Reichstag (RIGHKS-tahg). Although Bismarck repeatedly ignored the wishes of the parliamentary majority, he nonetheless preferred to win the support of the Reichstag to lend legitimacy to his policy goals.

Bismarck was a fierce opponent of socialism. In 1878 he pushed through a law outlawing the German Social Democratic Party, but he was unable to force socialism out of existence. Bismarck then urged the Reichstag to enact new social welfare measures to gain the allegiance of the working classes. In 1883 the Reichstag created national health insurance, followed in 1884 by accident insurance and in 1889 by old-age pensions and retirement benefits. Together, these laws created a national social security system that was the first of its kind anywhere, funded by contributions from wage earners, employers, and the state.

Under Kaiser Wilhelm I (r. 1861–1888), Bismarck had managed the domestic and foreign policies of the state. In 1890 the new emperor, Wilhelm II (r. 1888–1918), eager to rule in his own right and to earn the workers' support, forced Bismarck to resign. Following Bismarck's departure, the Reichstag passed new laws to aid workers and to legalize socialist political activity.

Although Wilhelm II was no more successful than Bismarck in getting workers to renounce socialism, in the years before World War I the Social Democratic Party broadened its base and adopted a more patriotic tone. German socialists identified increasingly with the German state and concentrated on gradual social and political reform.

Republican France

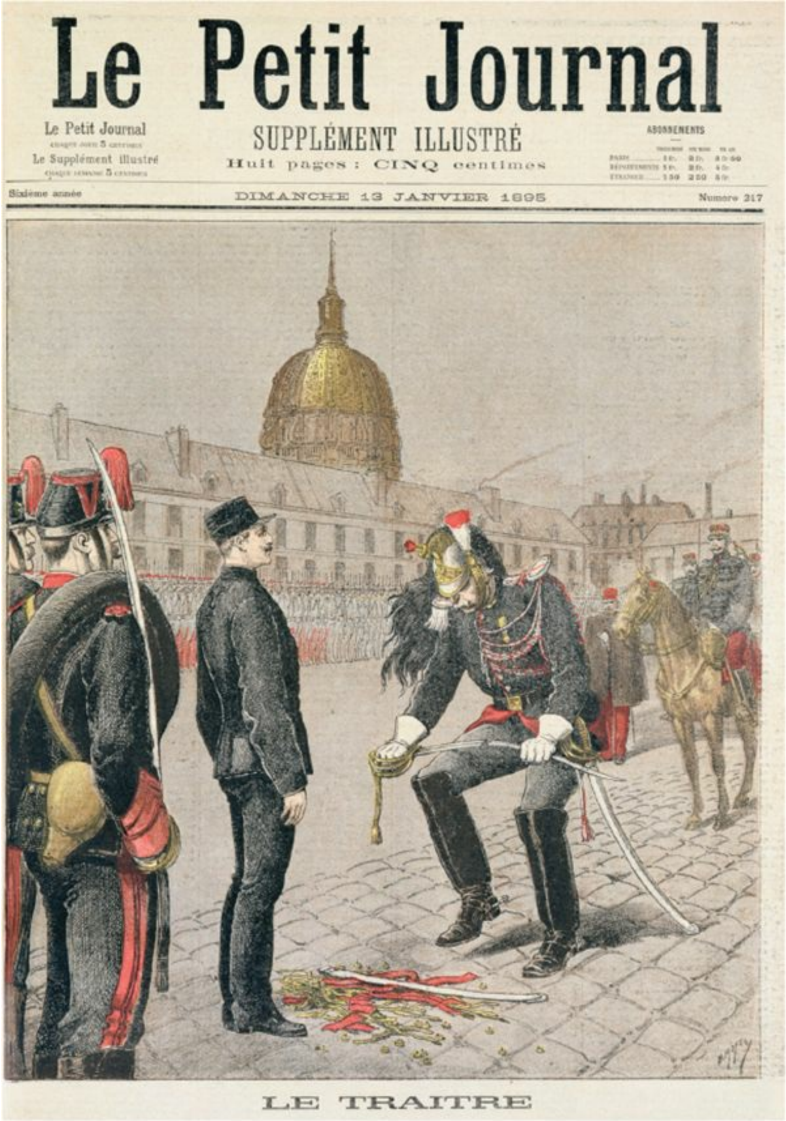
Although Napoleon III's reign made some progress in reducing antagonisms between classes, the Franco-Prussian War undid these efforts, and in 1871 France seemed hopelessly divided once again. The republicans who proclaimed the Third Republic in Paris refused to admit defeat by the Germans. They defended Paris with great heroism for weeks, until they were starved into submission by German armies in January 1871. When national elections then sent a large majority of conservatives and monarchists to the National Assembly, France's leaders decided they had no choice but to achieve peace by surrendering Alsace and Lorraine to Germany. Parisians exploded in patriotic frustration and proclaimed the Paris Commune in March 1871.

Commune leaders wanted to govern Paris without interference from the conservative French countryside. The National Assembly, led by conservative politician Adolphe Thiers, ordered the French army into Paris and brutally crushed the Commune. Twenty thousand people died in the fighting. As in June 1848, it was Paris against the provinces, French against French. Out of this tragedy France slowly formed a new national unity, achieving considerable stability before 1914.

The moderate republicans who governed France sought to preserve their creation by winning the loyalty of the next generation. Trade unions were fully legalized, and France acquired a colonial empire (see "The Scramble for Africa" in Chapter 25 and "Mainland Southeast Asia" in Chapter 26). A series of laws between 1879 and 1886 established free compulsory elementary education for both girls and boys, thereby greatly reducing the role of parochial Catholic schools, which had long been hostile to republicanism. In France and throughout the world, the general expansion of public education served as a critical nation- and nationalism-building tool in the late nineteenth century.

Although the educational reforms of the 1880s disturbed French Catholics, many of them rallied to the republic in the 1890s, and tensions between church and state eased. Unfortunately, the **Dreyfus affair** changed all that. In 1894 Alfred Dreyfus (DRY-fuss), a Jewish captain in the French army, was falsely accused and convicted of treason. In 1898 and 1899 the case split France apart. On one side was the army, which had manufactured evidence against Dreyfus, joined by anti-Semites and most of the Catholic establishment. On the other side stood the civil libertarians and most of the more radical republicans.

Dreyfus affair A divisive case in which Alfred Dreyfus, a Jewish captain in the French army, was falsely accused and convicted of treason. The Catholic Church sided with the anti-Semites against Dreyfus; after Dreyfus was declared innocent, the French government severed all ties between the state and the church.


Le Petit Journal
Le Petit Journal
Le Supplément illustré
SUPPLÉMENT ILLUSTRÉ
Huit pages : CINQ centimes
ABONNEMENTS
Sixième année
DIMANCHE 13 JANVIER 1895
Numéro 217
LE TRAITRE

Private Collection/Bridgeman Images

The Traitor: Degradation of Alfred Dreyfus After being arrested and convicted in a secret court martial for treason, Captain Dreyfus bravely stood at attention during a public degradation ceremony. While the officer on duty tore off his stripes, ripped off his honors, and broke his sword in two, Dreyfus shouted out, “You are degrading an innocent man! Long live France! Long live the army!”

This battle, which eventually led to Dreyfus’s being declared innocent, revived militant republican feeling against the church. Between 1901 and 1905 the government severed all ties between the state and the Catholic Church after centuries of close relations.

Great Britain and the Austro-Hungarian Empire

The development of Great Britain and Austria-Hungary, two leading but quite different powers, throws a powerful light on the dynamics of nationalism in Europe before 1914. At home Britain made more of its citizens feel a part of the nation by passing consecutive voting rights bills that culminated with the establishment of universal male suffrage in 1884. Moreover, overdue social welfare measures were passed in a spectacular rush between 1906 and 1914. The ruling Liberal Party substantially raised taxes on the rich to pay for national health insurance, unemployment benefits, old-age pensions, and a host of other social measures. The state was integrating the urban masses socially as well as politically.

On the eve of World War I, however, the unanswered question of Ireland brought Great Britain to the brink of civil war. The terrible Irish famine of the 1840s and early 1850s had fueled an Irish revolutionary movement. The English slowly granted concessions, and in 1913 the British Parliament passed a bill granting Ireland self-government, or home rule.

The Irish Catholic majority in the southern counties ardently desired home rule. Irish Protestants in the northern counties of Ulster, however, vowed to resist home rule, fearing they would fall under the control of the majority Catholics. Unable to resolve the conflict as World War I started in August 1914, the British government postponed indefinitely the whole question of Irish home rule.

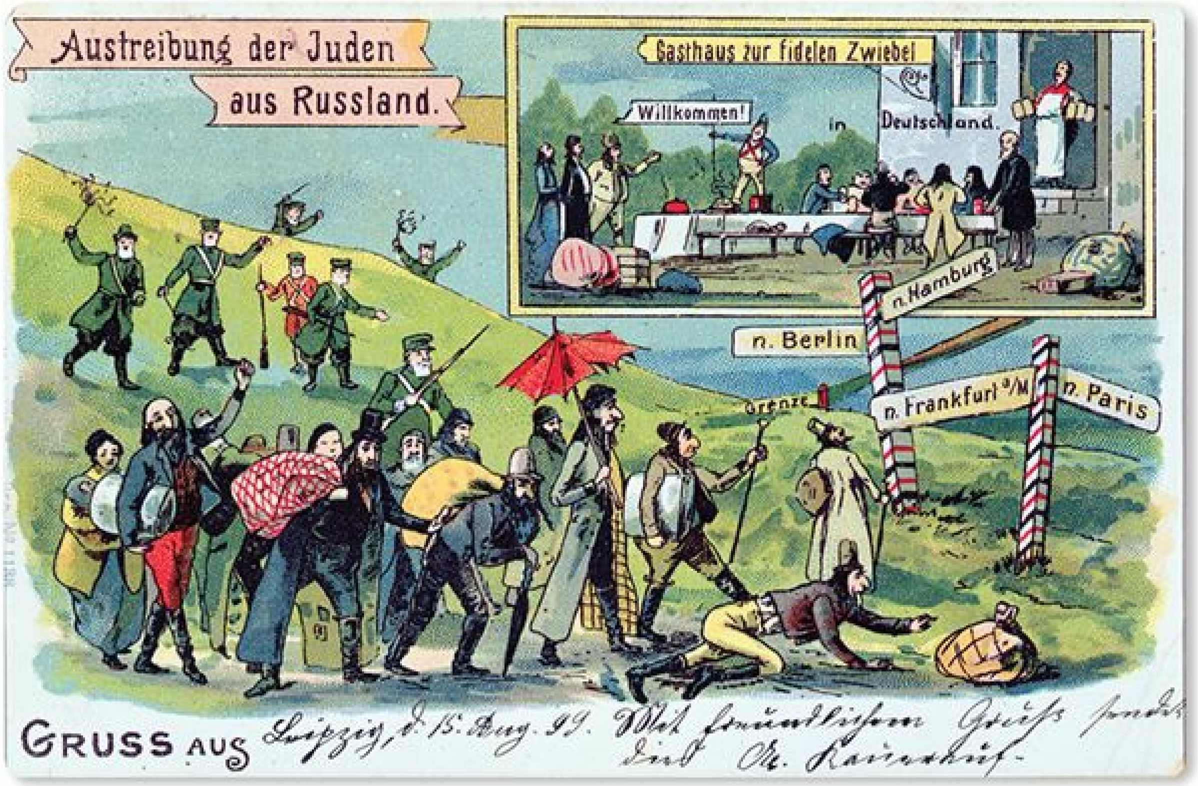
The Irish dilemma helps one appreciate how desperate the situation in the Austro-Hungarian Empire had become by the early twentieth century. Reacting to the upheaval of 1848, Austrian emperor Franz Joseph (r. 1848–1916) and his bureaucracy ruled Hungary as a conquered territory. This was part of broader efforts to centralize Austria and Germanize the language and culture of the different nationalities.

After its defeat by Prussia in 1866, however, a weakened Austria was forced to establish the so-called dual monarchy. The empire was divided in two, and the nationalistic Magyars gained virtual independence for Hungary. The two states were joined only by a shared monarch and common ministries for finance, defense, and foreign affairs. Still, the disintegrating force of competing nationalisms continued unabated, and the Austro-Hungarian Empire was progressively weakened and eventually destroyed by the conflicting national aspirations of its different ethnic groups. It was these ethnic conflicts in the Balkans that touched off the Great War in 1914 (see “The Outbreak of War” in Chapter 28).

Jewish Emancipation and Modern Anti-Semitism

Revolutionary changes in political principles and the triumph of the nation-state brought equally revolutionary changes in Jewish life in western and central Europe. Beginning in France in 1791, Jews gradually gained civil rights. In the 1850s and 1860s liberals in Austria, Italy, and Prussia pressed successfully for legal equality for all regardless of religion. In 1871 the constitution of the new German Empire abolished restrictions on Jewish marriage, choice of occupation, place of residence, and property ownership.

By 1871 a majority of Jews in western and central Europe had improved their economic situations and entered the middle classes. Most Jews identified strongly with their respective nation-states and considered themselves patriotic citizens. Exclusion from government employment and discrimination in social relations continued, however, in central Europe.


Austreibung der Juden
aus Russland.
Gasthaus zur fidelen Zwiebel
Willkommen!
in
Deutschland.
n. Hamburg
n. Berlin
Grenze
n. Frankfurt a/M
n. Paris
GRUSS AUS
Leipzig, d. 15. Aug. 99. Mit freundlichem Gruß sendet
Dir M.

Alliance Israélite Universelle, Paris, France/Archives Charmet/Bridgeman Images

"The Expulsion of the Jews from Russia" So reads this postcard, correctly suggesting that Russian government officials often encouraged popular anti-Semitism and helped drive many Jews out of Russia in the late nineteenth century. The road signs indicate that these poor Jews are crossing into Germany, where they will find a grudging welcome and a meager meal at the Jolly Onion Inn. Other Jews from eastern Europe settled in France and Britain, thereby creating small but significant Jewish populations in both countries for the first time since they had expelled most of their Jews in the Middle Ages.

Vicious anti-Semitism reappeared after the stock market crash of 1873, beginning in central Europe. Drawing on long traditions of religious intolerance, this hostility also drew on modern, supposedly scientific ideas about Jews as a separate race (see "Science for the Masses" in Chapter 24).

Anti-Semitic beliefs were particularly popular among conservatives, extremist nationalists, and people who felt threatened by Jewish competition.

Anti-Semites also created modern political parties. In Austrian Vienna in the early 1890s, Karl Lueger (LOO-guhr), the popular mayor of Vienna from 1897 to 1910, combined fierce anti-Semitic rhetoric with his support of municipal ownership of basic services. In response to spreading anti-Semitism, a Jewish journalist named Theodor Herzl (1860–1904) turned from German nationalism to advocate Jewish political nationalism, or **Zionism**, and the creation of a Jewish state.

Zionism The movement toward Jewish political nationhood started by Theodor Herzl.

Before 1914 anti-Semitism was most oppressive in eastern Europe, where Jews also suffered from terrible poverty. In the Russian Empire, where there was no Jewish emancipation and 4 million of Europe’s 7 million Jewish people lived in 1880, officials used anti-Semitism to channel popular discontent away from the government. In 1881–1882 a wave of violent pogroms commenced in southern Russia. The police and the army stood aside for days while peasants assaulted Jews and looted and destroyed their property. Official harassment continued in the following decades, and many Russian Jews emigrated to western Europe and the United States.

The Socialist Movement

Socialism appealed to large numbers of working men and women in the late nineteenth century, and the growth of socialist parties after 1871 was phenomenal. By 1912 the German Social Democratic Party, which espoused Marxist principles, had millions of followers and was the Reichstag’s largest party. Socialist parties also grew in other countries, and Marxist socialist parties were linked together in an international organization.

As socialist parties grew and attracted large numbers of members, they looked more and more toward gradual change and steady improvement for the working class and less and less toward revolution. Workers themselves were progressively less inclined to follow radical programs for several reasons. As workers gained the right to vote and won real benefits, their attention focused more on elections than on revolutions. Workers were also not immune to nationalistic patriotism. Nor were workers a unified social group. Perhaps most important of all, workers' standard of living rose steadily after 1850, and the quality of life improved substantially in urban areas.

The growth of labor unions reinforced this trend toward moderation. In Great Britain new unions that formed for skilled workers after 1850 avoided radical politics and concentrated on winning better wages and hours for their members through collective bargaining and compromise. After 1890 unions for unskilled workers developed in Britain.

German unions were not granted important rights until 1869, and until the Anti-Socialist Laws were repealed in 1890 the government frequently harassed them as socialist fronts. But after most legal harassment was eliminated, union membership skyrocketed.

The German trade unions and their leaders were thoroughgoing revisionists. **Revisionism** was an effort by various socialists to update Marxist doctrines to reflect the realities of the time. The socialist Eduard Bernstein (1850–1932) argued in his *Evolutionary Socialism* in 1899 that Marx's predictions of ever-greater poverty for workers had been proved false. Therefore, Bernstein suggested, socialists should reform their doctrines and win gradual evolutionary gains for workers through legislation, unions, and further economic development.

revisionism An effort by various socialists to update Marxist doctrines to reflect the realities of the time.

Socialist parties in other countries had clear-cut national characteristics. Russians and socialists in the Austro-Hungarian Empire tended to be the most radical. In Great Britain the socialist but non-Marxist Labour Party formally committed to gradual reform. In Spain and Italy anarchism, seeking to smash the state rather than the bourgeoisie, dominated radical thought and action.

In short, socialist policies and doctrines varied from country to country. Socialism itself was to a large extent "nationalized." This helps explain why almost all socialist leaders supported their governments when war came in 1914.

Chapter Summary

In 1814 the victorious allied powers sought to restore peace and stability in Europe. The conservative powers used intervention and repression as they sought to prevent the spread of subversive ideas and radical changes in politics. After 1815 ideologies of liberalism, nationalism, and socialism all developed to challenge the new order. The growth of these forces culminated in the liberal and nationalistic revolutions of 1848, revolutions that were crushed by resurgent conservative forces. In the second half of the nineteenth century Italy and Germany became unified nation-states, while Russia undertook a modernization program and struggled with popular discontent.

Living conditions in rapidly growing industrial cities declined until the mid-nineteenth century, when governments undertook major urban development, including new systems of sewerage, water supply, and public transportation. Major changes in the class structure and family life occurred, as the separate spheres ideology strengthened, and the class structure became more complex and diversified. The prestige of science grew tremendously, and scientific discoveries, such as Darwin’s theory of natural selection, challenged the traditional religious understanding of the world. In the realm of literature and the arts, the Romantic movement reinforced the spirit of change. Romanticism gave way to Realism in the 1840s.

Western society became increasingly nationalistic as well as urban and industrial in the late nineteenth century. Nation-states became more responsive to the needs of their people, and they enlisted widespread support as political participation expanded, educational opportunities increased, and social security systems took shape. Even socialism became increasingly national in orientation, gathering strength as a champion of working-class interests in domestic politics. Yet even though nationalism served to unite peoples, it also drove them apart and contributed to the tragic conflicts of the twentieth century.

CONNECTIONS

Much of world history in the past two centuries can be seen as a struggle over the unfinished legacies of the late-eighteenth-century revolutions in politics and economics. Although defeated in 1848, the new political ideologies associated with the French Revolution re-emerged decisively after 1850. Nationalism, with its commitment to the nation-state, became the most dominant of the new ideologies. National movements brought about the creation of unified nation-states in two of the most fractured regions in Europe, Germany and Italy.

After 1870 nationalism and militarism, its frequent companion, touched off increased competition between the major European powers for raw materials and markets for manufactured goods. As discussed in the next two chapters, during the last decades of the nineteenth century Europe colonized nearly all of Africa and large areas in Asia. In Europe itself nationalism promoted bitter competition between states, threatening the very progress and unity it had helped to build. In 1914 the power of unified nation-states turned on itself, unleashing an unprecedented conflict among Europe's Great Powers. Chapter 28 tells the story of this First World War.

Nationalism also sparked worldwide challenges to European dominance by African and Asian leaders who fought to liberate themselves from colonialism, and it became a rallying cry in nominally independent countries like China and Japan, whose leaders sought freedom from European and American influence and a rightful place among the world's leading nations. Chapters 25, 26, and 33 explore these developments. Likewise, Chapter 33 discusses how the problems of rapid urbanization and the huge gaps between rich and poor caused by economic transformations in America and Europe in the nineteenth century are now the concern of policymakers in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

Another important ideology of change, socialism, remains popular in Europe, which has seen socialist parties democratically elected to office in many countries. Marxist revolutions that took absolute control of entire countries, as in Russia, China, and Cuba, occurred in the twentieth century.

CHAPTER 24 Review and Explore

Identify Key Terms

Identify and explain the significance of each item below.

Congress of Vienna (p. 692)
conservatism (p. 692)
liberalism (p. 693)
laissez faire (p. 694)
nationalism (p. 695)
socialism (p. 696)
bourgeoisie (p. 696)
proletariat (p. 696)
modernization (p. 701)
October Manifesto (p. 708)
germ theory (p. 708)
evolution (p. 714)
Social Darwinism (p. 715)
Romanticism (p. 718)
Dreyfus affair (p. 720)
Zionism (p. 723)
revisionism (p. 723)

Review the Main Ideas

Answer the focus questions from each section of the chapter.

1. How did the allies fashion a peace settlement in 1815, and what radical ideas emerged between 1815 and 1848? (p. 692)
2. Why did revolutions triumph briefly throughout most of Europe in 1848, and why did they fail? (p. 696)
3. How did strong leaders and nation building transform Italy, Germany, and Russia? (p. 701)
4. What was the impact of urban growth on cities, social classes, families, and ideas? (p. 708)
5. How did nationalism and socialism shape European politics in the decades before the Great War? (p. 719)

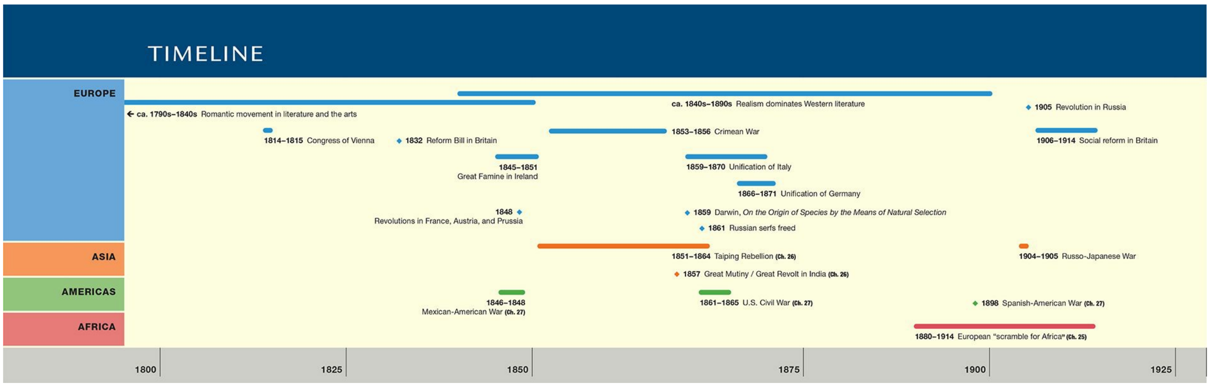
Make Comparisons and Connections

Analyze the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters.

1. How did the spread of radical ideas and the movements for reform and

revolution explored in this chapter draw on the “unfinished” political and industrial revolutions of the late eighteenth century (Chapters 22, 23)?

2. How and why did the relationship between the state and its citizens change in the last decades of the nineteenth century?
3. How did the emergence of a society divided into working and middle classes affect the workplace, homemaking, and family values and gender roles?



Suggested Resources

Books

Barnes, David S. *The Great Stink of Paris and the Nineteenth-Century Struggle Against Filth and Germs*. 2006. An outstanding introduction to sanitary developments and attitudes toward public health.

Baycroft, Timothy, and Mark Hewitson, eds. *What Is a Nation? Europe 1789–1914*. 2009. A sweeping study of nationalism in all its forms and all the processes that affected its evolution.

Berger, Stefan, ed. *A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Europe, 1789–1914*. 2006. A useful study with an up-to-date bibliography.

Coontz, Stephanie. *Marriage, A History: From Obedience to Intimacy, or How Love Conquered Marriage*. 2005. A lively inquiry into the historical background to current practice.

Fuchs, Rachel. *Gender and Poverty in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. 2005. A history of the transformation of poor women’s daily lives in the nineteenth century, dealing with sexuality, death, work, and family.

Gildea, Robert. *Barricades and Borders: Europe, 1800–1914*, 2d ed. 1996. A recommended general study.

Koven, Seth. *Slumming: Sexual and Social Politics in Victorian London*. 2006. A provocative, in-depth account of middle-class encounters with the London working class in the late nineteenth century.

Malia, Martin, and Terrence Emmons. *History’s Locomotives: Revolutions and the Making of the Modern World*. 2006. An ambitious comparative work of high quality.

Merriman, John. *Massacre: The Life and Death of the Paris Commune*. 2014. A gripping account of a revolutionary uprising in nineteenth-century Paris.

Otis, Laura. *Literature and Science in the Nineteenth Century: An Anthology*. 2009. A fascinating selection of writings from a time when humanities and science were not considered separate disciplines.

Sperber, Jonathan. *Karl Marx: A Nineteenth-Century Life*. 2013. An even-handed, cradle-to-grave biography of the famous revolutionary theorist.

Winks, Robin W., and Joan Neuberger. *Europe and the Making of Modernity: 1815–1914*. 2005. A grand narrative of the forces that shaped modern Europe from the Congress of Vienna to the Great War.

Documentaries

English Poetry Anthology: The Romantic Poets (Kultur Video, 2006). Documents the Romantic poetry movement in England, featuring Wordsworth, Byron, and Keats.

Landmarks of Western Art: Romanticism (Kultur Video, 2003). Documents the Romantic movement in painting, highlighting artists such as Turner, Constable, Goya, and Géricault.

The Rise, from *Heaven on Earth: The Rise and Fall of Socialism* (PBS, 2005). The first of a three-part series, this documentary follows the rise of the socialist movement.

Feature Films

Bright Star (Jane Campion, 2009). A drama about the British Romantic poet John Keats and his relationship with Fanny Brawne, which was cut short by Keats's early death.

Frankenstein (James Whale, 1931). Based on the classic Romantic novel by Mary Shelley, the film tells the story of an obsessed scientist who creates a living being in a bizarre science experiment.

Les Misérables (Tom Hooper, 2012). Adapted from Victor Hugo's epic novel, the film portrays ex-convict Jean Valjean's pursuit of redemption. The film is also a commentary on social unrest in early-nineteenth-century France and depicts the student uprising in Paris in 1832.

Websites

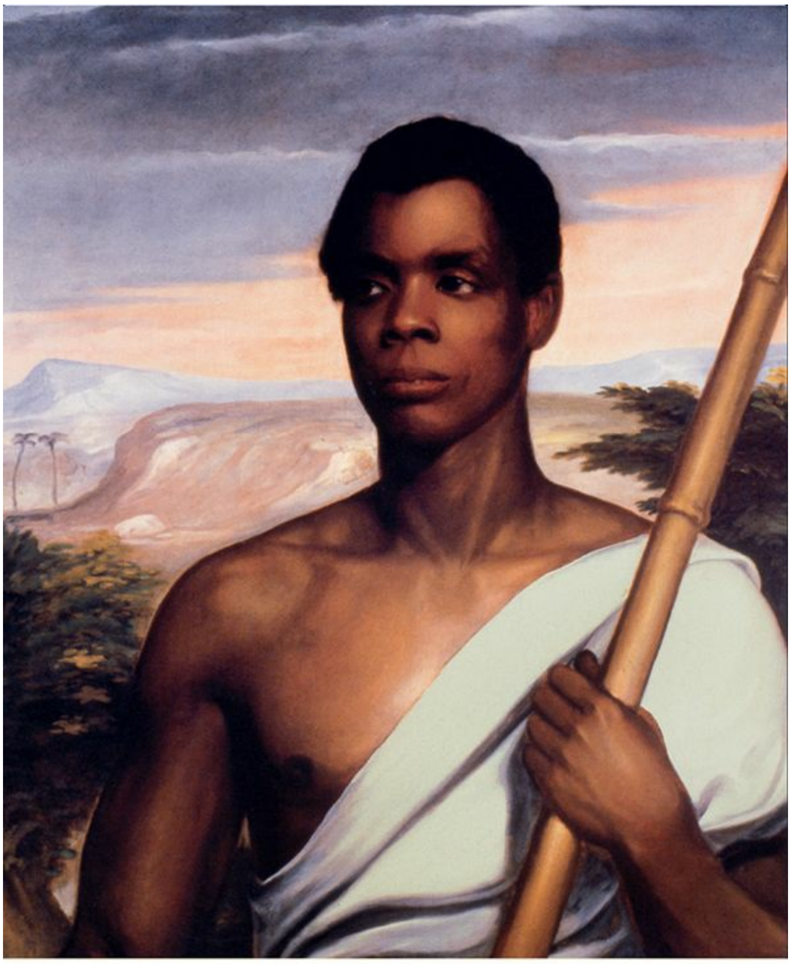
Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History: Romanticism. The Metropolitan Museum of Art's overview of the Romantic movement within art, along with a slide show of eighteen pieces of artwork from the period. **www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/roma/hd_roma.htm**

Marxists Internet Archive. This archive offers a vast amount of material and sources related to Karl Marx, communism, and Communist revolutions. **marxists.org/index.htm**

25

Africa, the Ottoman Empire, and the New Imperialism

1800–1914



Portrait, 1839, by Nathaniel Jocelyn (1796–1881) (oil on canvas)/Granger, NY — All rights reserved

Sengbe Pieh

Enslaved in 1839, Pieh (later known as Joseph Cinqué) led a famous revolt on the slave ship *Amistad*. He and his fellow slaves were charged with mutiny and murder, but in March 1840 the U.S. Supreme Court found them innocent because they had been illegally captured and sold. They returned to their native Sierra Leone as free men.

While industrialization and nationalism were transforming society in Europe and the neo-European countries (the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and, to an extent, South Africa), Western society itself was reshaping the world. European commercial interests went in search of new sources of raw materials and markets for their manufactured goods. At the same time, millions of Europeans and Asians emigrated abroad. What began as a relatively peaceful exchange of products with Africa and Asia in the early nineteenth century had transformed by century's end into a frenzy of imperialist occupation and domination that had a profound impact on both colonizer and colonized.

The political annexation of territory in the 1880s — the "New Imperialism," as it is often called by historians — was the capstone of Western society's underlying economic and technological transformation. More directly, Western imperialism rested on a formidable combination of superior military might and strong authoritarian rule, and it posed a brutal challenge to African and Asian peoples. Indigenous societies met this Western challenge in different ways and with changing tactics. By 1914 local elites in many lands were rallying their peoples and leading an anti-imperialist struggle for dignity and genuine independence that would triumph after 1945.

CHAPTER PREVIEW

AFRICA: FROM THE SLAVE TRADE TO EUROPEAN COLONIAL RULE

What were the most significant changes in Africa during the nineteenth century, and why did they occur?

THE NEW IMPERIALISM, 1880–1914

What were the causes and consequences of European empire building after 1880?

THE ISLAMIC HEARTLAND UNDER PRESSURE

How did the Ottoman Empire and Egypt try to modernize themselves, and what were the most important results?

THE EXPANDING WORLD ECONOMY

What were the global consequences of European industrialization between 1800 and 1914?

THE GREAT GLOBAL MIGRATION

What fueled migration, and what was the general pattern of this unprecedented movement of people?

Africa: From the Slave Trade to European Colonial Rule

What were the most significant changes in Africa during the nineteenth century, and why did they occur?

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the different regions of Africa experienced gradual but monumental change. The transatlantic slave trade declined and practically disappeared by the late 1860s. In the early nineteenth century Islam expanded its influence south of the Sahara Desert, and Africa still generally remained free of European political control. After about 1880 further Islamic expansion to the south stopped, but the pace of change accelerated as France and Britain led European nations in the "scramble for Africa," dividing and largely conquering the continent. By 1900 the foreigners were consolidating their authoritarian empires.

Trade and Social Change

The most important development in West Africa before the European conquest was the decline of the Atlantic slave trade and the simultaneous rise in exports of **palm oil** and other commodities. This shift in African foreign trade marked the beginning of modern economic development in sub-Saharan Africa.

palm oil A West African tropical product often used to make soap; the British encouraged its cultivation as an alternative to the slave trade.

Although the trade in enslaved Africans was a global phenomenon, the transatlantic slave trade between Africa and the Americas became the most extensive and significant portion of it (see "The Transatlantic Slave Trade" in Chapter 20). Until 1700, and perhaps even 1750, most Europeans considered the African slave trade a legitimate business activity. After 1775 a broad campaign to abolish slavery developed in Britain and grew into one of the first peaceful mass political movements based on the mobilization of public opinion in British history. British women played a critical role in this movement, denouncing the immorality of human bondage and stressing the cruel treatment of female slaves and slave families. Abolitionists also argued for a transition to legitimate (nonslave) trade to end both the transatlantic slave trade and the internal African slave systems. In 1807 Parliament declared the slave trade illegal. Britain then began using its navy to seize slave runners' ships, liberate the captives, and settle them in the British port of Freetown, in Sierra Leone, as well as in Liberia (see Map 25.1, page 733). Freed American slaves had established the colony of Liberia in 1821–1822.

British action had a limited impact at first. Britain's navy intercepted fewer than 10 percent of all slave ships, and the demand for slaves remained high on the sugar and coffee plantations of Cuba and Brazil until the 1850s and 1860s. The United States banned slave importation from January 1, 1808. From that time on, natural increase (slaves having children) mainly accounted for the subsequent growth of the African American slave population before the Civil War. Strong financial incentives remained, however, for Portuguese and other European slave traders and for those African rulers who relied on profits from the trade for power and influence.

As more nations joined Britain in outlawing the slave trade, shipments of human cargo slackened along the West African coast (see Map 25.1). At the same time the ancient but limited shipment of slaves across the Sahara and from the East African coast into the Indian Ocean and through the Red Sea expanded dramatically. Only in the 1860s did this trade begin to decline rapidly. As a result, total slave exports from all regions of sub-Saharan Africa declined only marginally, from 7.4 million in the eighteenth century to 6.1 million in the nineteenth century.[1] Abolitionists failed to achieve their vision that "legitimate trade" in tropical products would quickly replace illegal slave exports.

Nevertheless, beginning in West Africa, a legitimate trade did make steady progress for several reasons. First, with Britain encouraging palm tree cultivation as an alternative to the slave trade, palm oil sales from West Africa to Britain surged, from only one thousand tons in 1810 to more than forty thousand tons in 1855. Second, the sale of palm oil admirably served the self-interest of industrializing Europe. Manufacturers used palm oil to lubricate their giant machines and to make cheap soap and other cosmetics. Third, peanut production for export also grew rapidly, in part because both small, independent African family farmers and large-scale enterprises could produce peanuts for the substantial American and European markets.

Finally, powerful West African rulers and warlords who had benefited from the Atlantic slave trade redirected some of their slaves' labor into the production of legitimate goods for world markets. This was possible because local warfare and slave raiding continued to enslave large numbers of people in sub-Saharan Africa, so slavery and slave markets remained strong. Although some enslaved captives might still be sold abroad, now women were often kept as wives, concubines, or servants, while men were used to transport goods, mine gold, grow crops, and serve in slave armies. Thus the transatlantic slave trade's slow decline coincided with the most intensive use of slaves within Africa.

All the while, a new group of African merchants was emerging to handle legitimate trade, and some grew rich. Women were among the most successful of these merchants. There is a long tradition of West African women's active involvement in trade, but the arrival of Europeans provided new opportunities. The African wife of a European trader served as her husband's interpreter and learned all aspects of his business. When the husband died, as European men invariably did in the hot, humid, and mosquito-infested conditions of tropical West Africa, the African wife inherited his commercial interests, including his inventory and his European connections. Many such widows used their considerable business acumen to make small fortunes.

By the 1850s and 1860s legitimate African traders, flanked by Western-educated African lawyers, teachers, and journalists, had formed an emerging middle class in the West African coastal towns. Unfortunately for West Africans, in the 1880s and 1890s African business leadership gave way to imperial subordination.

Islamic Revival and Expansion in Africa

The Sudanic savanna is that vast belt of flat grasslands stretching across Africa below the Sahara's southern fringe (the Sahel). By the early eighteenth century Islam had been practiced throughout this region for five hundred to one thousand years, depending on the area. City dwellers, political rulers, and merchants in many small states were Muslim. Yet the rural peasant farmers and migratory cattle raisers — the vast majority of the population — generally held on to traditional animist practices, worshipping ancestors, praying at local shrines, and invoking protective spirits. Since many Muslim rulers shared some of these beliefs, they did not try to convert their subjects in the countryside or enforce Islamic law.

A powerful Islamic revival began in the eighteenth century and gathered strength in the early nineteenth century. In essence, Muslim scholars and fervent religious leaders arose to wage successful **jihads** (JEE-hahds), or religious wars, against both animist rulers and Islamic states they deemed corrupt. The new reformist rulers believed African cults and religious practice could no longer be tolerated, and they often effected mass conversions of animists to Islam.

jihad Religious war waged by Muslim scholars and religious leaders against both animist rulers and Islamic states that they deemed corrupt.

The most important of these revivalist states, the **Sokoto caliphate** (SOH-kuh-toh KAL-uh-fate), illustrates the pattern of Islamic revival in Africa. It was founded by Uthman dan Fodio (AHTH-mun dahn FOH-dee-oh) (1754–1817), a Muslim teacher who first won followers among both the Fulani herders and in the Muslim state of Gobir in the northern Sudan. After his religious community was attacked by Gobir’s rulers, Uthman launched the jihad of 1804, one of the most important events in nineteenth-century West Africa. Uthman claimed the Hausa rulers of Muslim Gobir “worshipped many places of idols, and trees, and rocks, and sacrificed to them,” killing and plundering their subjects without any regard for Islamic law.[2] He recruited young religious students and discontented Fulani cattle raisers to form the backbone of his jihadi fighters and succeeded in overthrowing the Hausa rulers and expanding Islam into the Sudan. In 1809 Uthman established the new Sokoto caliphate (see Map 20.1).

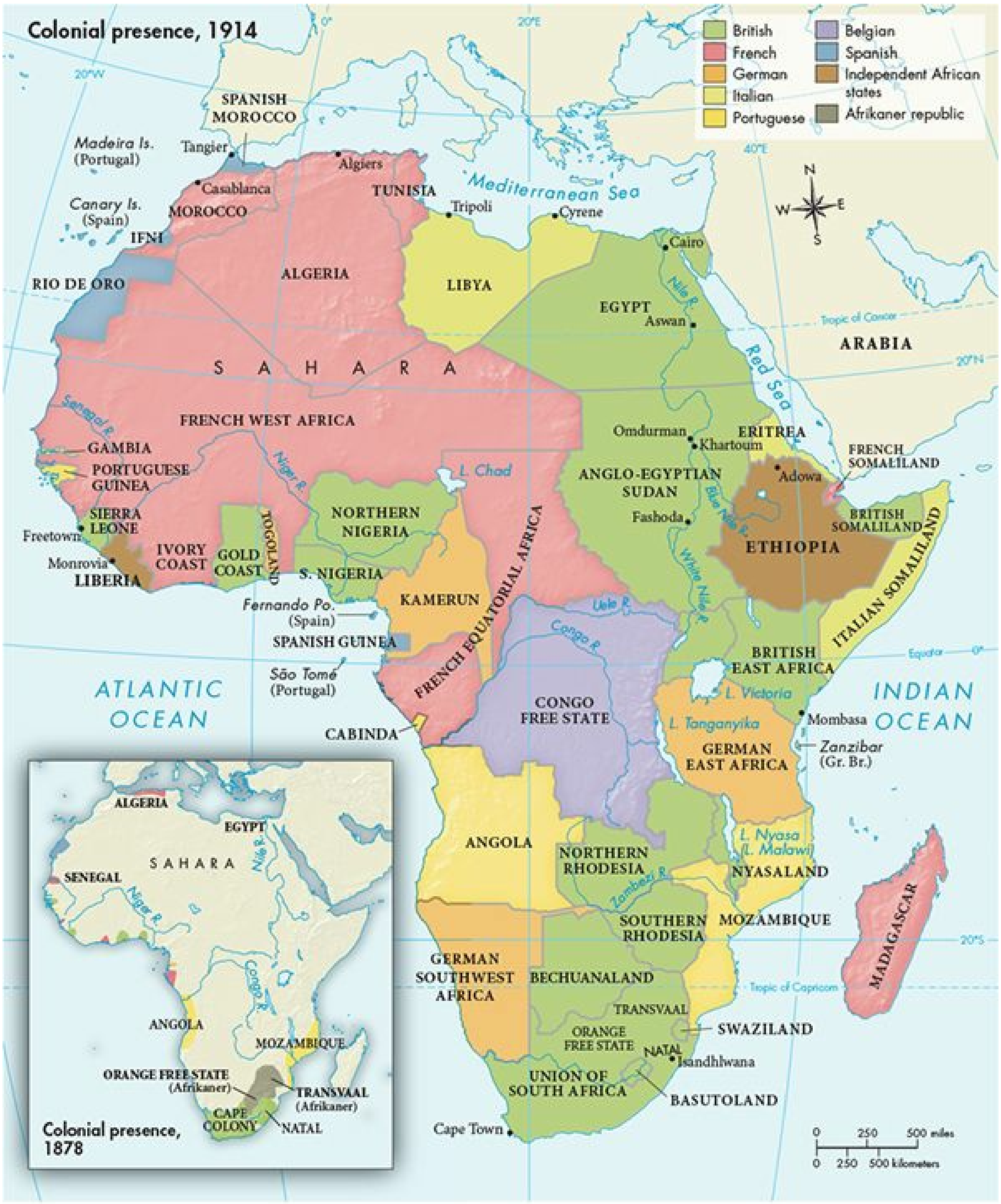
Sokoto caliphate Founded in 1809 by Uthman dan Fodio, this African state was based on Islamic history and law.

The triumph of the Sokoto caliphate had profound consequences for Africa and the Sudan. First, the caliphate was governed by a sophisticated written constitution based on Islamic history and law. This government of laws, rather than men, provided stability and made Sokoto one of the most prosperous regions in tropical Africa. Second, because of Sokoto and other revivalist states, Islam became much more widely and deeply rooted in sub-Saharan Africa than ever before. Finally, as one historian explained, Islam had always approved of slavery for non-Muslims and Muslim heretics, and “the *jihads* created a new slaving frontier on the basis of rejuvenated Islam.”[3] In 1900 the Sokoto caliphate had at least 1 million and perhaps as many as 2.5 million slaves.

Islam also expanded in East Africa. From the 1820s on, Arab merchants and adventurers pressed far into the interior in search of slaves and ivory, converting and intermarrying with local Nyamwezi (nyahm-WAY-zee) elites and establishing small Muslim states. The Arab immigrants brought literacy, administrative skills, and increased trade and international contact, as well as the intensification of slavery, to East Africa. In 1837 Sayyid Said (sa-EED sa-EED) (r. 1804–1856), the sultan of Oman, conquered Mombasa, the great port city in modern Kenya. After moving his capital from southern Arabia to the island of Zanzibar in 1840, Said gained control of most of the Swahili-speaking East African coast. He then routed all slave shipments from the coast to the Ottoman Empire and Arabia through Zanzibar. He also successfully encouraged Indian merchants to develop slave-based clove plantations in his territories. In 1870, before Christian missionaries and Western armies began to arrive in force and halt Islam's spread, it appeared that most of the East and Central African populations would accept Islam within a generation.[4]

The Scramble for Africa, 1880–1914

Between 1880 and 1914 Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Spain, and Italy, worried that they would not get "a piece of that magnificent African cake" (in Belgian king Leopold II's graphic words), scrambled for African possessions as if their national livelihoods were at stake. In 1880 Europeans controlled barely 20 percent of the African continent, mainly along the coast; by 1914 they controlled over 90 percent. Only Ethiopia in northeast Africa and Liberia on the West African coast remained independent (Map 25.1).


Colonial presence, 1914
British
French
German
Italian
Portuguese
Belgian
Spanish
Independent African states
Afrikaner republic
SPANISH MOROCCO
Madeira Is. (Portugal)
Tangier
Algiers
Casablanca
TUNISIA
Mediterranean Sea
Tripoli
Cyrene
Canary Is. (Spain)
MOROCCO
IFNI
Cairo
RIO DE ORO
ALGERIA
LIBYA
EGYPT
Aswan
Nile R.
Tropic of Cancer
ARABIA
Red Sea
S A H A R A
Senegal R.
FRENCH WEST AFRICA
Omdurman
Khartoum
ERITREA
FRENCH SOMALILAND
GAMBIA
PORTUGUESE GUINEA
Niger R.
L. Chad
Adowa
ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN
Blue Nile R.
SIERRA LEONE
Freetown
NORTHERN NIGERIA
Fashoda
BRITISH SOMALILAND
IVORY COAST
GOLD COAST
TOGOLAND
ETHIOPIA
Monrovia
LIBERIA
S. NIGERIA
White Nile R.
FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA
KAMERUN
Fernando Po. (Spain)
Uele R.
ITALIAN SOMALILAND
SPANISH GUINEA
Congo R.
BRITISH EAST AFRICA
Equator
São Tomé (Portugal)
ATLANTIC OCEAN
L. Victoria
INDIAN OCEAN
CONGO FREE STATE
Mombasa
L. Tanganyika
CABINDA
GERMAN EAST AFRICA
Zanzibar (Gr. Br.)
ANGOLA
L. Nyasa (L. Malawi)
NORTHERN RHODESIA
NYASALAND
Zambezi R.
SOUTHERN RHODESIA
MOZAMBIQUE
MADAGASCAR
GERMAN SOUTHWEST AFRICA
BECHUANALAND
Tropic of Capricorn
TRANSVAAL
ORANGE FREE STATE
SWAZILAND
NATAL
Isandhlwana
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
BASUTOLAND
Cape Town
0 250 500 miles
0 250 500 kilometers
20°W
0°
20°E
40°E
20°N
0°
20°S
N
S
E
W
ALGERIA
EGYPT
S A H A R A
SENEGAL
Nile R.
Niger R.
Congo R.
ANGOLA
MOZAMBIQUE
ORANGE FREE STATE (Afrikaner)
TRANSVAAL (Afrikaner)
CAPE COLONY
NATAL
Colonial presence, 1878

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Mapping the Past

MAP 25.1 **The Partition of Africa** The European powers carved up Africa after 1880 and built vast political empires.

ANALYZING THE MAP What European countries were leading imperialist states in Africa, and what lands did they hold? What countries maintained political independence?

CONNECTIONS The late nineteenth century was the high point of European imperialism. What were the motives behind the rush for land and empire in Africa?

In addition to the general causes underlying Europe's imperialist burst after 1880, certain events and individuals stand out. First, as the antislavery movement succeeded in shutting down the Atlantic slave trade by the late 1860s, slavery's persistence elsewhere attracted growing attention in western Europe and the Americas. Missionaries played a key role in publicizing the horrors of slave raids and the suffering of thousands of enslaved Africans. The public was led to believe that European conquest and colonization would end this human tragedy by bringing, in Scottish missionary David Livingstone's famous phrase, "Commerce, Christianity, and Civilization" to Africa.

Second, King Leopold II (r. 1865–1909) of Belgium also played a crucial role. His agents signed treaties with African chiefs and planted Leopold's flag along the Congo River. In addition, Leopold intentionally misled other European leaders to gain their support by promising to promote Christianity and civilization in his proposed Congo Free State. By 1883 Europe had caught "African fever," and the race for territory was on. Third, to lay down some rules for this imperialist competition, French premier Jules Ferry and German chancellor Otto von Bismarck arranged a European conference on sub-Saharan Africa in Berlin in 1884–1885. The **Berlin Conference**, to which Africans were not invited, established the principle that European claims to African territory had to rest on "effective occupation" in order to be recognized by other states. A nation could establish a colony only if it had effectively taken possession of the territory through signed treaties with local leaders and had begun to develop it economically. The representatives at the conference recognized Leopold's rule over the Congo Free State.

Berlin Conference A meeting of European leaders held in 1884–1885 to lay down basic rules for imperialist competition in sub-Saharan Africa.

In addition to developing rules for imperialist competition, participants at the Berlin Conference agreed to care for the native peoples' moral and material well-being, bring Christianity and civilization to Africa, and suppress slavery and the slave trade. These rules and agreements were contained in the General Act of the conference:

> All the Powers exercising sovereign rights or influence in the aforesaid territories bind themselves to watch over the preservation of the native tribes, and to care for the improvement of the conditions of their moral and material well-being, and to help in suppressing slavery, and especially the slave trade.

> They shall, without distinction of creed or nation, protect and favour all religious, scientific or charitable institutions and undertakings created and organized for the above ends, or which aim at instructing the natives and bringing home to them the blessings of civilization.[5]

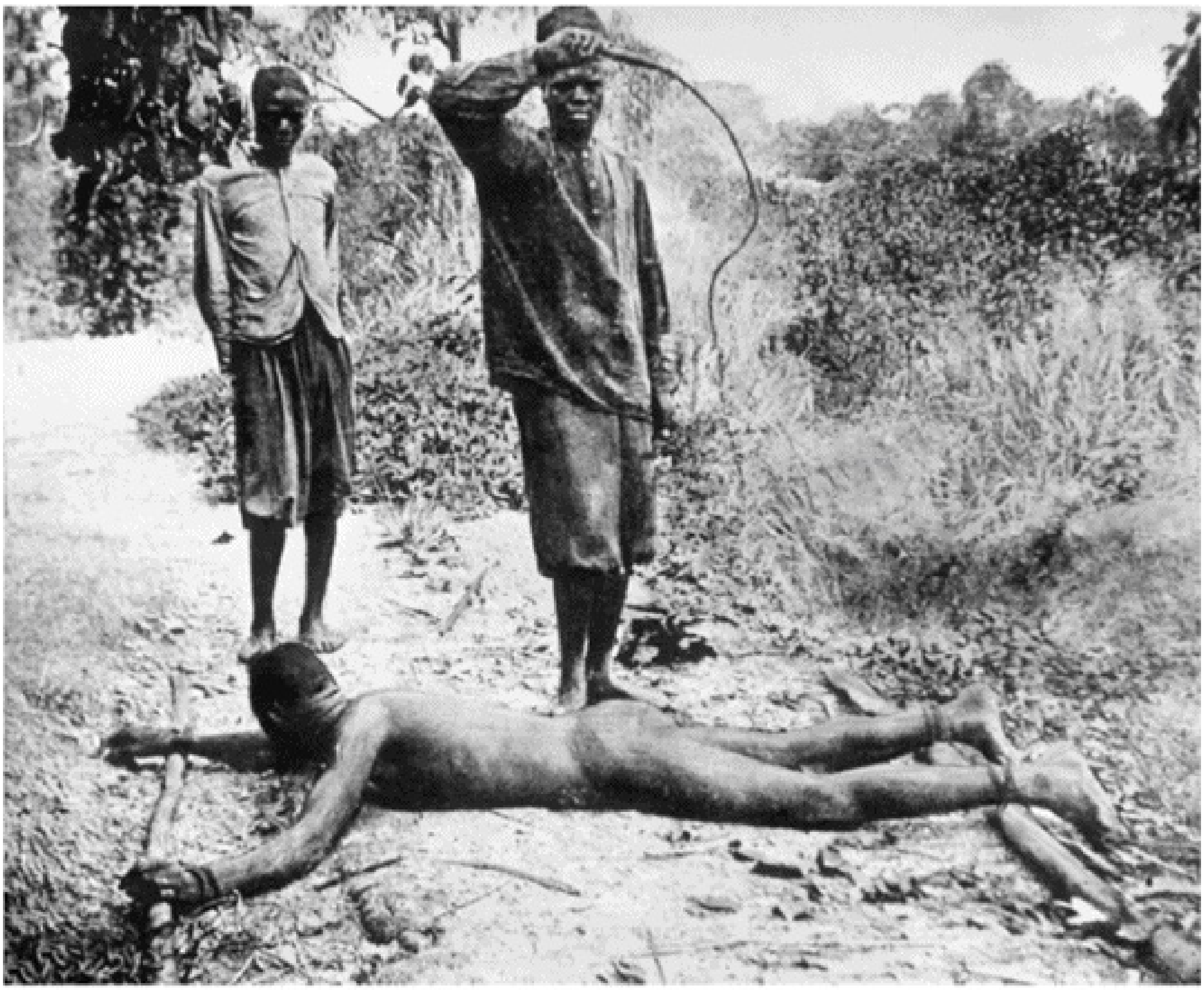
In truth, however, these ideals ran a distant second to, and were not allowed to interfere with, the nations' primary goal of commerce — holding on to their old markets and exploiting new ones.

Fourth, the Berlin Conference coincided with Germany's emergence as an imperial power. In 1884 and 1885 Bismarck's Germany established **protectorates** (autonomous states or territories partly controlled and protected by a stronger outside power) over a number of small African kingdoms and societies (see Map 25.1). In acquiring colonies, Bismarck cooperated with France's Jules Ferry against the British. The French expanded into West Africa and also formed a protectorate on the Congo River. Meanwhile, the British began enlarging their West African enclaves and pushed northward from the Cape Colony and westward from the East African coast.

protectorate An autonomous state or territory partly controlled and protected by a stronger outside power.

The British also moved southward from Egypt, which they had seized in 1882 (see "Egypt: From Reform to British Occupation"), but were blocked in the eastern Sudan by fiercely independent Muslims. In 1881 a pious Sudanese leader, Muhammad Ahmad (AH-mad) (1844–1885), proclaimed himself the "Mahdi" (MAH-dee) (a messianic redeemer of Islam) and led a revolt against foreign control of Egypt. In 1885 his army massacred a British force and took the city of Khartoum (khar-TOUM), forcing the British to retreat to Cairo. Ten years later a British force returned, building a railroad to supply arms and reinforcements as it went. In 1898 these troops, under the command of Field Marshal Horatio Hubert Kitchener, met their foe at Omdurman (AHM-dur-man), where Sudanese Muslims armed with spears were cut down by the recently invented machine gun. In the end eleven thousand Muslim fighters lay dead, while only twenty-eight Britons had been killed. Their commander received the title of "Lord Kitchener of Khartoum."

All European nations resorted to some violence in their colonies to retain control, subdue the population, appropriate land, and force African laborers to work long hours at physically demanding, and often dangerous, jobs. In no colony, however, was the violence and brutality worse than in Leopold II's Congo Free State. Rather than promoting Leopold's promised Christianity and civilization, the European companies operating in the Congo Free State introduced slavery, unimaginable savagery, and terror. Missionaries and others were not even allowed into the colony, to prevent them from reporting the horrors they would witness there.



© TopFoto/The Image Works

Brutality in the Congo No Africans suffered more violent and brutal treatment under colonial rule than those living in Belgian king Leopold II's Congo Free State. When not having their hands, feet, or heads cut off as punishment, Africans were whipped with *chicottes*, whips made of dried hippopotamus hide. Some Congolese were literally whipped to death.

Profits in the Congo Free State came first from the ivory trade, but in the 1890s, after many of the Congo's elephant herds had been decimated, a new cash crop arose to take ivory's place. In the mid-1880s Scottish-born John Dunlop developed a process to make inflatable rubber tires. A worldwide boom in the demand for raw rubber soon followed, as new uses for rubber were found. By the mid-1890s rubber had surpassed ivory as the

Congo Free State’s major income producer, as more than half the colony possessed wild rubber vines growing thickly in the equatorial rain forest. The companies Leopold allowed to make profits in the Congo soon could not get enough rubber. Violence and brutality increased exponentially as Europeans and their well-armed mercenaries terrorized entire regions, cutting off hands, feet, and heads, and wiping out whole villages to send the message that Africans must either work for the Europeans or die. The shed African blood is recalled in the colony’s frightening nickname — the “red rubber colony.” In the first years of the nineteenth century, human rights activists such as Edmund Morel (moh-REHL) exposed the truth about the horrific conditions in the Congo Free State. In 1908 Leopold was forced to turn over his private territory to Belgium as a colony, the Belgian Congo. (See “Global Viewpoints: The Congo Free State,” at right.)

GLOBAL VIEWPOINTS

The Congo Free State

One historian estimates that between 1890 and 1910 the African population of the Congo Free State declined by nearly 10 million souls.* The public learned of the brutal conditions in the Congo through the efforts of reformers and journalists. George Washington Williams (1849–1891), an African American Baptist minister, lawyer, and historian, was dazzled, as were many others, by the noble humanitarian goals that Leopold II claimed to have for the Congo, but when Williams visited the Congo in 1890 he was sickened by what he saw. His public letter to King Leopold, excerpted below, offers one of the earliest firsthand accounts of the horrors of the Congo. Edmund Morel (1873–1924), a British clerk, was similarly galvanized to undertake a campaign against Leopold after noticing that nearly 80 percent of the goods that his shipping firm sent to the Congo were weapons, shackles, and ammunition, while arriving ships were filled with cargoes of rubber, ivory, and other high-value goods.

George Washington Williams, “An Open Letter to His Serene Majesty Leopold II,” 1890

■ Your Majesty’s Government has been, and is now, guilty of waging unjust and cruel wars against natives, with the hope of securing slaves and women, to minister to the behests of the officers of your Government. . . . I have no adequate terms with which to depict to your Majesty the brutal acts of your soldiers upon such raids as these. The soldiers who open the combat are usually the bloodthirsty cannibalistic Bangalas, who give no quarter to the aged grandmother or nursing child at the breast of its mother. There are instances in which they have brought the heads of their victims to their white officers on the expeditionary steamers, and afterwards eaten the bodies of slain children. In one war two Belgian Army officers saw, from the deck of their steamer, a native in a canoe some distance away. He was not a combatant and was ignorant of the conflict . . . upon the shore, some distance away. The officers made a wager of £5 that they could hit the native with their rifles. Three shots were fired and the native fell dead, pierced through the head, and the trade canoe was transformed into a funeral barge and floated silently down the river.

Edmund Morel, from *King Leopold’s Rule in Africa*, 1904

■ One of the most atrocious features of the persistent warfare of which year in year out the Congo territories are the scene, is the mutilation both of the dead and of the living which goes on under it. . . . The first intimation that Congo State troops were in the habit of cutting off the hands of men, women, and children in connection with the rubber traffic reached Europe through the Rev. J. B. Murphy, of the American Baptist Missionary Union, in 1895. He described how the State soldiers had shot some people on Lake Mantumba . . . , "cut off their hands and took them to the Commissaire." The survivors of the slaughter reported the matter to a missionary at Irebu, who went down to see if it were true, and was quickly convinced by ocular demonstration. Among the mutilated victims was a little girl, not quite dead, who subsequently recovered. In a statement which appeared in the [London] *Times*, Mr. Murphy said, "These hands — the hands of men, women, and children — were placed in rows before the Commissary, who counted them to see that the soldiers had not wasted cartridges."

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What factors might have allowed such horrible atrocities to be committed without greater public awareness and outcry?
2. How do these two readings exemplify the theory that the colonial experience brutalized both colonized and colonizer?

Sources: George Washington Williams, "An Open Letter to Leopold II, King of the Belgians and Sovereign of the Independent State of Congo, July 18, 1890," in John Hope Franklin, *George Washington Williams: A Biography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), pp. 245–246, 250–251; Edmund D. Morel, *King Leopold's Rule in Africa* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1905), pp. 110–111.

*Adam Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1999), pp. 225–234.

Southern Africa in the Nineteenth Century

The development of southern Africa diverged from that of the rest of sub-Saharan Africa in important ways. Whites settled in large numbers, modern capitalist industry took off, and British imperialists had to wage all-out war.

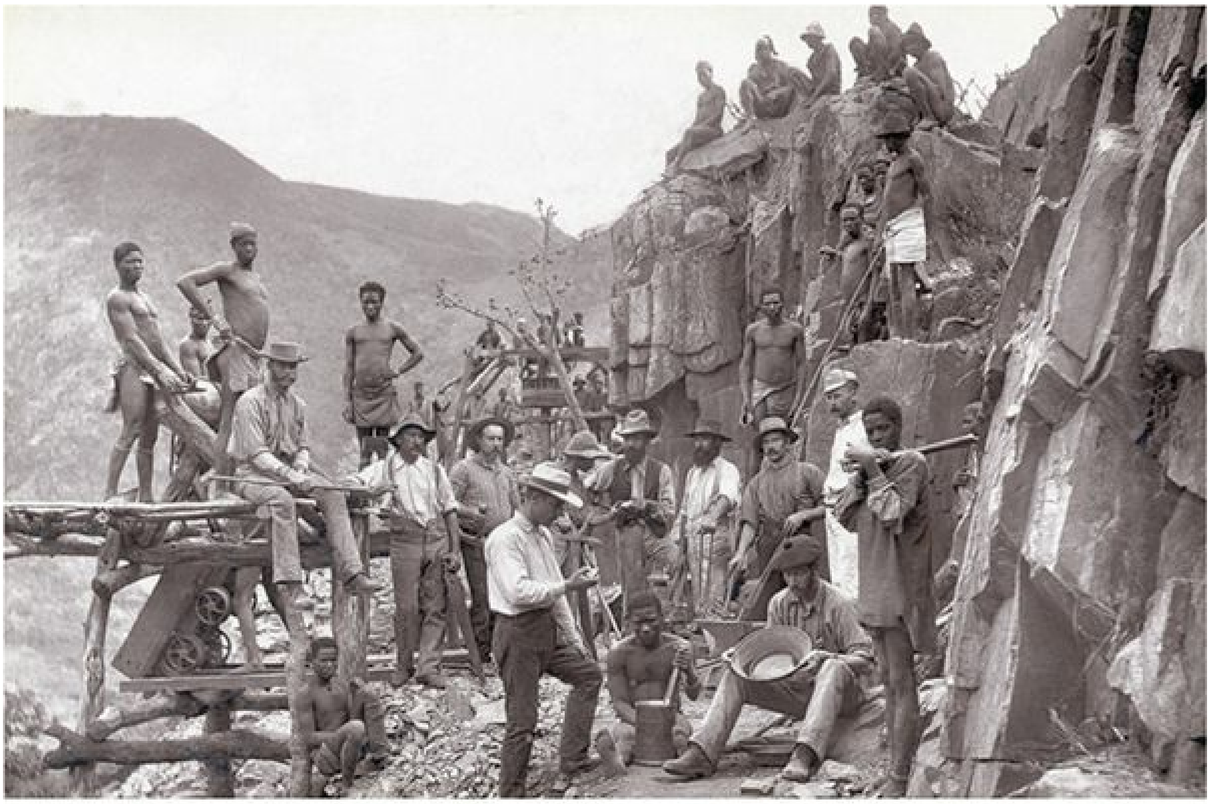
When the British took possession of the Dutch Cape Colony during the Napoleonic Wars, there were about twenty thousand free Dutch citizens and twenty-five thousand African slaves, with substantial mixed-race communities on the northern frontier of white settlement. After 1815 powerful African chiefdoms; the Boers, or **Afrikaners** (descendants of the original Dutch settlers); and British colonial forces waged a complicated three-cornered battle to build strong states in southern Africa.

Afrikaners Descendants of the Dutch settlers in the Cape Colony in southern Africa.

While the British consolidated their rule in the Cape Colony, the talented Zulu king Shaka (SHAHK-ah) (r. 1818–1828) was creating the largest and most powerful kingdom in southern Africa in the nineteenth century. Shaka's warriors, drafted by age groups and placed in highly disciplined regiments, perfected the use of a short stabbing spear in deadly hand-to-hand combat. The Zulu armies often destroyed their African enemies completely, sowing chaos and sending refugees fleeing in all directions. Shaka's wars led to the creation of Zulu, Tswana (TSWAH-nah), Swazi (SWAH-zee), Ndebele (n-deh-BELL-ee), and Sotho (SOO-too, not SOH-thoh) states in southern Africa. By 1890 these states were largely subdued by Dutch and British invaders, but only after many hard-fought frontier wars.

Between 1834 and 1838 the British abolished slavery in the Cape Colony and introduced racial equality before the law to protect African labor. In 1836 about ten thousand Afrikaner cattle ranchers and farmers, resentful of equal treatment of blacks by British colonial officials and missionaries after the abolition of slavery, began to make their so-called Great Trek northward into the interior. In 1845 another group of Afrikaners joined them north of the Orange River. Over the next thirty years Afrikaner and British settlers reached a mutually advantageous division of southern Africa. The British ruled the strategically valuable colonies of Cape Colony and Natal (nuh-TAHL) on the coast, and the

Afrikaners controlled the ranch-land republics of Orange Free State and the Transvaal (TRANS-vahl) in the interior. The Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho, Ndebele, and other African peoples lost much of their land but remained the majority — albeit an exploited majority.



Bettmann Collection/Getty Images

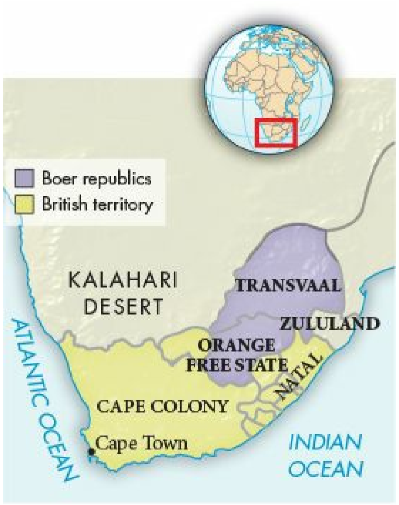
Republic Gold Mining Company, South Africa, ca. 1888 This early photo, taken only a couple of years after the discovery of gold and the beginning of the Witwatersrand gold rush, shows both black and white miners at a gold mine. By this time, twenty-one years after the discovery of diamonds at Kimberley, labor segregation had become a regular feature of mine work. White workers claimed the supervisory jobs, while blacks were limited to dangerous low-wage labor.

The discovery of incredibly rich deposits of diamonds in 1867 near Kimberley, and of gold in 1886 in the Afrikaners' Transvaal Republic around modern Johannesburg, revolutionized the southern African economy, making possible large-scale industrial capitalism and transforming the lives of all its peoples. The extraction of these minerals, particularly the deep-level gold deposits, required big foreign investment, European engineering expertise, and an enormous labor force. Thus small-scale miners soon gave way to powerful financiers, particularly Cecil Rhodes (1853–1902). Rhodes came from a large middle-class British family and at seventeen went to southern Africa to seek his fortune. By 1888 Rhodes's firm, the De Beers mining company, monopolized the world’s diamond industry and earned him fabulous profits. The “color bar” system of the diamond fields gave whites the well-paid skilled positions and put black Africans in the dangerous, low-wage jobs far below the earth’s surface. Southern Africa became one of the world’s leading diamond and gold producers, pulling in black migratory workers from all over the region (as it does to this day).

The mining bonanza whetted the appetite of British imperialists led by the powerful Rhodes, who was considered the ultimate British imperialist. He once famously observed that the British “happen to be the best people in the world, with the highest ideals of decency and justice and liberty and peace, and the more of the world we inhabit, the better for humanity.”[6] Between 1888 and 1893 Rhodes used missionaries and his British South Africa Company, chartered by the British government, to force African chiefs to accept British protectorates, and he managed to add Southern and Northern Rhodesia (modern-day Zimbabwe and Zambia) to the British Empire.

Southern Rhodesia is one of the most egregious examples of a region where Europeans misled African rulers to take their land. In 1888 the Ndebele (or Matabele) king, Lobengula (loh-ben-GUL-ah) (1845–1894), ruler over much of modern southwestern Zimbabwe, met with three of Rhodes’s men, led by Charles Rudd, and signed the Rudd Concession. Lobengula believed he was simply allowing a handful of British fortune hunters a few years of gold prospecting in Matabeleland. Lobengula had been misled, however, by the resident London Missionary Society missionary (and Lobengula’s supposed friend), the Reverend Charles Helm, as to the document’s true meaning and Rhodes’s hand behind it. Even though Lobengula soon repudiated the agreement, he opened the way for Rhodes’s seizure of the territory.

In 1889 Rhodes’s British South Africa Company received a royal charter from Queen Victoria to occupy Matabeleland on behalf of the British government. Though Lobengula died in early 1894, his warriors bravely fought Rhodes’s private army in the First and Second Matabele Wars (1893–1894, 1896–1897), but were decimated by British Maxim guns. By 1897 Matabeleland had ceased to exist; it had been replaced by the British-ruled settler colony of Southern Rhodesia. Before his death, Lobengula asked Reverend Helm, “Did you ever see a chameleon catch a fly? The chameleon gets behind the fly and remains motionless for some time, then he advances very slowly and gently, first putting forward one leg and then the other. At last, when well within reach, he darts his tongue and the fly disappears. England is the chameleon and I am that fly.”[7]



Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e,
© 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

The South African War, 1899–1902

The Transvaal gold fields still remained in Afrikaner hands, however, so Rhodes and the imperialist clique initiated a series of events that sparked the South African War of 1899–1902 (also known as the Anglo-Boer War). The British needed 450,000 troops to crush the Afrikaners, who never had more than 30,000 men in the field. Often considered the first "total war," this conflict witnessed the British use of a scorched-earth strategy to destroy Afrikaner property, and concentration camps to detain Afrikaner families and their servants, thousands of whom died of illness. Africans were sometimes forced and sometimes volunteered to work for one side or the other; estimates of their number range from 15,000 to 40,000 for each side. They did everything from scouting and guard duty to heavy manual labor, driving wagons, and guarding the livestock.

The long and bitter war divided whites in South Africa, but South Africa's blacks were the biggest losers. The British had promised the Afrikaners representative government in return for surrender in 1902, and they made good on their pledge. In 1910 the Cape Colony, Natal, the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal formed a new self-governing Union of South Africa. After the peace settlement, because the white minority held almost all political power in the new union, and because Afrikaners outnumbered English-speakers, the Afrikaners began to regain what they had lost on the battlefield. South Africa, under a joint British-Afrikaner government within the British Empire, began the creation of a modern segregated society that culminated in an even harsher system of racial separation, or apartheid (uh-PAHRT-ayte), after World War II.

Colonialism’s Impact After 1900

By 1900 much of Africa had been conquered and a system of colonial administration was taking shape. In general, this system weakened or shattered the traditional social order.

The self-proclaimed political goal of the French and the British — the principal colonial powers — was to provide good government for their African subjects, especially after World War I. “Good government” meant, above all, law and order. It meant a strong, authoritarian government, which maintained a small army, built up an African police force, and included a modern bureaucracy capable of taxing and governing the population. Many African leaders and their peoples had chosen not to resist the invaders’ superior force, and others stopped fighting and turned to other, less violent means of resisting colonial rule. Thus the goal of law and order was widely achieved.

Colonial governments demonstrated much less interest in providing basic social services. Education, public health, hospital, and other social service expenditures increased after the Great War but still remained limited. Europeans feared the political implications of mass education and typically relied instead on the modest efforts of state-subsidized mission schools. Moreover, they tried to make even their poorest colonies pay for themselves through taxation.

Economically, the colonial goal was to draw the African interior into the world economy on terms favorable to the dominant Europeans. Railroads linking coastal trading centers to interior outposts facilitated easy shipment of raw materials out and manufactured goods in. Railroads had two other important outcomes: they allowed quick troop movements to put down local unrest, and they allowed many African peasants to earn wages for the first time.

Ekuqaleni u Nku-
lunkulu wadala
izulu nomhlaba.

© Sz Photo/Scherl/The Image Works

Missionary School, South Africa, 1910 In this photo, African students are taught by a Roman Catholic nun. In the early days of a mission station, before a school building had been erected, nuns and priests held classes outside. Sometimes they also traveled to surrounding African villages and held classes outside there. The students were generally given a mixture of academic subject matter and religious instruction.

The focus on economic development and low-cost rule explains why colonial governments were reluctant to move decisively against slavery within Africa. Officials feared that an abrupt abolition of slavery where it existed would disrupt production and lead to costly revolts by powerful slaveholding elites, especially in Muslim areas. Thus colonial regimes settled for halfway measures designed to satisfy humanitarian groups in Europe and also make all Africans, free or enslaved, participate in a market economy and work for wages. Even this cautious policy emboldened many slaves to run away, thereby facilitating a rapid decline of slavery within Africa.

Colonial governments also often imposed taxes. Payable only in labor or European currency, these taxes compelled Africans to work for their white overlords. Africans despised no aspect of colonialism more than forced labor, widespread until about 1920. In some regions, particularly in West Africa, African peasants continued to respond freely to the new economic opportunities by voluntarily shifting to export crops on their own farms. Overall, the result of these developments was an increase in wage work and production geared to the world market and a decline in nomadic herding and traditional self-sufficient farming of sustainable crops. In sum, the imposition of bureaucratic Western rule and the gradual growth of a world-oriented cash economy after 1900 had a revolutionary impact on large parts of Africa.

The New Imperialism, 1880–1914

What were the causes and consequences of European empire building after 1880?

Western expansion into Africa and Asia reached its apex between about 1880 and 1914. In those years the leading European nations sent streams of money and manufactured goods to both continents and also rushed to create or enlarge vast overseas political empires. This frantic activity differed sharply from the limited economic penetration of non-Western territories between 1816 and 1880, which had left a China or a Japan “opened” but politically independent. By contrast, late-nineteenth-century empires recalled the old European colonial empires of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and led contemporaries to speak of the **New Imperialism**.

New Imperialism The late-nineteenth-century drive by European countries to create vast political empires abroad.

Characterized by a frenzied rush to plant the flag over as many people and as much territory as possible, the most spectacular manifestation of the New Imperialism was the seizure of almost all of Africa. Less striking but equally important was Europe’s extension of political control in Asia, the subject of Chapter 26.

Causes of the New Imperialism

Many factors contributed to the West’s late-nineteenth-century rush for territory in Africa and Asia, and controversies continue to rage over interpretation of the New Imperialism. Despite complexity and controversy, however, basic causes are clearly identifiable.

Economic motives played an important role in the extension of political empires, especially of the British Empire. By the 1870s France, Germany, and the United States were rapidly industrializing. For a century Great Britain had been the “workshop of the world,” the dominant modern industrial power. Now it was losing its industrial leadership, as its share of global manufacturing output dropped from 33 percent to just 14 percent between 1870 and 1914, and facing increasingly tough competition in foreign markets. In this changing environment of widening economic internationalism, the world experienced one of the worst economic depressions in history, the Long Depression of 1873 to 1879 (originally called the Great Depression until the Great Depression of the 1930s supplanted it). To protect home industries, America and Europe (except for Britain and the Netherlands) raised tariff barriers, abandoning the century-long practice of free trade and laissez-faire capitalism. Unable to export their goods and faced with excess production, market saturation, and high unemployment, Britain, the other European powers, and the United States turned to imperial expansion, seeking African and Asian colonies to sell their products and acquire cheap raw materials. The Long Depression was arguably the single most important spark touching off the age of New Imperialism.

Economic gains from the New Imperialism proved limited, however, before 1914. The new colonies were too poor to buy much, and they offered few immediately profitable investments. Nonetheless, colonies became important for political and diplomatic reasons. Each leading European country considered them crucial to national security, military power, and international prestige. (See “Analyzing the Evidence: A French Leader Defends Imperialism,” page 740.)

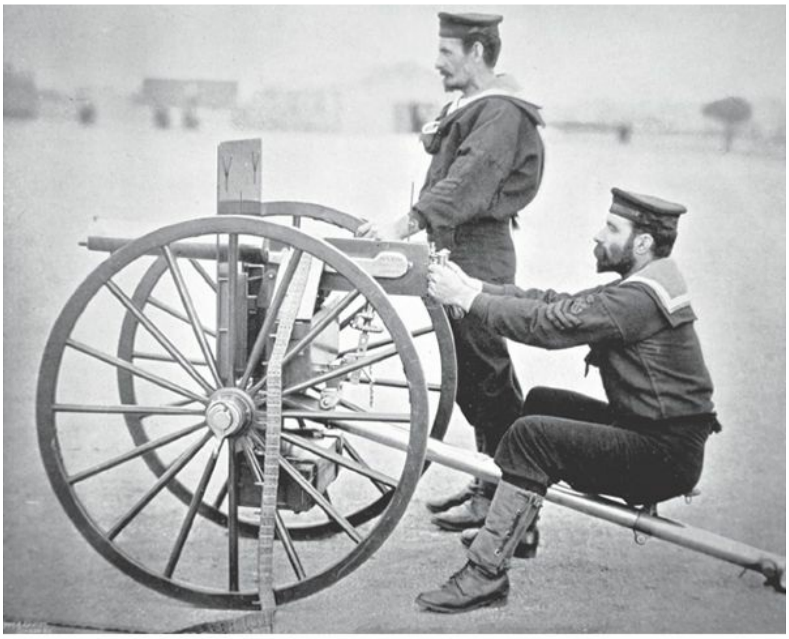
Colonial rivalries reflected the increasing aggressiveness of Social Darwinian theories of brutal competition among races. As one prominent English economist argued in 1873, the “strongest nation has always been conquering the weaker . . . and the strongest tend to be best.”[8] Thus European nations, considered as racially distinct parts of the dominant white race, had to seize colonies to prove their strength and virility. Moreover, since racial struggle was nature’s inescapable law, the conquest of “inferior” peoples was just. Social Darwinism and harsh racial doctrines fostered imperialist expansion.

So, too, did the industrial world’s unprecedented technological and military superiority. Three developments were crucial. First, the rapidly firing machine gun was an ultimate weapon in many unequal battles. Second, newly discovered **quinine** (KWIGH-nighn) effectively controlled malaria attacks, which had previously decimated Europeans in the tropics. Third, the introduction of steam power strengthened the Western powers in two ways. Militarily, they could swiftly transport their armies by sea or rail where they were most needed. Economically, steamships with ever-larger cargoes now made round-trip journeys to far-flung colonies much more quickly and economically. Small steamboats could travel back and forth along the coast and also carry goods up and down Africa’s great rivers, as portrayed in the classic American film *The African Queen* (1951). Likewise, freight cars pulled by powerful steam engines — immune to disease, unlike animals and humans — replaced the thousands of African porters hitherto responsible for carrying raw materials from the interior to the coast. Never before — and never again after 1914 — would the technological gap between the West and the non-Western regions of the world be so great.

quinine An agent that proved effective in controlling attacks of malaria, which had previously decimated Europeans in the tropics.

SULPHATE
OF
QUININE
No 37
HOWARDS & SONS
LONDON

Science Museum, London, UK/Wellcome Images



Private Collection/Peter Newark Military Pictures/Bridgeman Images

John D. Jenkins, The Spark Museum of Electrical Invention, www.sparkmuseum.com

Tools for Empire Building Western technological advances aided imperialist ambitions in Africa. The Maxim gun was highly mobile and could lay down a continuous barrage that decimated charging enemies, as in the slaughter of Muslim tribesmen at the Battle of Omdurman in Sudan. Quinine, first taken around 1850 to prevent the contraction of malaria, enabled Europeans to move safely into the African interior and overwhelm native peoples. And the development of the electromagnetic telegraph in the 1840s permitted rapid long-distance communications for the first time in history.

Domestic political and class conflicts also contributed to overseas expansion. Conservative political leaders often manipulated colonial issues in order to divert popular attention from domestic problems and to create a false sense of national unity. Imperial propagandists relentlessly stressed that colonies benefited workers as well as capitalists, and they encouraged the masses to savor foreign triumphs and imperial glory.

Finally, special-interest groups in each country were powerful agents of expansion. Shipping companies wanted lucrative subsidies. White settlers wanted more land. Missionaries and humanitarians wanted to spread religion and stop the slave trade. Military men and colonial officials foresaw rapid advancement and high-paid positions in growing empires. The actions of such groups pushed the course of empire forward.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

A French Leader Defends Imperialism

Although Jules Ferry (1832–1893) first gained political prominence as an ardent champion of secular public education, he was most famous for his empire building. While he was French premier in 1880–1881 and again in 1883–1885, France occupied Tunisia, extended its rule in Indonesia, seized Madagascar, and penetrated the Congo. Criticized by conservatives, socialists, and some left-wing republicans for his colonial expansion, Ferry defended his policies before the French National Assembly and also elaborated a philosophy of imperialism in his writings.

In a speech to the Assembly on July 28, 1883, portions of which follow, Ferry answered his critics and summarized his three main arguments with brutal honesty. Note that Ferry adamantly insisted that imperial expansion did not weaken France in its European struggle with Germany, as some opponents charged, but instead increased France's grandeur and power. Imperialists needed the language of patriotic nationalism to be effective.

M. Jules Ferry: Gentlemen, . . . I believe that there is some benefit in summarizing and condensing, in the form of arguments, the principles, the motives, and the various interests by which a policy of colonial expansion may be justified; it goes without saying that I will try to remain reasonable, moderate, and never lose sight of the major continental interests which are the primary concern of this country. What I wish to say, to support this proposition, is that in fact, just as in word, the policy of colonial expansion is a political and economic system; I wish to say that one can relate this system to three orders of ideas: economic ideas, ideas of civilization in its highest sense, and ideas of politics and patriotism.

In the area of economics, I will allow myself to place before you, with the support of some figures, the considerations which justify a policy of colonial expansion from the point of view of that need, felt more and more strongly by the industrial populations of Europe and particularly those of our own rich and hard working country: the need for export markets. Is this some kind of chimera? Is this a view of the future or is it not rather a pressing need, and, we could say, the cry of our industrial population? I will formulate only in a general way what each of you, in the different parts of France, is in a position to confirm. Yes, what is lacking for our great industry, drawn irrevocably on to the path of exportation by the [free trade] treaties of 1860, what it lacks more and more is export markets. Why? Because next door to us Germany is surrounded by barriers, because beyond the ocean, the United States of America has become protectionist, protectionist in the most extreme sense. . . .

Gentlemen, there is a second point, . . . the humanitarian and civilizing side of the question. On this point the honorable M. Camille Pellatan has jeered in his own refined and clever manner; he jeers, he condemns, and he says “What is this civilization which you impose with cannonballs? What is it but another form of barbarism? Don’t these populations, these inferior races, have the same rights as you? Aren’t they masters of their own houses? Have they called upon you? You come to them against their will, you offer them violence, but not civilization.” There, gentlemen, is the thesis; I do not hesitate to say that this is not politics, nor is it history: it is political metaphysics. (“Ah, Ah” *on far left.*)

. . . Gentlemen, I must speak from a higher and more truthful plane. It must be stated openly that, in effect, superior races have rights over inferior races. (*Movement on many benches on the far left.*)

M. Jules Maigne: Oh! You dare to say this in the country which has proclaimed the rights of man!

M. de Guilloutet: This is a justification of slavery and the slave trade! . . .

M. Jules Ferry: I repeat that superior races have a right, because they have a duty. They have the duty to civilize inferior races. . . . (*Approval from the left. New interruptions from the extreme left and from the right.*)

Gentlemen, there are certain considerations which merit the attention of all patriots. The conditions of naval warfare have been profoundly altered. (“Very true! Very true!”)

At this time, as you know, a warship cannot carry more than fourteen days’ worth of coal, no matter how perfectly it is organized, and a ship which is out of coal is a derelict on the surface of the sea, abandoned to the first person who comes along. Thence the necessity of having on the oceans provision stations, shelters, ports for defense and revictualling. (*Applause at the center and left. Various interruptions.*) And it is for this that we needed Tunisia, for this that we needed Saigon and the Mekong Delta, for this that we need Madagascar, that we are at Diégo-Suarez and Vohemar [two Madagascar ports] and will never leave them! (*Applause from a great number of benches.*) Gentlemen, in Europe as it is today, in this competition of so many rivals which we see growing around us, some by perfecting their military or maritime forces, others by the prodigious development of an ever growing population; in a Europe, or rather in a universe of this sort, a policy of peaceful seclusion or abstention is simply the highway to decadence! Nations are great in our times only by means of the activities which they develop; it is not simply “by the peaceful shining forth of institutions” (*interruptions on the* *extreme left and right*) that they are great at this hour.

. . . [The Republican Party] has shown that it is quite aware that one cannot impose upon France a political ideal conforming to that of nations like independent Belgium and the Swiss Republic; that something else is needed for France: that she cannot be merely a free country, that she must also be a great country, exercising all of her rightful influence over the destiny of Europe, that she ought to propagate this influence throughout the world and carry everywhere that she can her language, her customs, her flag, her arms, and her genius. (*Applause at center and left.*)

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What was Jules Ferry's economic argument for imperial expansion? Why had colonies recently gained greater economic value?
2. How did Ferry's critics attack the morality of foreign expansion? How did Ferry try to claim the moral high ground in his response?
3. What political arguments did Ferry advance? How would you characterize his philosophy of politics and national development?

Source: Speech before the French National Assembly, July 28, 1883. Reprinted in R. A. Austen, ed., *Modern Imperialism: Western Overseas Expansion and Its Aftermath, 1776–1965* (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath, 1969), pp. 70–73.

A “Civilizing Mission”

To rationalize their aggressive and racist actions, Europeans and Americans argued they could and should “civilize” supposedly primitive non-Western peoples. According to this view, Africans and Asians would benefit from Western educations, modern economies, cities, advanced medicine, and higher living standards and eventually might be ready for self-government and Western democracy.

European imperialists also argued that imperial government protected colonized peoples from ethnic warfare, the slave trade within Africa, and other forms of exploitation by white settlers and business people. Thus the French spoke of their sacred “civilizing mission.” In 1899 Rudyard Kipling (1865–1936), perhaps the most influential British writer of the 1890s, exhorted Westerners to unselfish service in distant lands (while warning of the high costs involved) in his poem “The White Man’s Burden.”

> Take up the White Man’s Burden —
> Send forth the best ye breed —
> Go bind your sons to exile
> To serve your captives’ need,
> To wait in heavy harness,
> On fluttered folk and wild —
> Your new-caught, sullen peoples
> Half-devil and half-child.[9]

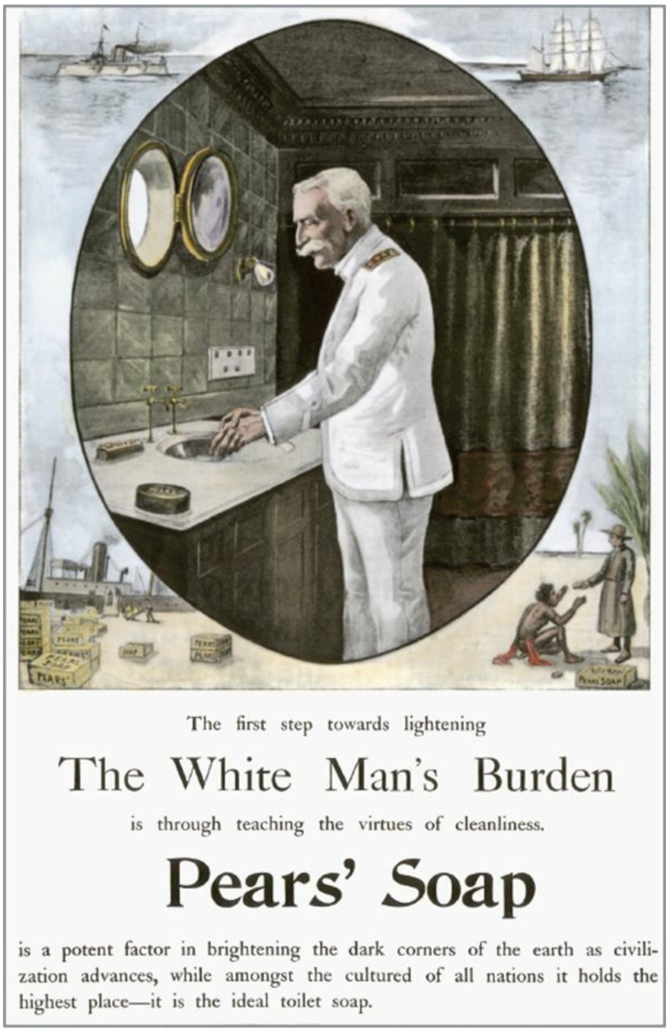
Kipling’s poem, written in response to America’s seizure of the Philippines after the Spanish-American War, and his concept of a **white man’s burden** won wide acceptance among American imperialists. This principle was an important factor in the decision to rule, rather than liberate, the Philippines after the Spanish-American War (see “The Philippines” in Chapter 26). Like their European counterparts, these Americans believed their civilization had reached unprecedented heights, enabling them to bestow unique benefits on all “less advanced” peoples. (See “Analyzing the Evidence: Pears’ Soap Advertisement,” at right.)

white man’s burden The idea that Europeans could and should civilize more primitive nonwhite peoples and that imperialism would eventually provide nonwhites with modern achievements and higher standards of living.

Imperialists also claimed that peace and stability under European or American dominion permitted the spread of Christianity. In Africa Catholic and Protestant missionaries competed with Islam south of the Sahara, seeking converts and building schools. Many Africans' first real contact with Europeans and Americans was in mission schools. Some peoples, such as the Ibo in Nigeria, became highly Christianized. Such successes in black Africa contrasted with the general failure of missionary efforts in the Islamic world and in much of Asia.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

Pears’ Soap Advertisement



The first step towards lightening

The White Man’s Burden

is through teaching the virtues of cleanliness.

Pears’ Soap

is a potent factor in brightening the dark corners of the earth as civilization advances, while amongst the cultured of all nations it holds the highest place—it is the ideal toilet soap.

© North Wind Picture Archives/Alamy Stock Photo

Andrew Pears began making his transparent soap in London in 1789. Starting in the late nineteenth century, it was marketed worldwide as a product symbolizing progress in advancing Europe’s “civilizing mission.” Massive quantities of palm oil were shipped from Africa to Europe, where palm oil replaced whale oil as the preferred oil for oiling machinery and producing cosmetics. In 1910 the Lever brothers, William and James, bought Pears’s company and sold Pears’ Soap along with their own brands, including Sunlight, Lifebuoy, and Lux, under the name Lever Brothers (now Unilever). These soaps were made with palm oil from Lever plantations in the Congo and the Solomon Islands. Pears’ Soap is still made today in India. Refined petroleum eventually supplanted palm oil, but contemporary brand names like Palmolive and Lever are vestiges of the days when palm oil was king.

Interestingly, the idea of cleanliness through using soap and taking baths was a relatively new “civilized” phenomenon in England. The soapmaking industry had its beginnings in the late eighteenth century. Only with the rise of the urbanized middle class in the mid-nineteenth century did cleanliness join with other Victorian values like morality, elitism, industrialism, mental and physical improvement, and Christianity. Thus using soap and taking frequent baths were practices still relatively new in England when manufacturers started advertising soap throughout the empire.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Which elements or words in this advertisement suggest the Western ideal of "civilization"? Which elements or words are used to describe non-Europeans?
2. How does this advertisement relate to Europe's "civilizing mission" and the English maxim "Cleanliness is next to godliness"?
3. How can Pears' Soap lighten "the white man's burden" and brighten "the dark corners of the earth"? To whom does the phrase "the cultured of all nations" refer?

Critics of Imperialism

Imperial expansion aroused sharp, even bitter, critics. One forceful attack was delivered in 1902, after the unpopular South African War, by radical English economist J. A. Hobson (1858–1940) in his *Imperialism*. Hobson contended that the rush to acquire colonies resulted from the economic needs of unregulated (by governments) capitalism. Moreover, Hobson argued, the quest for empire diverted popular attention away from domestic reform and the need to reduce the great gap between rich and poor at home. These and similar arguments had limited appeal because most people fervently believed imperialism was economically profitable for the homeland. Both Hobson and public opinion were wrong, however. Most British and European investors put the bulk of their money in the United States, Canada, Russia, and other industrializing countries. Sub-Saharan Africa accounted for less than 5 percent of British exports in 1890, and British investments in Africa flowed predominantly to the mines in southern African. Thus, while some sectors of the British economy did profit from imperial conquests, and trade with these conquests was greater just before the Great War than in 1870, overall profits from imperialism were marginal at best.

Hobson and many Western critics struck home, however, with their moral condemnation of whites' imperiously ruling nonwhites. Kipling and his kind were lampooned as racist bullies whose rule rested on brutality, racial contempt, and the Maxim machine gun. Polish-born novelist Joseph Conrad (1857–1924), in *Heart of Darkness* (1902), castigated the "pure selfishness" of Europeans in "civilizing" Africa.

Critics charged Europeans with applying a degrading double standard and failing to live up to their own noble ideals. At home Europeans had won or were winning representative government, individual liberties, and a certain equality of opportunity. In their empires Europeans imposed military dictatorships on Africans and Asians, forced them to work involuntarily, and discriminated against them shamelessly.

African and Asian Resistance

To African and Asian peoples, Western expansion represented a profoundly disruptive assault, which threatened traditional ruling classes, economies, and ways of life. Christian missionaries and European secular ideologies challenged established beliefs and values. African and Asian societies experienced crises of identity, although the details of each people's story varied substantially. (See "Thinking Like a Historian:

African Views of the Scramble for Africa," page 744.)

Initially African and Asian rulers often responded to imperialist incursions by trying to drive the unwelcome foreigners away, as in China and Japan (see "The Opium War" and "The 'Opening' of Japan" in Chapter 26). Violent antiforeign reactions exploded elsewhere again and again, but the industrialized West's superior military technology almost invariably prevailed. In addition, Europeans sought to divide and conquer by giving special powers and privileges to some individuals and groups from among the local population, including traditional leaders such as chiefs, landowners, and religious figures; and Western-educated professionals and civil servants, including police officers and military officers. These local elites recognized the imperial power realities in which they were enmeshed and manipulated them to maintain or gain authority over the masses. Some concluded that the West was superior in certain ways and that they needed to reform and modernize their societies by copying some European achievements. By ruling indirectly through a local elite (backed by the implied threat of force), relatively small numbers of Europeans could maintain control over much larger populations without constant rebellion and protest. European empires were won by force, but they were maintained by cultural as well as military and political means.

Nevertheless, imperial rule was in many ways an imposing edifice built on sand. Acceptance of European rule was shallow and weak among the colonized masses. They were often quick to follow determined charismatic personalities who came to oppose the Europeans. Such leaders always arose, both when Europeans ruled directly, or indirectly through native governments, for at least two basic reasons.

First, the nonconformists — the eventual anti-imperialist leaders — developed a burning desire for human dignity. They felt such dignity was incompatible with, and impossible under, foreign rule. Second, potential leaders found in the Western world the necessary ideologies and justification for their protest, such as liberalism, with its credo of civil liberty and political self-determination. Above all, they found themselves attracted to the nineteenth-century Western ideology of nationalism, which asserted that every people had the right to control their own destiny. After 1917 anti-imperialist revolt found another weapon in Lenin's version of Marxist socialism.

THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN

African Views of the Scramble for Africa

There are always two sides to any historical event, but often the only voices that are heard are those of the victors. There is an African proverb that underscores this point: "Until the lions have their historians, tales of hunting will always glorify the hunter." Historians should try to gather evidence from both sides, and for no event is this more true than in Europe's colonization of the African continent.

1 **King Moshoeshoe, letter to Sir George Grey, 1858.** King Moshoeshoe (r. 1786?–1870) gathered his Basotho peoples and others around him in what is now Lesotho. When neighboring Afrikaners threatened to take his territory and Basotho independence, he asked the British for help.

■ Thaba Bosigo, June 1858

I know . . . you have heard with pain of the horrors occasioned by the war [between the Orange Free State and myself], at present suspended in the hopes that peace may be restored by Your Excellency's mediation.

Allow me, however, to bring to your remembrance the following circumstances: About twenty-five years ago my knowledge of the White men and their laws was very limited. I knew merely that mighty nations existed, and among them was the English. These, the blacks who were acquainted with them, praised for their justice. Unfortunately it was not with the English Government that my first intercourse with the whites commenced. People who had come from the Colony first presented themselves to us, they called themselves Boers. I thought all white men were honest. Some of these Boers asked permission to live upon our borders. I . . . believe[d] they would live with me as my own people lived, that is, looking to me as to a father and a friend. . . .

We were at peace for a time. In the commencement of the present year (1858) my people living near farmers received orders to remove from their places. . . . We tried to keep all quiet, but the Boers went further . . . in troubling the Basutos and threatening war. . . . Still I tried to avert war. . . . I had given orders that no farms should be burnt, and my orders were obeyed till my people saw village after village burnt off, and the corn destroyed, they then carried destruction among the enemy's homes. . . . My bands were getting ready to make a descent upon them, when the Boers . . . request[ed] . . . a cessation of hostilities. I knew what misery I should bring upon the country by leaving the Basutos to ravage the Boer places, and therefore I have agreed. . . . I cannot say that I do so with the consent of my people, for many of those who suffered by the enemy were anxious to recover their losses.

If they have remained quiet, it has been owing to my persuasions and my promises that they might have good hope of justice — Your Excellency having consented to act as arbitrator between the Boers and Basutos.

Moshesh, Chief of the Basutos

2 **King Lobengula, letter to Queen Victoria, 1889.** Realizing the Rudd Concession threatened Ndebele independence, Ndebele king Lobengula sent two envoys to Cape Town and London in January–February 1889 to meet with Queen Victoria and seek her advice. On April 26, 1889, he wrote to the queen, repudiating the Rudd Concession.

To Her Majesty Queen Victoria

Some time ago a party of men came into my country, the principal one appearing to be a man called Rudd. They asked me for a place to dig for gold, and said they would give me certain things for the right to do so. I told them to bring what they would give and I would show them what I would give. A document was written and presented to me for signature. I asked what it contained, and was told that in it were my words and the words of those men. I put my hand to it. About three months afterwards I heard from other sources that I had given by that document the right to all the minerals of my country. I called a meeting of my Indunas [chiefs] and also of the white men and demanded a copy of the document. It was proved to me that I had signed away the mineral rights of my whole country to Rudd and his friends.

I have since had a meeting of my Indunas and they will not recognize the paper, as it contains neither my words nor the words of those who got it from me.

From Lobengula

3 **Queen Mother Yaa Asantewaa rallies the Asante people, 1900.** In 1900 the governor general of the British Gold Coast, Frederick Hodgson, deported Asante king Prempeh I to the Seychelles. Hodgson then demanded the Golden Stool, the symbol of the Asante nation. Queen Mother Yaa Asantewaa rallied the Asante and led the Asante rebellion against the British in the War of the Golden Stool.

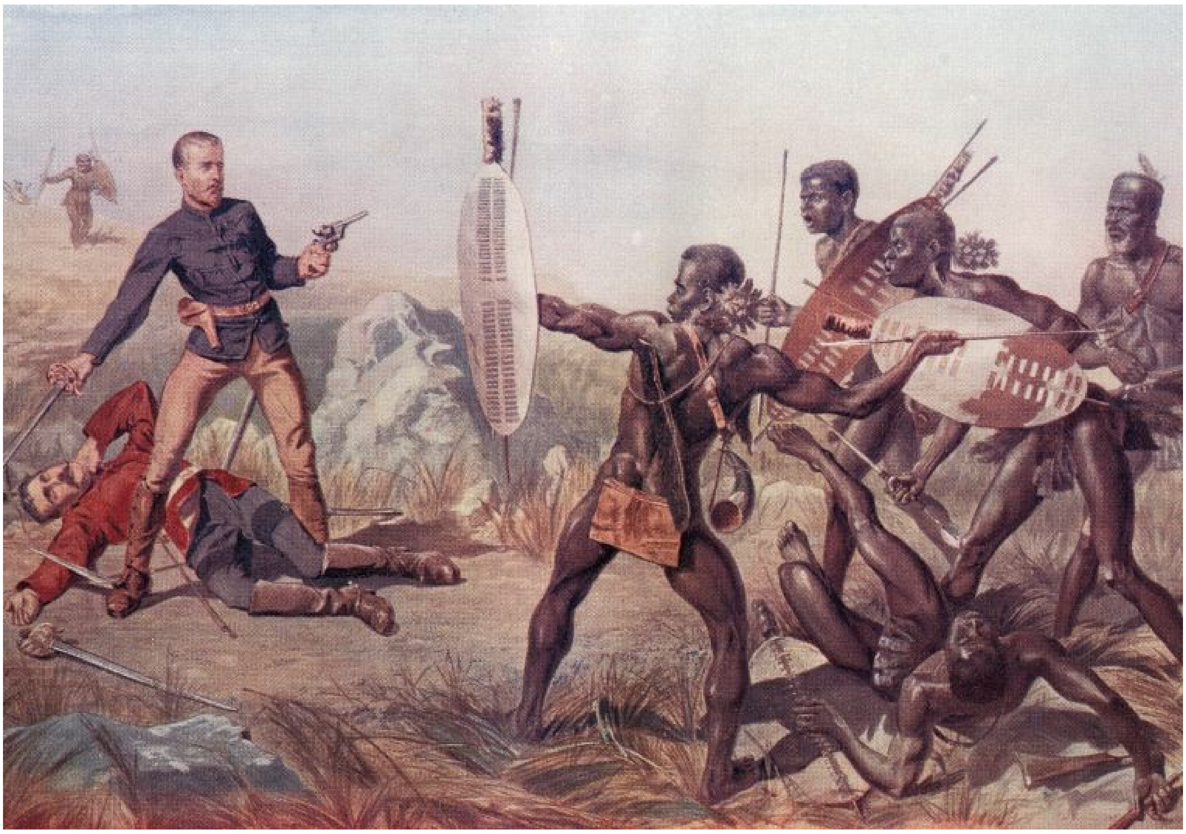
Now I have seen that some of you fear to go forward to fight for our king. If it were in the brave days, . . . chiefs would not sit down to see their king taken away without firing a shot. No white man could have dared to speak to a chief of the Asante nation the way the governor spoke to your chiefs this morning.

Is it true that the bravery of the Asante is no more? I cannot believe it. It cannot be! I must say this: if you, the men of the Asante, will not go forward, then we will. We, the women. I shall call upon my fellow women — we will fight the white men. We will fight till the last of us fall in the battlefields.

4 **King Wobogo refuses to negotiate with the French, 1895.** In 1895, in what is modern Burkina Faso, Wobogo, the Moro Naba, or king, of the Mosi refused to negotiate with a French officer, Captain Destenave. The following year the French deposed the king, seized his capital, and installed a Mosi ruler of their choosing.

I know the whites wish to kill me in order to take my country, and yet you claim that they will help me to organize my country. But I find my country good just as it is. I have no need of them. I know what is necessary for me and what I want: I have my own merchants: also, consider yourself fortunate that I do not order your head to be cut off. Go away now, and above all, never come back.

5 **Battle of Isandlwana, 1879.** On January 22, 1879, about 22,000 Zulu warriors defeated around 1,350 British and indigenous troops at the beginning of the Anglo-Zulu War. It remains the single greatest defeat the British ever suffered against a non-European force. Here British lieutenants Teignmouth Melvill and Nevill Coghill make a last stand against the Zulu. This painting was created by the English war artist Charles Edwin Fripp shortly after the war.



ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. What one word in Moshoeshoe’s letter in Source 1 best describes his impression of the English?
2. Do any of these sources suggest Africans were treated fairly in their dealings with Europeans during the scramble for Africa?
3. European imperialists partly justified their invasion of Africa by saying they were ridding the continent of bloodthirsty tyrants. Do any of the African leaders cited in Sources 1–4 appear to fit that description?
4. In what ways might the British and Zulu figures depicted in Source 5 be perceived in Great Britain? How might they be perceived by the Zulu?

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

Using the sources above, along with what you have learned in class and in this chapter, write a short essay about the different types of African resistance to European colonization. Why would some African leaders choose to fight wars, some simply refuse to cooperate, and some cooperate?

Sources: (1) George McCall Theal, ed., *Basutoland Records. Vol. 2: 1853–1861* (Cape Town: W. A. Richards & Sons, Government Printers, 1883), pp. 384–388; (2) Edmund D. Morel, *The Black Man's Burden* (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1920), pp. 34–35; (3) Elias Yussif, *The Facet of Black Culture*, vol. 1 (Bloomington, Ind.: Trafford, 2013), pp. xxi–xxii; (4) A. Adu Boahen, ed., *UNESCO General History of Africa. Vol. 7: Africa Under Colonial Domination, 1880–1935,* abridged ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), p. 1.

The Islamic Heartland Under Pressure

How did the Ottoman Empire and Egypt try to modernize themselves, and what were the most important results?

Stretching from West Africa into southeastern Europe and across Southwest Asia to the East Indies, Islamic civilization competed successfully with western Europe for centuries. Beginning in the late seventeenth century, however, the rising absolutist states of Austria and Russia began to challenge the Ottoman Empire and gradually to reverse Ottoman rule in southeastern Europe. In the nineteenth century European industrialization and nation building further altered the long-standing balance of power, and Western expansion eventually posed a serious challenge to Muslims everywhere.

Decline and Reform in the Ottoman Empire

Although the Ottoman Empire began a slow decline after Suleiman (SOO-lay-man) the Magnificent in the sixteenth century, the relationship between the Ottomans and the Europeans in about 1750 was still one of roughly equal strength. This parity began to change quickly and radically, however, in the later eighteenth century, as the Ottomans fell behind western Europe in science, industrial skill, and military technology.

A transformation of the army was absolutely necessary to battle the Europeans more effectively and enhance the sultanate's authority within the empire. There were two primary obstacles to change, however. First, Ottoman military weakness reflected the decline of the sultan's "slave army," the janissary corps. With time, the janissaries — boys and other slaves raised in Turkey as Muslims, then trained to serve in the Ottoman infantry's elite corps — became a corrupt and privileged hereditary caste, absolutely opposed to any military innovations that might undermine their high status. Second, the empire was no longer a centralized military state. Instead local governors were becoming increasingly independent, pursuing their own interests and even seeking to establish their own governments and hereditary dynasties.

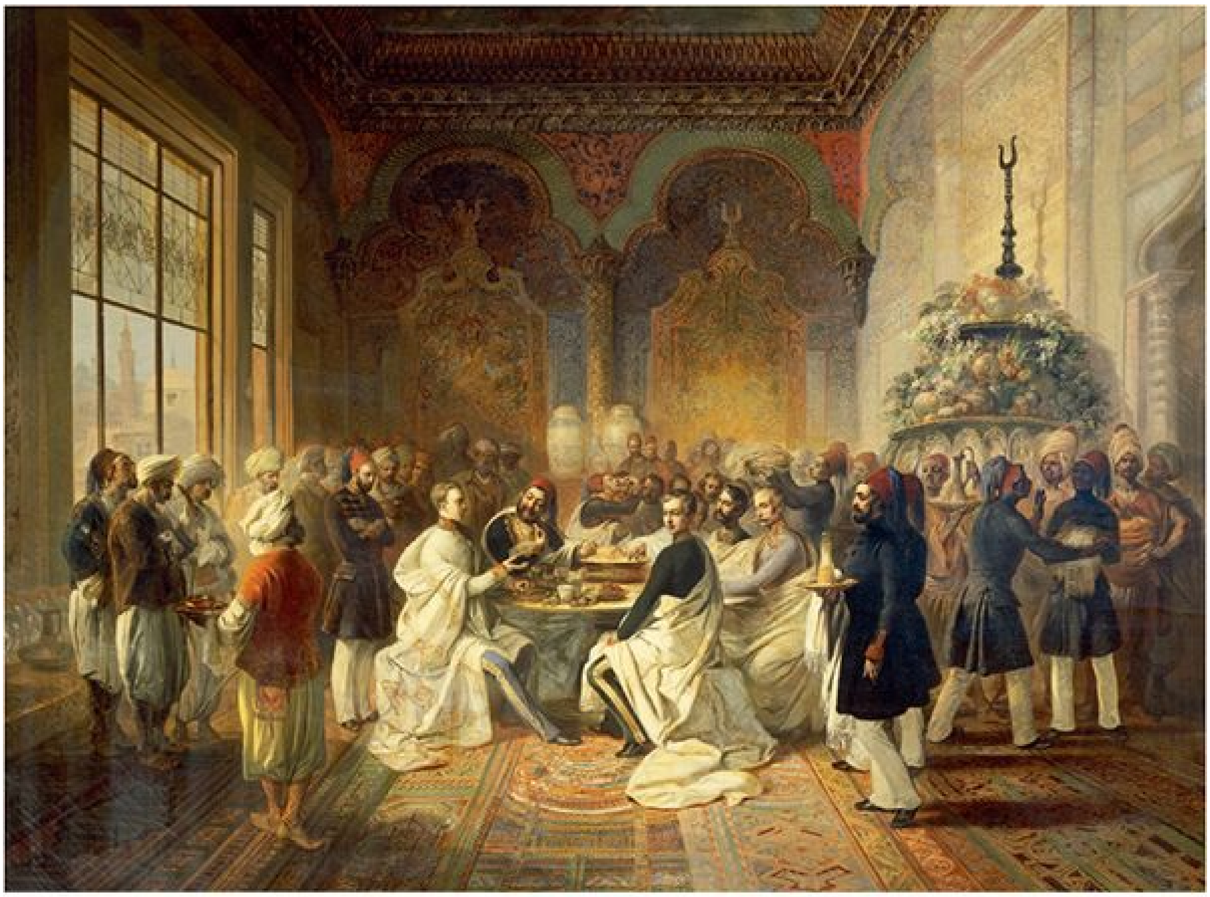
Sultan Selim III (r. 1789–1807) understood these realities, but when he tried to reorganize the army, the janissaries refused to use any "Christian" equipment. In 1807 they revolted and executed Selim in a palace revolution, one of many that plagued the Ottoman state. Selim's successor, the reform-minded Mahmud II (r. 1808–1839), proceeded cautiously, picking loyal officers and building his dependable artillery corps. In 1826 his council ordered the janissaries to drill in the European manner. As expected, the janissaries revolted and charged the palace, where they were mowed down by the waiting artillery.

The destruction and abolition of the janissaries cleared the way for building a new army, but it came too late to stop the rise of Muhammad Ali, the Ottoman governor in Egypt. In 1831 his French-trained forces occupied the Ottoman province of Syria and appeared ready to depose Mahmud II. The Ottoman sultan survived, but only with help from Britain, Russia, and Austria. The Ottomans were saved again in 1839, after their forces were routed trying to drive Muhammad Ali from Syria. In the last months of 1840 Russian diplomatic efforts, British and Austrian naval blockades, and threatened military action convinced Muhammad Ali to return Syria to the Ottomans. European powers preferred a weak and dependent Ottoman state to a strong and revitalized Muslim entity under a leader such as Muhammad Ali.

In 1839, realizing their precarious position, liberal Ottoman statesmen launched an era of radical reforms, which lasted until 1876 and culminated in a constitution and a short-lived parliament. Known as the **Tanzimat** (TAHN-zee-maht) (literally, “regulations” or “orders”), these reforms were designed to remake the empire on a western European model. The new decrees called for Muslim, Christian, and Jewish equality before the law and in business, security of life and property, and a modernized administration and military. New commercial laws allowed free importation of foreign goods, as British advisers demanded, and permitted foreign merchants to operate freely throughout an economically dependent empire. Under British pressure, slavery in the empire was drastically curtailed, though not abolished completely. Of great significance, growing numbers among the elite and the upwardly mobile embraced Western education, adopted Western manners and artistic styles, and accepted secular values to some extent.

Tanzimat A set of radical reforms designed to remake the Ottoman Empire on a western European model.

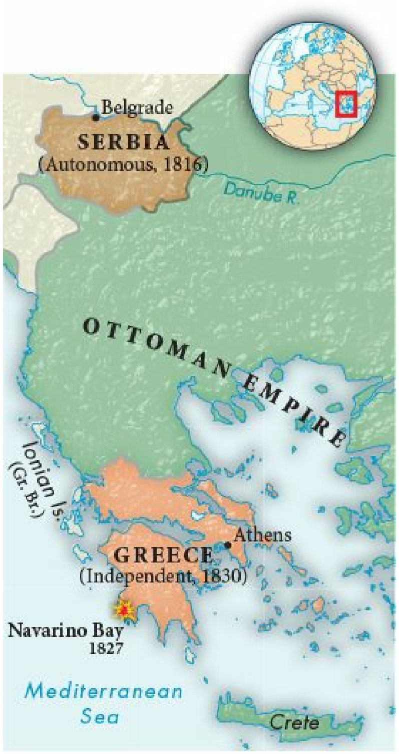
Intended to bring revolutionary modernization such as that experienced by Russia under Peter the Great (see “Peter the Great and Russia’s Turn to the West” in Chapter 18) and by Japan in the Meiji era (see “The Meiji Restoration” in Chapter 26), the Tanzimat achieved only partial success. The Ottoman state and society failed to regain its earlier power and authority for several reasons. First, implementation of the reforms required a new generation of well-trained and trustworthy officials, and that generation did not exist. Second, the liberal reforms failed to halt the growth of nationalism among Christian subjects in the Balkans (discussed below), which resulted in crises and defeats that undermined all reform efforts. Third, the Ottoman initiatives did not curtail the appetite of Western imperialism, and European bankers gained a stranglehold on Ottoman finances. In 1875 the Ottoman state had to declare partial bankruptcy and place its finances in the hands of European creditors.



Miramare Palace, Trieste, Italy/De Agostini Picture Library/Gianni Dagli Orti/Bridgeman Images

Pasha Halim Receiving Archduke Maximilian of Austria As this painting suggests, Ottoman leaders became well versed in European languages and culture. They also mastered the game of power politics, playing one European state against another and securing the Ottoman Empire’s survival. The black servants on the right may be slaves from the Sudan.

Finally, the elaboration — at least on paper — of equal rights for citizens and religious communities failed to create greater unity within the state. Religious disputes increased, worsened by the Great Powers’ relentless interference. This development embittered relations between religious communities, distracted the government from its reform mission, and split Muslims into secularists and religious conservatives. Islamic conservatives became the most dependable supporters of Sultan Abdülhamid II (ahb-DUHL-ah-mid) (r. 1876–1909), who abandoned the model of European liberalism in his long and repressive reign.



Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e,
© 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Ottoman Decline in the Balkans, 1818–1830

Meanwhile, the Ottoman Empire gradually lost control of its vast territories. Serbian nationalists rebelled and forced the Ottomans to grant Serbia local autonomy in 1816. The Greeks revolted against Ottoman rule in 1821 and won their national independence in 1830. As the Ottomans dealt with these uprisings by their Christian subjects in Europe, they failed to defend their Islamic provinces in North Africa. In 1830 French armies began their conquest of the Arabic-speaking province of Algeria.

Finally, during the Russo-Turkish War (1877–1878), absolutist Russia and a coalition of Balkan countries pushed southward into Ottoman lands and won a decisive victory. At the Congress of Berlin in 1878, the European Great Powers and the Ottoman Empire met to formally recognize Bulgarian, Romanian, Serbian, and Montenegrin independence. The Ottomans also lost territory to the Russians in the Caucasus, Austria-Hungary occupied the Ottoman provinces of Bosnia-Herzegovina (BAHZ-nee-uh HERT-suh-go-vee-nuh) and Novi Pazar (NOH-vi PAH-zar), and

Great Britain took over Cyprus (SIGH-pruhs). The Ottoman Empire, now labeled the “sick man of Europe” in the European press, left the meeting significantly weakened and humiliated.

The combination of declining international power and conservative tyranny eventually led to a powerful resurgence of the modernizing impulse among idealistic Turkish exiles in Europe and young army officers in Istanbul. These fervent patriots, the so-called **Young Turks**, seized power in the 1908 revolution, overthrowing Sultan Abdülhamid II. They made his brother Mehmed V (r. 1909–1918) the figurehead sultan and forced him to implement reforms. The Young Turks helped prepare the way for the birth of modern secular Turkey after the defeat and collapse of the Ottoman Empire in World War I.

Young Turks Fervent patriots who seized power in the revolution of 1908, forcing the conservative sultan to implement reforms; they helped pave the way for the birth of modern secular Turkey.

Egypt: From Reform to British Occupation

The ancient land of the pharaohs had been ruled by a succession of foreigners from 525 B.C.E. to the Ottoman conquest in the early sixteenth century. In 1798, as France and Britain prepared for war in Europe, Napoleon Bonaparte invaded Egypt, thereby threatening British access to India, and occupied the territory for three years. Into the power vacuum left by the French withdrawal stepped an extraordinary Albanian-born Turkish general, Muhammad Ali (1769–1849).

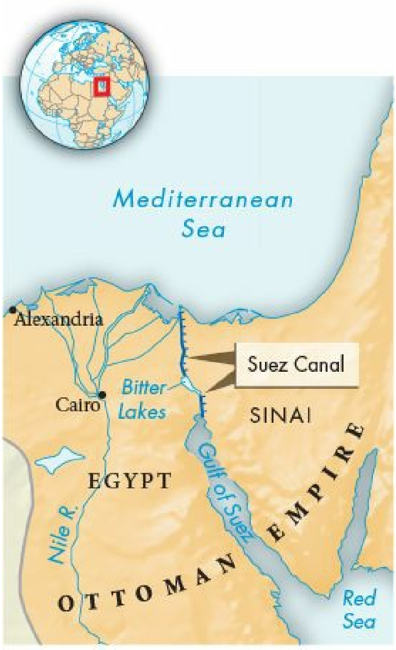
Appointed Egypt’s governor by Sultan Selim III in 1805, Muhammad Ali set out to build his own state on the strength of a large, powerful army organized along European lines. He also reformed the government and promoted modern industry. (See “Individuals in Society: Muhammad Ali,” at right.) For a time Muhammad Ali’s ambitious strategy seemed to work, but it eventually foundered when his armies occupied Syria and he threatened the Ottoman sultan, Mahmud II. In the face of European military might and diplomatic entreaties, Muhammad Ali agreed to peace with his Ottoman overlords and withdrew. In return he was given unprecedented hereditary rule over Egypt and Sudan. By his death in 1849, Muhammad Ali had established a strong and virtually independent Egyptian state within the Ottoman Empire.

To pay for a modern army and industrialization, Muhammad Ali encouraged the development of commercial agriculture geared to the

European market, which had profound social implications. Egyptian peasants had been largely self-sufficient, growing food on state-owned land allotted to them by tradition. High-ranking officials and members of Muhammad Ali's family began carving private landholdings out of the state domain, and they forced the peasants to grow cash crops for European markets.

Muhammad Ali's modernization policies attracted growing numbers of Europeans to the banks of the Nile. Europeans served as army officers, engineers, doctors, government officials, and police officers. Others worked in trade, finance, and shipping. Above all, Europeans living in Egypt combined with landlords and officials to continue steering commercial agriculture toward exports. As throughout the Ottoman Empire, Europeans enjoyed important commercial and legal privileges and formed an economic elite.

In 1863 Muhammad Ali's grandson Ismail began his sixteen-year rule (r. 1863–1879) as Egypt's khedive (kuh-DEEV), or prince. He was a westernizing autocrat who received his education at France's leading military academy and dreamed of European technology and capital to modernize Egypt and build a vast empire in northwestern Africa. He promoted cotton production, and exports to Europe soared. Ismail also borrowed large sums, and with his support the Suez Canal was completed by a French company in 1869, shortening the voyage from Europe to Asia by thousands of miles. Cairo acquired modern boulevards and Western hotels. As Ismail proudly declared, “My country is no longer in Africa, we now form part of Europe.”[10]



Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e,
© 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

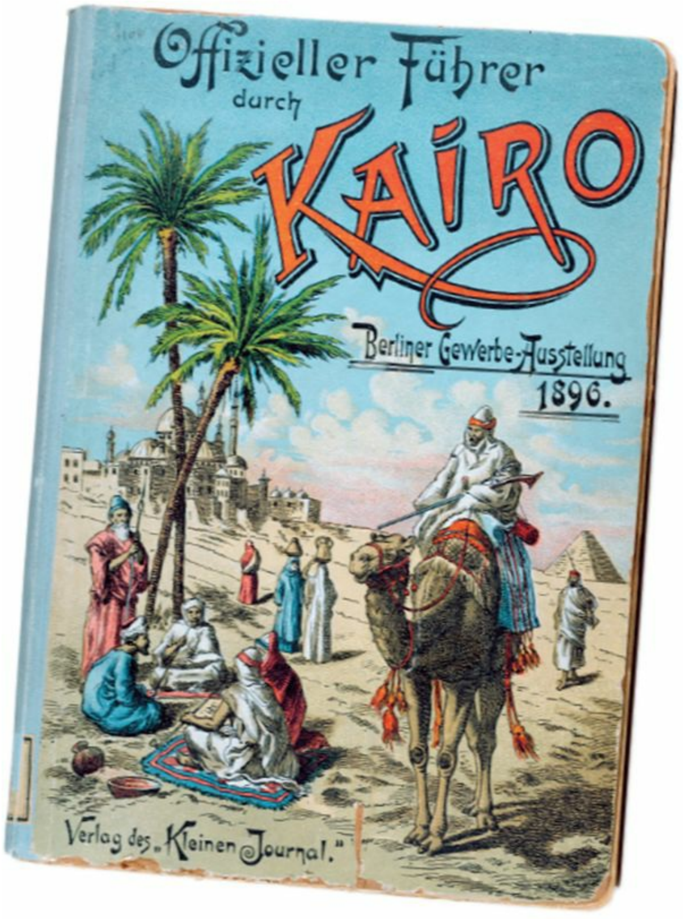
The Suez Canal, 1869

Major cultural and intellectual changes accompanied the political and economic ones. The Arabic of the masses, rather than the conqueror's Turkish, became the official language, and young, European-educated Egyptians helped spread new skills and ideas in the bureaucracy. A host of writers, intellectuals, and religious thinkers responded to the novel conditions with innovative ideas that had a powerful impact in Egypt and other Muslim societies.

Three influential figures who represented broad families of thought were especially significant. The teacher and writer Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (jah-MAL al-DIN al-af-GHAN-ee) (1838/39–1897) argued for the purification of Islamic religious belief, Muslim unity, and a revolutionary overthrow of corrupt Muslim rulers and foreign exploiters. The more moderate Muhammad Abduh (AHB-duh) (1849–1905) launched the modern Islamic reform movement. Abduh concluded that Muslims should adopt a flexible, reasoned approach to change, modernity, science, social questions, and foreign ideas and not reject these out of hand.

Finally, the writer Qasim Amin (KAH-zim ah-MEEN) (1863–1908) represented those who found inspiration in the West in the late nineteenth century. In his influential book *The Liberation of Women* (1899), Amin argued forcefully that superior education for European women had contributed greatly to the Islamic world's falling far behind the West. In his view, the rejuvenation of Muslim societies required greater equality for women:

> History confirms and demonstrates that the status of women is inseparably tied to the status of a nation. Where the status of a nation is low, reflecting an uncivilized condition for that nation, the status of women is also low, and when the status of a nation is elevated, reflecting the progress and civilization of that nation, the status of women in that country is also elevated.[11]



Private Collection/Archives Charmet/Bridgeman Images

Egyptian Travel Guide Ismail’s efforts to transform Cairo were fairly successful. As a result, European tourists could more easily visit the country that their governments dominated. Ordinary Europeans were lured to exotic lands by travel books like this colorful “Official Guide” to an exhibition on Cairo held in Berlin.

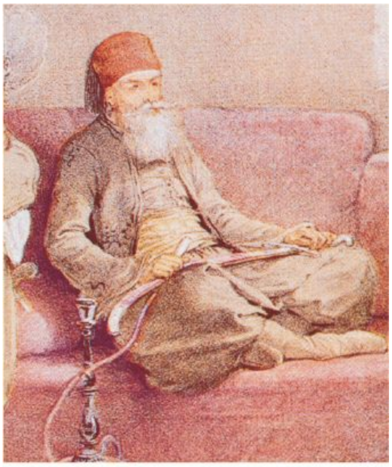
Egypt changed rapidly during Ismail’s rule, but his projects were reckless and enormously expensive. By 1876 the Egyptian government could not pay the interest on its colossal debt. Rather than let Egypt go bankrupt and repudiate its loans, France and Great Britain intervened, forcing Ismail to appoint French and British commissioners to oversee Egyptian finances. This meant that Europeans would determine the state budget and in effect rule Egypt.

Foreign financial control evoked a violent nationalistic reaction. Continuing diplomatic pressure, which forced Ismail to abdicate in favor of his weak son, Tewfiq (teh-FEEK) (r. 1879–1892), resulted in bloody anti-European riots in Alexandria in 1882. In response, the British fleet bombarded Alexandria, and a British expeditionary force occupied all of Egypt. British armies remained in Egypt until 1956.

Initially the British maintained the fiction that Egypt was an autonomous province of the Ottoman Empire, but the khedive was a mere puppet. In reality, the British consul, General Evelyn Baring, later Lord Cromer, ruled the country after 1883. Baring was a paternalistic reformer. He initiated tax reforms and made some improvements to conditions for peasants. Foreign bondholders received their interest payments, while Egyptian nationalists chafed under foreign rule.

INDIVIDUALS IN SOCIETY

Muhammad Ali



Mary Evans Picture Library/The Image Works

Muhammad Ali, the Albanian-born ruler of Egypt, in 1839.

THE DYNAMIC LEADER MUHAMMAD Ali stands across the history of modern Egypt like a colossus. Yet the essence of the man remains a mystery, and historians vary greatly in their interpretations of him. Sent by the Ottomans, with Albanian troops, to oppose the French occupation of Egypt in 1799, Muhammad Ali maneuvered skillfully after the French withdrawal in 1802. In 1805 he was named pasha, or Ottoman governor, of Egypt. Only the Mamluks remained as rivals. Originally an elite corps of Turkish slave soldiers, the Mamluks had become a semifeudal military ruling class living off the Egyptian peasantry. In 1811 Muhammad Ali offered to make peace, and he invited the Mamluk chiefs and their retainers to a banquet in Cairo’s Citadel. As the unsuspecting guests processed through a narrow passage, his troops opened fire, slaughtering all the Mamluk leaders.

After eliminating his foes, Muhammad Ali embarked on a program of radical reforms. He reorganized agriculture and commerce, reclaiming most of the cultivated land for the state domain, which he controlled. He also established state agencies to monopolize, for his own profit, the sale of agricultural goods. Commercial agriculture geared to exports to Europe developed rapidly, especially after the successful introduction of high-quality cotton in 1821. Canals and irrigation systems along the Nile were rebuilt and expanded.

Muhammad Ali used his growing revenues to recast his army along European lines. He recruited French officers to train the soldiers. As the military grew, so did the need for hospitals, schools of medicine and languages, and secular education. Young Turks and some Egyptians were sent to Europe for advanced study. The ruler boldly financed factories to produce uniforms and weapons, and he prohibited the importation of European goods so as to protect Egypt's infant industries. In the 1830s state factories were making one-fourth of Egypt's cotton into cloth. Above all, Muhammad Ali drafted Egyptian peasants into the military for the first time, thereby expanding his army to one hundred thousand men. It was this force that conquered the Ottoman province of Syria, threatened the sultan in Istanbul, and triggered European intervention. Grudgingly recognized by his Ottoman overlord as Egypt's hereditary ruler in 1841, Muhammad Ali nevertheless had to accept European and Ottoman demands to give up Syria and abolish his monopolies and protective tariffs. The old ruler then lost heart; his reforms languished, and his factories disappeared.

In the attempt to understand Muhammad Ali and his significance, many historians have concluded that he was a national hero, the "founder of modern Egypt." His ambitious state-building projects — hospitals, schools, factories, and the army — were the basis for an Egyptian reawakening and eventual independence from the Ottomans' oppressive foreign rule. Similarly, state-sponsored industrialization promised an escape from poverty and Western domination, which was foiled only by European intervention and British insistence on free trade.

A growing minority of historians question these views. They see Muhammad Ali primarily as an Ottoman adventurer. In their view, he did not aim for national independence for Egypt, but rather "intended to carve out a small empire for himself and for his children after him."* Paradoxically, his success, which depended on heavy taxes and brutal army service, led to Egyptian nationalism among the Arabic-speaking masses, but that new nationalism was directed against Muhammad Ali and his Turkish-speaking entourage. Continuing research into this leader's life will help resolve these conflicting interpretations.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Which of Muhammad Ali's actions support the interpretation that he was the founder of modern Egypt? Which actions support the opposing view?
2. After you have studied Chapter 26, compare Muhammad Ali and the

Meiji reformers in Japan. What accounts for the similarities and differences?

[*] K. Fahmy, *All the Pasha's Men: Mehmed Ali, His Army, and the Making of Modern Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 310.

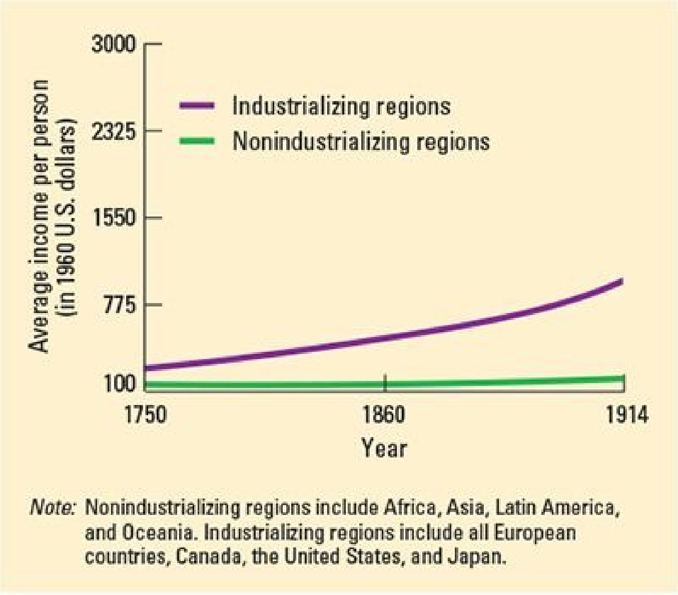
The Expanding World Economy

What were the global consequences of European industrialization between 1800 and 1914?

Over the course of the nineteenth century the Industrial Revolution expanded and transformed economic relations across the face of the earth. As a result, the world's total income grew as never before, and international trade boomed. Western nations used their superior military power to force non-Western nations to open their doors to Western economic interests. Consequently, the largest share of the ever-increasing gains from trade flowed to the West, resulting in a stark division between rich and poor countries.

The Rise of Global Inequality

From a global perspective, the ultimate significance of the Industrial Revolution was that it allowed those world regions that industrialized in the nineteenth century to increase their wealth and power enormously in comparison with those that did not. A gap between the industrializing regions (Europe, North America, Japan) and the nonindustrializing regions (mainly Africa, Asia, and Latin America) opened and grew steadily throughout the nineteenth century (Figure 25.1). Moreover, this pattern of uneven global development became institutionalized, built into the structure of the world economy. Thus evolved a world of economic haves and have-nots, with the have-not peoples and nations far outnumbering the haves.



Note: Nonindustrializing regions include Africa, Asia, Latin America, and Oceania. Industrializing regions include all European countries, Canada, the United States, and Japan.

Source of data: P. Bairoch and M. Lévy-Leboyer, eds., Disparities in Economic Development Since the Industrial Revolution [New York: Macmillan, 1980].

FIGURE 25.1 The Growth of Average Income per Person Worldwide, 1750–1914

In 1750 the average living standard was no higher in Europe as a whole than in the rest of the world. By 1914 the average person in the wealthiest countries had an income four or five times as great (and in Great Britain nine or ten times as great) as an average person's income in the poorest countries of Africa and Asia. The rise in average income and well-being reflected the rising level of industrialization in Great Britain and then in the other developed countries before World War I.

The reasons for these enormous income disparities have generated a great deal of debate. One school of interpretation stresses that the West used science, technology, capitalist organization, and even its critical worldview to create its wealth and greater physical well-being. An opposing school argues that the West used its political, economic, and military power to steal much of its riches through its rapacious colonialism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

These issues are complex, and there are few simple answers. As noted in Chapter 23, the wealth-creating potential of technological improvement and more intensive capitalist organization was great. At the same time, the initial breakthroughs in the late eighteenth century rested in part on Great Britain's having already used political force to dominate a substantial part of the world economy. In the nineteenth century other industrializing countries joined with Britain to extend Western dominion over the entire world economy. Unprecedented wealth was created, but the lion's share of that new wealth flowed to the West and its propertied classes and to a tiny indigenous elite of cooperative rulers, landowners, and merchants.

The World Market

World trade was a powerful stimulus to economic development in the nineteenth century. In 1913 the value of world trade was about twenty-five times what it had been in 1800, even though prices of manufactured goods and raw materials were lower in 1913 than in 1800. In a general way, this enormous increase in international commerce summed up the growth of an interlocking world economy centered in Europe.

Great Britain played a key role in using trade to tie the world together economically. In 1815 Britain already possessed a colonial empire, including India, Canada, and Australia. The technological breakthroughs of the Industrial Revolution encouraged British manufacturers to seek export markets around the world. After Parliament repealed laws restricting grain importation in 1846, Britain also became the world's leading importer of foreign goods. Free access to Britain's market stimulated the development of mines and plantations in Africa and Asia.

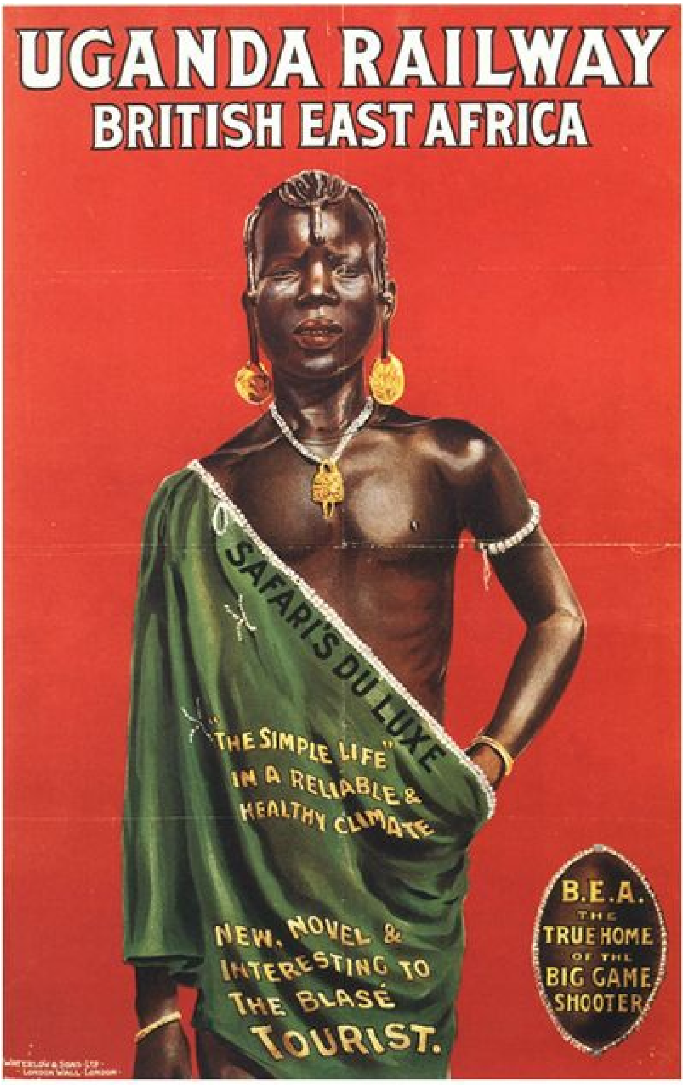
The conquest of distance facilitated the growth of trade. Wherever railroads were built, they drastically reduced transportation costs, opened new economic opportunities, and called forth new skills and attitudes.

Much of the railroad construction undertaken in Africa, Asia, and Latin America connected seaports with inland cities and regions, as opposed to linking and developing cities and regions within a country. Thus railroads dovetailed with Western economic interests, facilitating the inflow and sale of Western manufactured goods and the export and development of local raw materials.

Steam power also revolutionized transportation by sea. Steam power was first used to supplant sails on the world's oceans in the late 1860s. Passenger and freight rates tumbled, and the shipment of low-priced raw materials from one continent to another became feasible.

The revolution in land and sea transportation helped European settlers seize vast, thinly populated territories and produce agricultural products and raw materials for sale in Europe. Improved transportation enabled Asia, Africa, and Latin America to export not only the traditional tropical products — spices, dyes, tea, sugar, coffee — but also new raw materials for industry, such as jute, rubber, cotton, and peanut and coconut oil. Intercontinental trade was enormously facilitated by the Suez Canal in Egypt and the Panama Canal in Central America. Of great importance, too, was large and continual investment in modern port facilities, which made loading and unloading cheaper, faster, and more dependable. Finally, transoceanic telegraph cables inaugurated rapid communications among the world's financial centers and linked world commodity prices in a global network.

The growth of trade and the conquest of distance encouraged Europeans to make massive foreign investments beginning about 1840, but not to European colonies or protectorates in Asia and Africa. About three-quarters of total European investment went to other European countries, the United States and Canada, Australia and New Zealand, and Latin America. Here booming, industrializing economies offered the most profitable investment opportunities. Much of this investment was peaceful and mutually beneficial for lenders and borrowers. The victims were Native Americans, Australian Aborigines (AB-or-ij-uh-nees), New Zealand Maoris (MAO-reez), and other native peoples who were displaced and decimated by the diseases, liquor, and weapons of an aggressively expanding Western society.


UGANDA RAILWAY
BRITISH EAST AFRICA
SAFARIS DU LUXE
"THE SIMPLE LIFE" IN A RELIABLE & HEALTHY CLIMATE
NEW, NOVEL & INTERESTING TO THE BLASÉ TOURIST.
B.E.A. THE TRUE HOME OF THE BIG GAME SHOOTER

Advertising Archive/Courtesy, Everett Collection

British East African Railway Poster Europeans constructed railroads in most of their African colonies to haul raw materials from the interior to coastal ports and to transport colonial officials, white settlers, and foreign tourists. Britain’s East African railroad line from Kampala, Uganda, to the Kenyan port city of Mombasa was one of the most famous and most romanticized. Indians from British India did much of the construction and then remained in Kenya to form substantial Indian communities. President Theodore Roosevelt rode this train while on his 1909 African safari.

The Great Global Migration

What fueled migration, and what was the general pattern of this unprecedented movement of people?

A poignant human drama was interwoven with this worldwide economic expansion: millions of people left their ancestral lands in one of history's greatest migrations, the so-called **great migration**. In the early eighteenth century the world's population entered a period of rapid growth that continued unabated through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Europe's population (including Asiatic Russia) more than doubled during the nineteenth century, from approximately 188 million in 1800 to roughly 432 million in 1900. Since African and Asian populations increased more slowly than those in Europe, Europeans and peoples of predominantly European origin jumped from about 22 percent of the world's total in 1850 to a high of about 38 percent in 1930.

great migration The mass movement of people from Europe in the nineteenth century; one reason that the West's impact on the world was so powerful and complex.

Rapid population growth led to relative overpopulation in area after area in Europe and was a driving force behind emigration and Western expansion. Millions of country folk moved to nearby cities, and the more adventuresome went abroad, in search of work and economic opportunity. Some governments encouraged their excess populations to emigrate, even paying part of their expenses. Wars, famine, poverty, and, particularly in the case of Russian and eastern European Jews, bigotry and discrimination were also leading causes for emigrants to leave their ancestral homelands. More than 60 million people left Europe over the course of the nineteenth century, primarily for the rapidly growing "areas of European settlement" — North and South America, Australia, New Zealand, and Siberia. European emigration crested in the first decade of the twentieth century, when more than five times as many men and women departed as in the 1850s.

The European migrant was most often a small peasant landowner or a village craftsman whose traditional way of life was threatened by too little land, estate agriculture, and cheap factory-made goods. Determined to maintain or improve their precarious status, the vast majority of migrants were young and often unmarried. Many European migrants eventually returned home after some time abroad. Moreover, when the economic situation improved at home or when people began to win basic political and social reforms, migration slowed.

Ties of family and friendship played a crucial role in the movement of peoples. Over several years a given province or village might lose significant numbers of its inhabitants to migration. These people then settled together in rural enclaves or tightly knit urban neighborhoods in foreign lands thousands of miles away. Very often a strong individual — a businessman, a religious leader — blazed the way, and others followed, forming a **migration chain**.

migration chain The movement of peoples in which one strong individual blazes the way and others follow.

A substantial number of Asians — especially Chinese, Japanese, Indians, and Filipinos — also responded to population pressure and rural hardship with temporary or permanent migration. At least 3 million Asians moved abroad before 1920. Most went as indentured laborers to work on the plantations or in the gold mines of Latin America, southern Asia, Africa, California, Hawaii, and Australia. White estate owners often used Asians to replace or supplement black Africans after the suppression of the Atlantic slave trade.

Image Asset Management/IAM/akg-images

Mulberry Street, New York, ca. 1900 This photo captures the vibrancy and energy of Manhattan's Lower East Side at the height of new immigration to America from around the 1880s to the early 1920s. Mulberry Street, and many others such as Delancey, Bowery, Orchard, and Hester, were home to millions of newly arrived immigrants from all over the world. Leaving their small, crowded tenement rooms, they would fill the streets with a cacophony of languages, dress, music, and the smell of exotic foods.

Asian migration would undoubtedly have been much greater if planters and mine owners desiring cheap labor had had their way. But usually they did not. Asians fled the plantations and gold mines as soon as possible, seeking greater opportunities in trade and towns. Here, however, they came into conflict with white settlers, who demanded a halt to Asian immigration. By the 1880s Americans and Australians were building **great white walls** — discriminatory laws designed to keep Asians out.

great white walls Discriminatory laws passed by Americans and Australians to keep Asians from settling in their countries in the 1880s.

The general policy of "whites only" in the lands of large-scale European settlement meant that Europeans and people of European ancestry reaped the main benefits of the great migration. By 1913 people in Australia, Canada, and the United States all had higher average incomes than did people in Great Britain, still Europe’s wealthiest nation. This, too, contributed to Western dominance in the increasingly lopsided world.

Within Asia and Africa the situation was different. Migrants from south China frequently settled in Dutch, British, and French colonies of Southeast Asia, where they established themselves as peddlers and small shopkeepers. These “overseas Chinese” gradually emerged as a new class of entrepreneurs and office workers. Traders from India and modern-day Lebanon performed the same function in much of sub-Saharan Africa after European colonization in the late nineteenth century. Thus in some parts of Asia and Africa the business class was both Asian and foreign, protected and tolerated by Western imperialists who found these business people useful.

Chapter Summary

Following Europe's Industrial Revolution in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, European demands for raw materials and new markets reoriented Africa's economy. The transatlantic slave trade declined dramatically as Africans began producing commodities for export. This legitimate trade in African goods proved profitable and led to the emergence of a small black middle class. Islam revived and expanded until about 1870.

After 1880 a handful of Western nations seized most of Africa and parts of Asia and rushed to build authoritarian empires. The reasons for this empire building included trade rivalries, competitive nationalism in Europe, and self-justifying claims of a civilizing mission. European nations' unprecedented military superiority enabled them to crush resistance and impose their will.

The Ottoman Empire and Egypt prepared to become modern nation-states in the twentieth century by introducing reforms to improve the military, provide technical and secular education, and expand personal liberties. They failed, however, to defend themselves from Western imperialism. The Ottoman Empire lost territory but survived in a weakened condition. Egypt's Muhammad Ali reformed the government and promoted modern industry, but Egypt went bankrupt and was conquered and ruled by Britain. Western domination was particularly bitter for most Muslims because they saw it as profaning Islam and taking away their political independence.

Population pressures at home and economic opportunities abroad caused millions of European emigrants to resettle in the sparsely populated areas of European settlement in North and South America, Australia, and Asiatic Russia. Migration from Asia was much more limited, mainly because European settlers raised high barriers to prevent the settlement of Asian immigrants.

CONNECTIONS

By the end of the nineteenth century broader industrialization across Europe increased the need for raw materials and markets, and with it came a rush to create or enlarge vast political empires abroad. The New Imperialism was aimed primarily at Africa and Asia, and in the years before 1914 the leading European nations not only created empires abroad, but also continued to send massive streams of migrants, money, and manufactured goods around the world. (The impact of this unprecedented migration is taken up in the next two chapters.) This political empire building contrasted sharply with the economic penetration of non-Western territories between 1816 and 1880, which had allowed Africa to develop a “legitimate trade” and end the transatlantic slave trade, and which left China and Japan “opened” but politically independent, as Chapter 26 will show.

European influence also grew in the Middle East. Threatened by European military might, modernization, and Christianity, Turks and Arabs tried to implement reforms that would assure their survival and independence but also endeavored to retain key aspects of their cultures, particularly Islam. Although they made important advances in the modernization of their economies and societies, their efforts were not enough to overcome Western imperialism. With the end of World War I and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, England and France divided much of the Middle East into colonies and established loyal surrogates as rulers in other, nominally independent, countries. Chapter 29 will take up the story of these developments.

Easy imperialist victories over weak states and poorly armed non-Western peoples encouraged excessive pride and led Europeans to underestimate the fragility of their accomplishments. Imperialism also made nationalism more aggressive and militaristic. As European imperialism was dividing the world after the 1880s, the leading European states were also dividing themselves into two opposing military alliances. As Chapter 28 will show, when the two armed camps stumbled into war in 1914, the results were disastrous. World War I set the stage for a new anti-imperialist struggle in Africa and Asia for equality and genuine independence, the topic of Chapters 31 and 32.

CHAPTER 25 Review and Explore

Identify Key Terms

Identify and explain the significance of each item below.

palm oil (p. 730)
jihad (p. 731)
Sokoto caliphate (p. 731)
Berlin Conference (p. 732)
protectorate (p. 732)
Afrikaners (p. 734)
New Imperialism (p. 739)
quinine (p. 740)
white man’s burden (p. 742)
Tanzimat (p. 746)
Young Turks (p. 748)
great migration (p. 752)
migration chain (p. 753)
great white walls (p. 753)

Review the Main Ideas

Answer the focus questions from each section of the chapter.

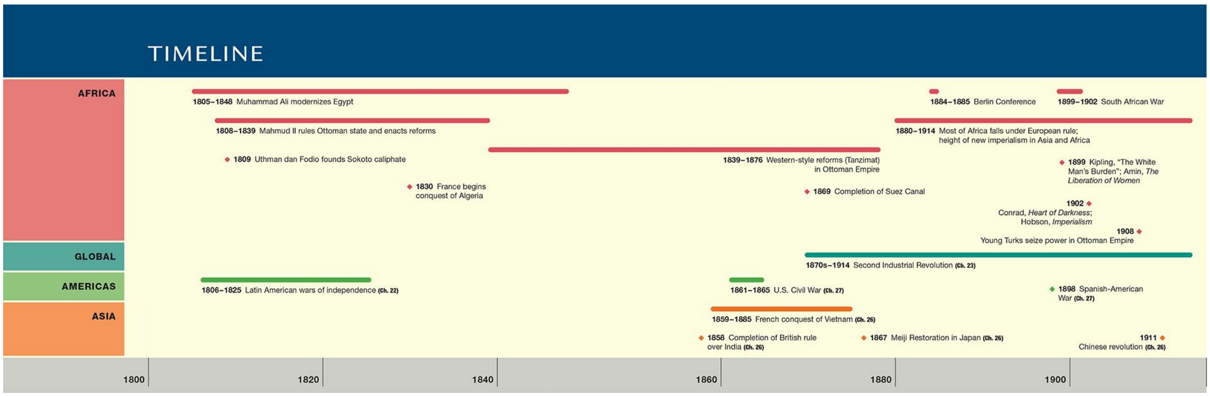
1. What were the most significant changes in Africa during the nineteenth century, and why did they occur? (p. 730)
2. What were the causes and consequences of European empire building after 1880? (p. 738)
3. How did the Ottoman Empire and Egypt try to modernize themselves, and what were the most important results? (p. 746)
4. What were the global consequences of European industrialization between 1800 and 1914? (p.750)
5. What fueled migration, and what was the general pattern of this unprecedented movement of people? (p. 752)

Make Comparisons and Connections

Analyze the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters.

1. Explain the transitions in Africa from the slave trade to legitimate trade to colonialism in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. How was Europe’s Industrial Revolution (Chapter 23) related to these transitions?

2. Europeans had been visiting Africa's coasts for four hundred years before colonizing the entire continent in thirty years in the second half of the nineteenth century. Why hadn't they colonized Africa earlier, and what factors allowed them to do it then?
3. What were the causes of the great migration in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries?



Suggested Resources

Books

Bagachi, Amiya Kumar. *Perilous Passage: Mankind and the Ascendancy of Capital*. 2005. A spirited radical critique of Western imperialism.

Conklin, Alice. *A Mission to Civilize: The French Republican Ideal and West Africa, 1895–1930*. 1997. An outstanding examination of French imperialism.

Cook, Scott B. *Colonial Encounters in the Age of High Imperialism*. 1996. A stimulating and very readable overview.

Coquery-Vidrovitch, Catherine. *Africa and the Africans in the Nineteenth Century: A Turbulent History*. 2009. English translation of a highly regarded history by a premier African scholar.

Findley, C. *The Turks in World History*. 2005. An exciting reconsideration of the Turks in long-term perspective.

Harper, Marjory, and Stephen Constantine. *Migration and Empire*. 2010. A comparative study of migration throughout the British Empire.

Headrick, Daniel R. *Tools of Empire*. 1991. Stresses technological superiority in Western expansion.

Hochschild, Adam. *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa*. 1999. The definitive account of King Leopold II's Congo and the human rights crusaders who exposed its horrors.

Hourani, Albert. *A History of the Arab Peoples*, 2d ed. 2010. Offers brilliant insights on developments in the nineteenth century.

Law, Robin, ed. *From Slave Trade to "Legitimate" Commerce: The Commercial Transition in Nineteenth-Century West Africa*. 2002. Leading scholars describe the transition to legitimate trade from an African perspective.

Lovejoy, P. *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa*, 3d ed. 2012. A fine synthesis of current knowledge.

Medard, Henri, and Shane Doyle. *Slavery in the Great Lakes Region of East Africa*. 2007. A significant contribution to the understudied story of slavery in East Africa, mainly in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Meredith, Martin. *Diamonds, Gold, and War: The British, the Boers, and the Making of South Africa*. 2007. An excellent account of the British scramble for South Africa from 1806 to the South African War (1899–1902).

Nugent, Walter. *Crossings: The Great Transatlantic Migrations, 1870–1914*. 1992. A classic study of migration history.

Wright, John. *The Trans-Saharan Slave Trade*. 2007. A well-researched study of slavery in a long-neglected region of Africa.

Documentaries

Africa: A Voyage of Discovery with Basil Davidson (Home Vision, 1984). An eight-part series about African history and society. See particularly episode 5, "The Bible and the Gun"; and episode 6, "The Magnificent African Cake."

King Leopold's Ghost (Pippa Scott and Oreet Rees, 2006). Based on Adam Hochschild's bestselling book by the same title, this documentary recounts the history of King Leopold II's Congo in all its brutality and horror.

The Ottomans: Europe's Muslim Emperors (BBC, 2013). A three-part BBC documentary that tells the history of the Ottoman Empire from its founding in the late thirteenth century to its downfall in the Great War.

Feature Film

Mountains of the Moon (Bob Rafelson, 1990). A beautifully filmed telling of the efforts by two English explorers, Sir Richard Burton and John Speke, to find the source of the Nile River in the late 1850s and early 1860s.

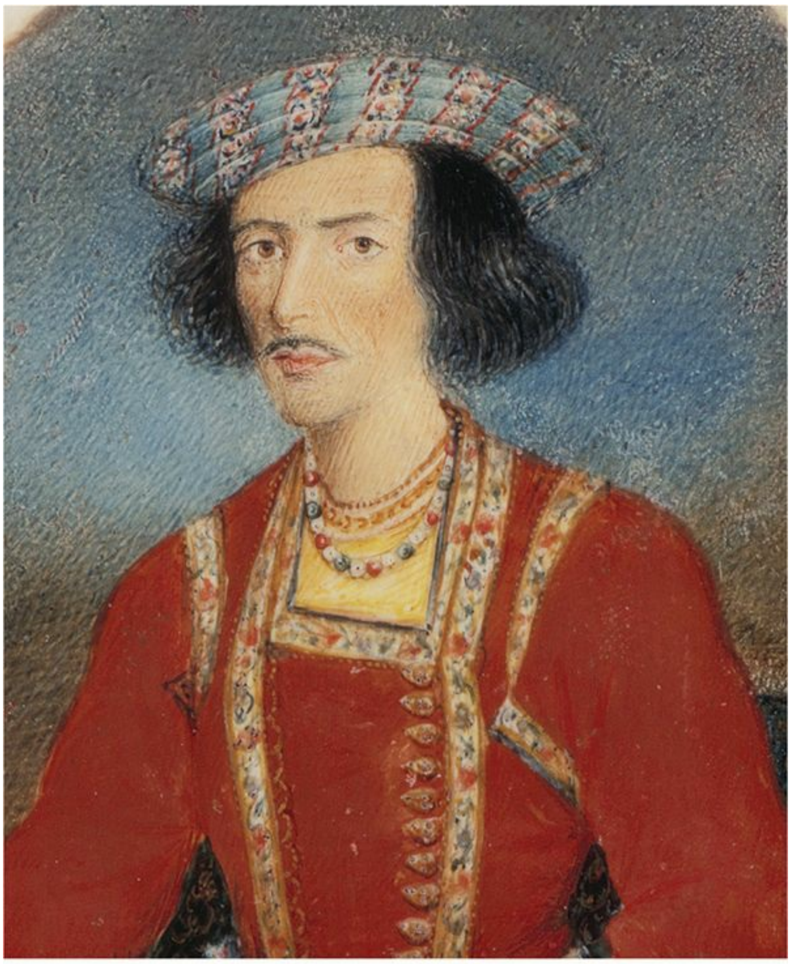
Websites

"Imperialism" in the *Internet Modern History Sourcebook.* A valuable reference site for historical sources on New Imperialism, from a global perspective, including primary sources, analyses, and links to other related websites. **sourcebooks.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/modsbook34.asp**

26

Asia and the Pacific in the Era of Imperialism

1800–1914



Victoria and Albert Museum, London, UK/V&A Images/Art Resource, NY

Rammohun Roy

The expansion of British power in India posed intellectual and cultural challenges to the native elite. Among those who rose to this challenge was writer and reformer Rammohun Roy, depicted

here.

During the nineteenth century the societies of Asia underwent enormous changes as a result of population growth, social unrest, and the looming presence of Western imperialist powers. At the beginning of the century Spain, the Netherlands, and Britain had colonies in the Philippines, modern Indonesia, and India, respectively. By the end of the century much more land — most of the southern tier of Asia, from India to the Philippines — had been made colonies of Western powers. Most of these colonies became tied to the industrializing world as exporters of agricultural products or raw materials, including timber, rubber, tin, sugar, tea, cotton, and jute. The Western presence brought benefits, especially to educated residents of major cities, where the colonizers often introduced modern public health, communications, and educational systems. Still, cultural barriers between the colonizers and the colonized were huge, and the Western presence rankled.

Not all the countries in Asia were reduced to colonies. Although Western powers put enormous pressures on China and exacted many concessions from it, China remained politically independent. Much more impressively, Japan became the first non-Western nation to meet the many-sided challenge of Western expansion. Japan emerged from the nineteenth-century crisis stronger than any other Asian nation, becoming the first non-Western country to industrialize successfully. By the end of this period Japan had become an imperialist power itself.

CHAPTER PREVIEW

INDIA AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN ASIA
In what ways did India change as a consequence of British rule?

COMPETITION FOR SOUTHEAST ASIA
Why were most but not all Southeast Asian societies reduced to colonies?

CHINA UNDER PRESSURE
Was China's decline in the nineteenth century due more to internal problems or to Western imperialism?

JAPAN'S RAPID TRANSFORMATION
How was Japan able to quickly master the challenges posed by the West?

THE PACIFIC REGION AND THE MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE
What were the causes and consequences of the vast movement of people in the Pacific region?

THE COUNTRIES OF ASIA IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

What explains the similarities and differences in the experiences of Asian countries in this era?

India and the British Empire in Asia

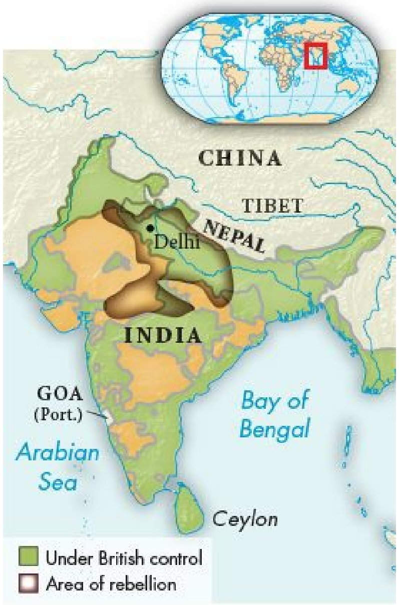
In what ways did India change as a consequence of British rule?

Arriving in India on the heels of the Portuguese in the seventeenth century, the British East India Company outmaneuvered French and Dutch rivals and was there to pick up the pieces as the Mughal Empire decayed during the eighteenth century (see “From the British East India Company to the British Empire in India” in Chapter 17). By 1757 the company had gained control over much of India. During the nineteenth century the British government replaced the company, progressively unified the subcontinent, and harnessed its economy to British interests.

Travel and communication between Britain and India became much faster, safer, and more predictable in this period. The time it took to travel to India from Britain dropped from six months to three weeks, due both to the development of steamships and the 1869 opening of the Suez Canal. Whereas at the beginning of the nineteenth century someone in England had to wait a year or more to get an answer to a letter sent to India, by 1870 it took only a couple of months — or, if the matter was urgent, only a few hours by telegraph.

The Evolution of British Rule

In India the British ruled with the cooperation of local princely allies, whom they could not afford to offend. To assert their authority, the British disbanded and disarmed local armies, introduced simpler private property laws, and enhanced the powers of local princes and religious leaders, both Hindu and Muslim. The British administrators were on the whole competent and concerned about the welfare of the Indian peasants. Slavery was outlawed and banditry suppressed, and new laws designed to improve women’s position in society were introduced. Sati (widow suicide) was outlawed in 1829, legal protection of widow remarriage was extended in 1856, and infanticide (disproportionately of female newborns) was banned in 1870.

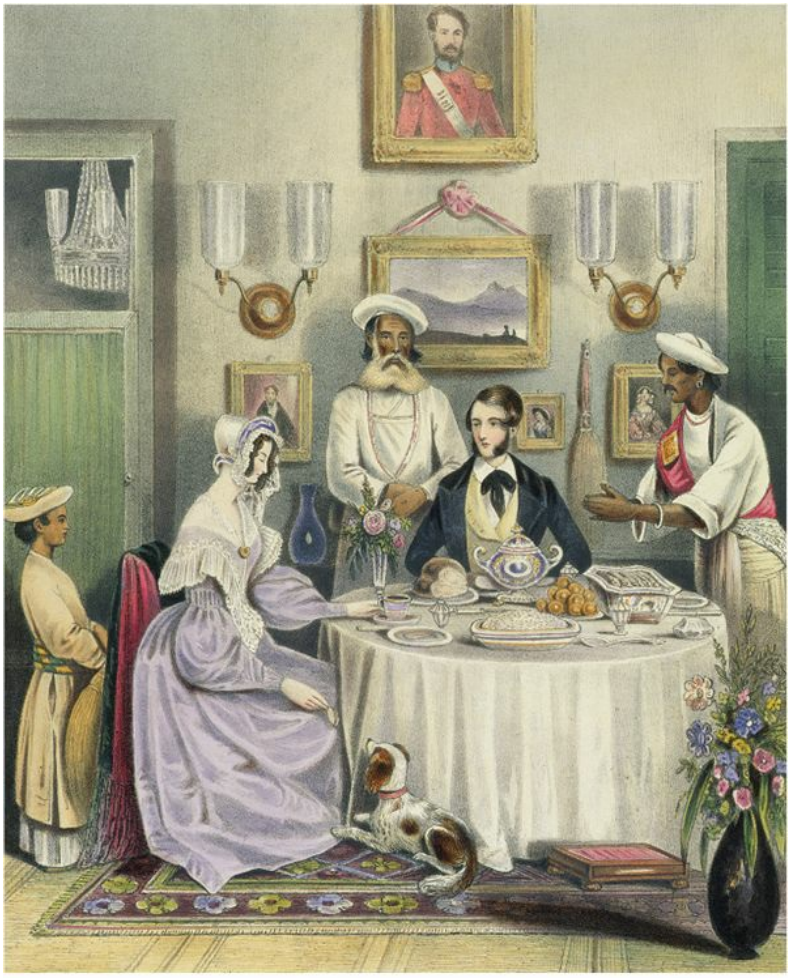


Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

The Great Mutiny / Great Revolt, 1857

The last armed resistance to British rule occurred in 1857. By that date the British military presence in India had grown to include two hundred thousand Indian sepoy troops and thirty-eight thousand British officers. In 1857 groups of sepoys, especially around Delhi, revolted in what the British called the **Great Mutiny** and the Indians called the **Great Revolt**. The sepoys' grievances were many, ranging from the use of fat from cows (sacred to Hindus) and pigs (regarded as filthy by Muslims) to grease rifle cartridges to high tax rates and the incorporation of low-caste soldiers into the army. The insurrection spread rapidly throughout northern and central India before it was finally crushed, primarily by native troops from other parts of India loyal to the British. Thereafter, although princely states were allowed to continue, Britain ruled India much more tightly. Moreover, the British in India acted more like an occupying power and mixed less with the Indian elite.

Great Mutiny / Great Revolt The terms used by the British and the Indians, respectively, to describe the last armed resistance to British rule in India, which occurred in 1857.



Private Collection/The Stapleton Collection/Bridgeman Images

Breakfast at Home In India the families of British civil servants could live more comfortably than they could back home. The artist Augustus Jules Bouvier captured their lifestyle in this 1842 engraving.

After 1858 India was ruled by the British Parliament in London and administered by a civil service in India, the upper echelons of which were all white. In 1900 this elite consisted of fewer than 3,500 top officials for a population of 300 million.

The Socioeconomic Effects of British Rule

The impact of British rule on the Indian economy was multifaceted. In the early stages, the British East India Company expanded agricultural production, creating large plantations. Early crops were opium to export to China (see “The Opium War”) and tea to substitute for imports from China. India gradually replaced China as the leading exporter of tea to Europe. Clearing land for tea and coffee plantations, along with massive commercial logging operations, led to extensive deforestation.

To aid the transport of goods, people, and information, the colonial administration invested heavily in India's infrastructure. By 1855 India's major cities had all been linked by telegraph and railroads, and postal service was being extended to local villages. By 1900 the rail network extended 25,000 miles, serving 188 million passengers. By then over 370,000 Indians worked for the railroads. Irrigation also received attention, and by 1900 India had the world's most extensive irrigation system.

At the same time, Indian production of textiles suffered a huge blow. Britain imported India's raw cotton but exported machine-spun yarn and machine-woven cloth, displacing millions of Indian hand-spinners and hand-weavers. By 1900 India was buying 40 percent of Britain's cotton exports. Not until 1900 were small steps taken toward industrializing India. By 1914 about a million Indians worked in factories.

Although the economy expanded, the poor did not see much improvement in their standard of living. Tenant farming and landlessness increased with the growth in plantation agriculture. Increases in production were eaten up by increases in population, which, as noted, had reached approximately 300 million by 1900. There was also a negative side to improved transportation. As Indians traveled more widely on the convenient trains, disease spread, especially cholera, which is transmitted by exposure to contaminated water. Pilgrims customarily bathed in and drank from sacred pools and rivers, worsening this problem. Despite improvements made to sanitation, in 1900 four out of every one thousand residents of British India still died of cholera each year.

The British and the Indian Educated Elite

The Indian middle class probably gained more than the poor from British rule, because they were the ones to benefit from the English-language educational system Britain established in India. (See "Thinking Like a Historian: English-Language Education for Indians," page 762.) Missionaries also established schools with Western curricula, and 790,000 Indians were attending some 24,000 schools by 1870. High-caste Hindus came to form a new elite profoundly influenced by Western thought and culture.

By creating a well-educated, English-speaking Indian elite and a bureaucracy aided by a modern communication system, the British laid the groundwork for a unified, powerful state. Britain placed under the same general system of law and administration the various Hindu and Muslim peoples of the subcontinent who had resisted one another for centuries. University graduates tended to look on themselves as Indians more than as residents of separate states and kingdoms, a necessary step for the development of Indian nationalism.

Some Indian intellectuals sought to reconcile the values of the modern West and their own traditions. Rammohun Roy (1772–1833), who had risen to the top of the native ranks in the British East India Company, founded a college that offered instruction in Western languages and subjects. He also founded a society to reform traditional customs, especially child marriage, the caste system, and restrictions on widows. He espoused a modern Hinduism founded on the *Upanishads* (oo-PAH-nih-shadz), the ancient sacred texts of Hinduism.

The more that Western-style education was developed in India, the more the inequalities of the system became apparent to educated Indians. Indians were eligible to take the examinations for entry into the elite **Indian Civil Service**, the bureaucracy that administered the Indian government, but the exams were given in England. Since few Indians could travel such a long distance to take the test, in 1870 only 1 of the 916 members of the service was Indian. In other words, no matter how Anglicized educated Indians became, they could never become the white rulers' equals. The top jobs, the best clubs, the modern hotels, and even certain railroad compartments were sealed off to brown-skinned men and women. Most of the British elite considered the jumble of Indian peoples and castes to be racially inferior. For example, when the British Parliament in 1883 was considering a bill to allow Indian judges to try white Europeans in India, the British community rose in protest and defeated the measure. As Lord Kitchener, one of the most distinguished British military commanders in India, stated:

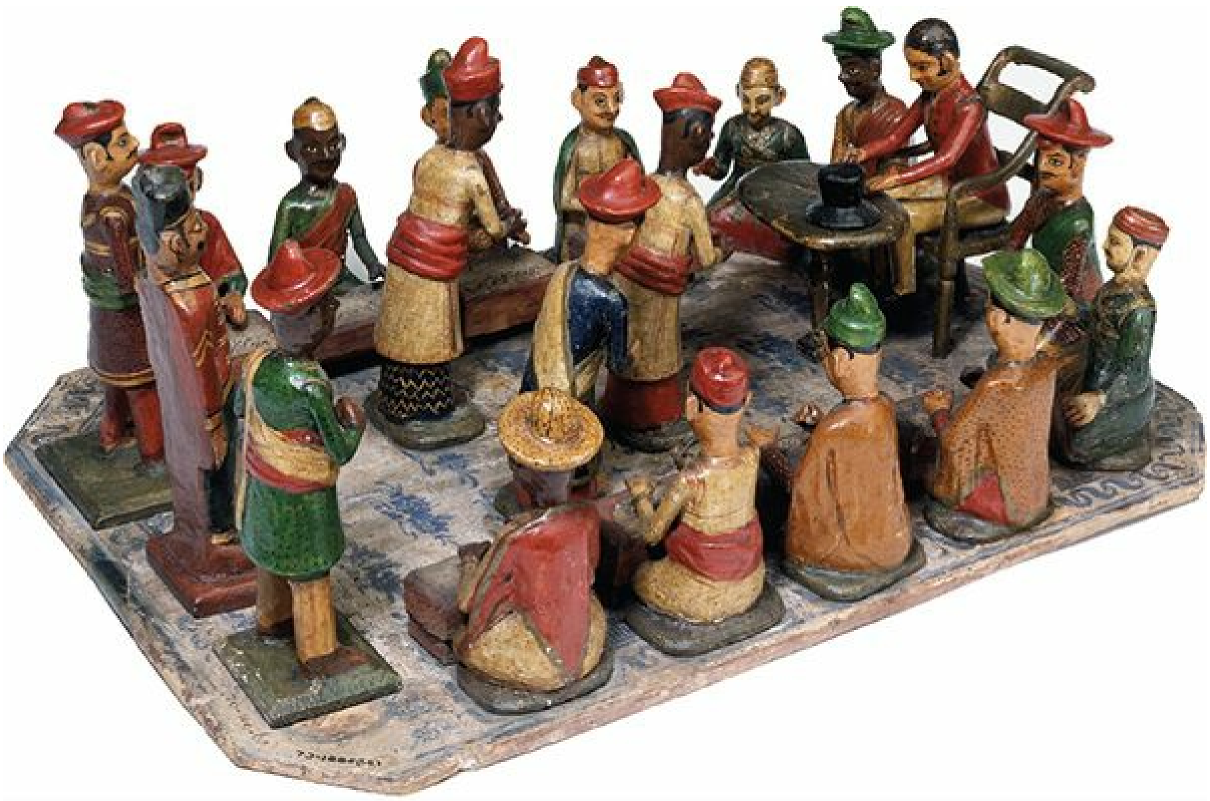
Indian Civil Service The bureaucracy that administered the government of India. Entry into its elite ranks was through examinations that Indians were eligible to take, but these tests were offered only in England.

> It is this consciousness of the inherent superiority of the European which has won for us India. However well educated and clever a native may be, and however brave he may prove himself, I believe that no rank we can bestow on him would cause him to be considered an equal of the British officer.[1]

The peasant masses might accept such inequality as the latest version of age-old class and caste hierarchies, but the well-educated, English-speaking elite eventually could not. They had studied not only Milton and Shakespeare but also English traditions of democracy, liberty, and national pride.

In the late nineteenth century the colonial ports of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, now all linked by railroads, became centers of intellectual ferment. In these and other cities, newspapers in English and in regional languages gained influence. Lawyers trained in English law began agitating for Indian independence. By 1885, when a group of educated Indians came together to found the **Indian National Congress**, demands were increasing for the equality and self-government that Britain had already granted white-settler colonies such as Canada and Australia. The Congress Party called for more opportunities for Indians in the Indian Civil Service and reallocation of the government budget from military expenditures to the alleviation of poverty. The party advocated unity across religious and caste lines, but most members were upper-caste, Western-educated Hindus.

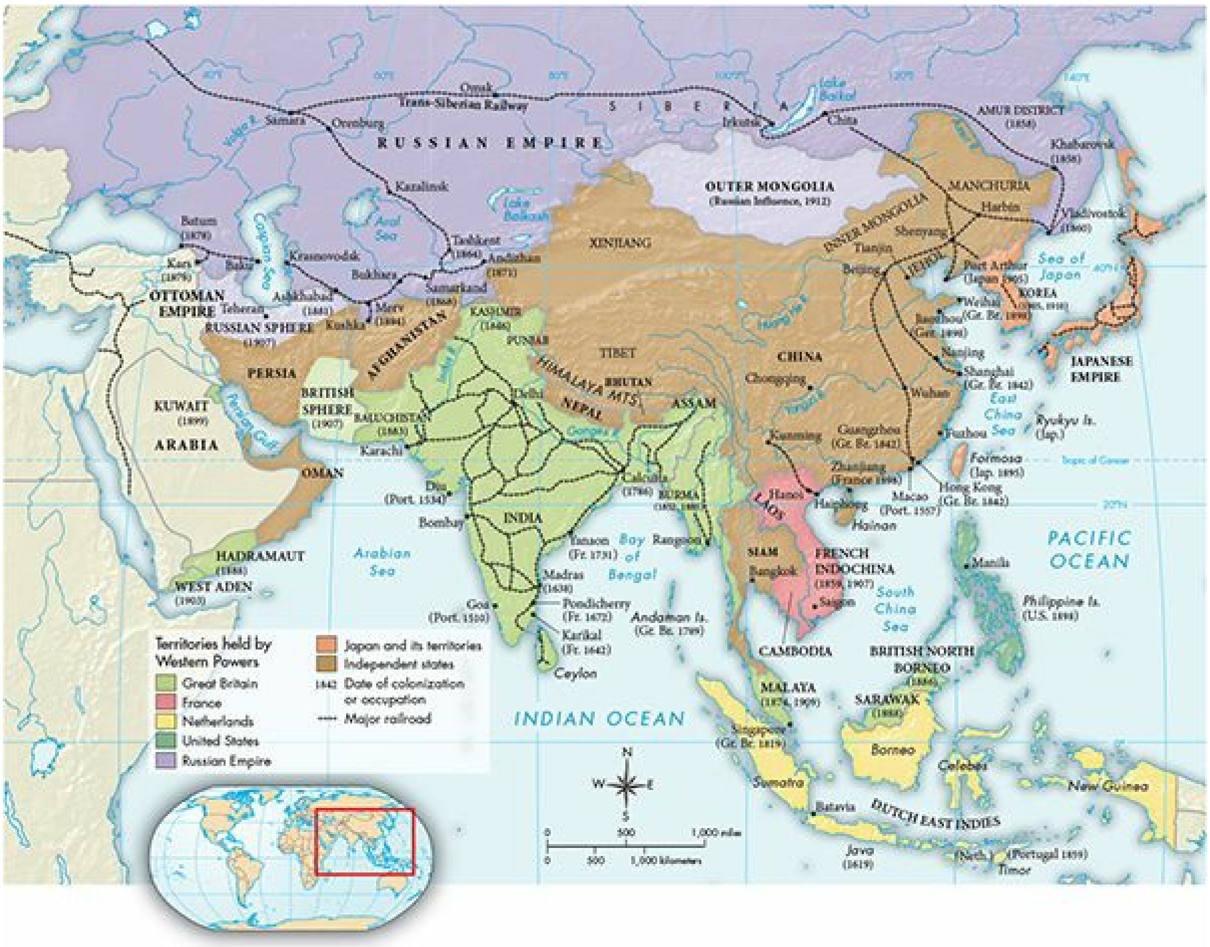
Indian National Congress A political association formed in 1885 that worked for Indian self-government.



Victoria and Albert Museum, London, UK/V&A Images/Art Resource, NY

Wooden Model of a Colonial Courtroom The presiding judge, an officer with the British East India Company, is seated on a chair with his top hat on the table. The Indian assistants are seated on the floor, and the plaintiffs and defendants in the case are standing. Notice the attention the Indian craftsman paid to the details of the dress and hats of each of the figures in this 20-inch-long wooden model.

Defending British possessions in India became a key element of Britain’s foreign policy during the nineteenth century and led to steady expansion of the territory Britain controlled in Asia. By 1852 the British had annexed Burma (now Myanmar), administering it as a province of India (Map 26.1). The establishment of a British base in Singapore was followed by expansion into Malaya (now Malaysia) in the 1870s and 1880s. In both Burma and Malaya, Britain tried to foster economic development, building railroads and promoting trade. Burma became a major exporter of timber and rice, Malaya of tin and rubber. So many laborers were brought into Malaya for the expanding mines and plantations that its population came to be approximately one-third Malay, one-third Chinese, and one-third Indian.


RUSSIAN EMPIRE
SIBERIA
Trans-Siberian Railway
Omsk
Samara
Orenburg
Volga R.
Kazalinsk
Lake Balkash
Aral Sea
Caspian Sea
Batum (1878)
Kars (1878)
Baku
Krasnovodsk
Tashkent (1864)
Andizhan (1871)
Bukhara
Samarkand (1868)
Ashkhabad (1881)
Merv (1884)
Kushka
Tehran
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
RUSSIAN SPHERE (1907)
PERSIA
AFGHANISTAN
BRITISH SPHERE (1907)
BALUCHISTAN (1883)
KUWAIT (1899)
ARABIA
Persian Gulf
OMAN
HADRAMAUT (1888)
WEST ADEN (1903)
Arabian Sea
Karachi
Diu (Port. 1534)
Bombay
Goa (Port. 1510)
INDIA
Delhi
KASHMIR (1846)
PUNJAB
Indus R.
Ganges R.
HIMALAYA MTS.
NEPAL
BHUTAN
ASSAM
TIBET
XINJIANG
Calcutta (1786)
BURMA (1852, 1885)
Rangoon
Yanaon (Fr. 1731)
Madras (1639)
Pondicherry (Fr. 1672)
Karikal (Fr. 1642)
Ceylon
Bay of Bengal
Andaman Is. (Gt. Br. 1789)
Irkutsk
Lake Baikal
Chita
AMUR DISTRICT (1858)
Khabarovsk (1858)
OUTER MONGOLIA (Russian Influence, 1912)
INNER MONGOLIA
MANCHURIA
Harbin
Vladivostok (1860)
Shenyang
Tianjin
Beijing
JEHOL
Port Arthur (Japan 1905)
KOREA (1905, 1910)
Weihai (Gt. Br. 1898)
Baozhou (Ger. 1898)
Sea of Japan
Huang He R.
CHINA
Nanjing
Shanghai (Gt. Br. 1842)
Chongqing
Yangzi R.
Wuhan
Kunming
Guangzhou (Gt. Br. 1842)
Fuzhou
East China Sea
Ryukyu Is. (Jap.)
JAPANESE EMPIRE
Formosa (Jap. 1895)
Tropic of Cancer
Zhanjiang (France 1898)
Hong Kong (Gt. Br. 1842)
Macao (Port. 1557)
Hanoi
Haiphong
Hainan
LAOS
SIAM
Bangkok
FRENCH INDOCHINA (1858, 1907)
Saigon
CAMBODIA
South China Sea
Manila
Philippine Is. (U.S. 1898)
PACIFIC OCEAN
BRITISH NORTH BORNEO (1888)
SARAWAK (1888)
MALAYA (1874, 1909)
Singapore (Gt. Br. 1819)
Sumatra
Borneo
Celebes
New Guinea
Batavia
DUTCH EAST INDIES
Java (1619)
(Neth.)
(Portugal 1859)
Timor
INDIAN OCEAN
N
W
E
S
0
500
1,000 miles
0
500
1,000 kilometers
Territories held by Western Powers
Great Britain
France
Netherlands
United States
Russian Empire
Japan and its territories
Independent states
1842 Date of colonization or occupation
Major railroad

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin’s

Mapping the Past

MAP 26.1 Asia in 1914 India remained under British rule, while China precariously preserved its political independence. The Dutch Empire in modern-day Indonesia was old, but French control of Indochina was a product of the New Imperialism.

ANALYZING THE MAP Consider the colonies of the different powers on this map. What

European countries were leading imperialist states, and what lands did they hold? Can you see places where colonial powers were likely to come into conflict with each other?

CONNECTIONS Do the sizes of the various colonial territories as seen on this map adequately reflect their importance to the countries that possessed them? If not, what else should be taken into account in thinking about the value of these sorts of colonial possessions?

THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN

English-Language Education for Indians

In 1813, when the British Parliament renewed the charter of the East India Company for twenty years, it required the company to apply 100,000 rupees per year to support learning among the natives of India. Most of this went to traditional schools for either Hindus or Muslims. By the early 1820s, however, some were arguing that rather than support local traditions of “oriental learning,” it would be better to introduce useful subjects, including science and English.

1 **Rammohun Roy, letter to Lord Amherst, 1823.** In December 1823 the leading Indian intellectual, Rammohun Roy, who was well educated in both traditional Indian subjects and English, responded negatively to a British proposal to establish a school teaching Sanskrit and Hindu literature in a letter addressed to the governor general, Lord Amherst.

■ When this Seminary of learning was proposed, we understood that the Government in England had ordered a considerable sum of money to be annually devoted to the instruction of its Indian Subjects. We were filled with sanguine hopes that this sum would be laid out in employing European Gentlemen of talents and education to instruct the natives of India in Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy, and other useful Sciences, which the Nations of Europe have carried to a degree of perfection that has raised them above the inhabitants of other parts of the world. . . .

We now find that the Government are establishing a Sanskrit school under Hindu Pundits to impart such knowledge as is already current in India. This Seminary (similar in character to those which existed in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon) can only be expected to load the minds of youth with grammatical niceties and metaphysical distinctions of little or no practicable use to the possessors or to society. . . . The Sanskrit language, so difficult that almost a life time is necessary for its perfect acquisition, is well known to have been for ages a lamentable check on the diffusion of knowledge; and the learning concealed under this almost impervious veil is far from sufficient to reward the labour of acquiring it.

2 **John Tytler, letter to Lord Macaulay, January 26, 1835.** Based on his experience both practicing medicine in India and supervising a medical school in Calcutta, the physician John Tytler argued in favor of using the local languages to teach “useful knowledge.”

■ There is no instance of any Native making much progress in Science except through the medium of its own language, and I am decidedly of opinion, that knowledge can be generally diffused through a people by means of its Vernacular language only.

And hence every plan of education from which the Native languages are excluded must ultimately fail and every attempt to cultivate foreign languages while the indigenous are neglected must be imperfect and unsatisfactory. . . .

The Sum of the whole is that English should be taught thoroughly to as many as have opportunities to learn it, but that Science is to be diffused generally by means of the languages of the Country and these it is the Natives' duty to cultivate and ours to learn.

3 **Thomas Babington Macaulay on education in India, 1833 and 1835.** The English statesman Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800–1859) touched on the larger goals of government education in India in a speech in Parliament in 1833. Here an excerpt from this speech is followed by the decision he issued two years later on February 2, 1835.

EXCERPT FROM SPEECH

Are we to keep the people of India ignorant in order that we may keep them submissive? Or do we think that we can give them knowledge without awakening ambition? . . .

It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown that system; that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government, that, having become instructed in European knowledge, they may, in some future age, demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or to retard it. Whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in English history. To have found a great people sunk in the lowest depths of slavery and superstition, to have so ruled them as to have made them desirous and capable of all the privileges of citizens would indeed be a title to glory all our own. . . .

MINUTE ON EDUCATION

What then shall that language [of instruction] be? One half of the committee maintain that it should be the English. The other half strongly recommend the Arabic and Sanskrit. The whole question seems to me to be which language is the best worth knowing? . . .

It will hardly be disputed, I suppose, that the department of literature in which the Eastern writers stand highest is poetry. . . . But when we pass from works of imagination to works in which facts are recorded and general principles investigated, the superiority of the Europeans becomes absolutely immeasurable. . . .

It is taken for granted by the advocates of oriental learning that no native of this country can possibly attain more than a mere smattering of English. . . . This is not merely an assumption, but an assumption contrary to all reason and experience. . . . I have heard the very question on which I am now writing discussed by native gentlemen with a liberality and an intelligence which would do credit to any member of the Committee of Public Instruction. . . .

In one point I fully agree with the gentlemen to whose general views I am opposed. I feel with them that it is impossible for us, with our limited means, to attempt to educate the body of the people. We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern, a class of persons Indian in blood and color, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population.

4 **James Kerr on whom to educate in India, 1851.** Sixteen years after Macauley's decision in favor of the use of English as a language of instruction, the educator James Kerr wrote a history of the movement.

■ Perhaps we must be content in India, as has happened elsewhere, to leave the learned classes, as they are called, behind, and to raise up new men who will adopt our views more heartily than the Pundits are likely to do. Those whose interests are so intimately connected with the old system, whose influence and importance are derived from it, will be the very last, except in rare instances, to come over to the side of improvement.

5 **Elphinstone College in Mumbai.** The British also invested in the bricks and mortar of university buildings in India. Elphinstone College, seen in this late-nineteenth-century photo, was built in 1856.

Haeckel Collection/ullstein bild via Getty Images

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. Do Rammohun Roy (Source 1) and Thomas Babington Macauley (Source 3) prefer instruction in English for the same reasons? In what ways do they differ?
2. How would Roy (Source 1) or Macaulay (Source 3) respond to John Tytler (Source 2) on the issue of teaching modern medicine? Are they talking about different kinds of education?
3. If you were writing a history of the British Empire in India, how would you cast the debate on the introduction of English as a language of instruction (Sources 1–4)?

Does the debate reflect a colonial sense of superiority over the local people, or does it indicate a commitment to the improvement of the lives of Indians? How do you factor in the construction of school buildings (Source 5)?

4. Source 4 is a secondary source, a very early appraisal by someone who witnessed the movement's outcome. What does it offer that the contemporary sources (Sources 1–3) cannot?

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

Using the sources above, along with what you have learned in class and in this chapter, write a short essay that analyzes the British decision to offer higher education in English in India.

Sources: (1) Bureau of Education, *Selections from Educational Records, Part I (1781–1839),* ed. H. Sharp (Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1920; reprint: Delhi: National Archives of India, 1965), pp. 98–101; (2) Quoted in Natalie Robinson Sirkin and Gerald Sirkin, "The Battle of Indian Education: Macaulay's Opening Salvo Newly Discovered," *Victorian Studies* 14.4 (June 1971): 421–426; (3) *Speeches of Lord Macaulay* (London: Longman et al., 1860), pp. 162–163; Bureau of Education, *Selections from Educational Records, Part I,* pp. 107–117; (4) James Kerr, *A Review of Public Instruction in the Bengal Presidency from 1835 to 1851* (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1852), p. 144.

Competition for Southeast Asia

Why were most but not all Southeast Asian societies reduced to colonies?

At the beginning of the nineteenth century only a small part of Southeast Asia was under direct European control. By the end of the century most of the region would be in foreign hands.

The Dutch East Indies

Although Dutch forts and trading posts in the East Indies dated back to the seventeenth century, in 1816 the Dutch ruled little more than the island of Java. Thereafter they gradually brought almost all of the 3,000-mile-long archipelago under their political authority. In extending their rule, the Dutch, like the British in India, brought diverse peoples with different languages and distinct cultural traditions into a single political entity (see Map 26.1).

Taking over the Dutch East India Company in 1799, the Dutch government modified the company's loose control of Java and gradually built a modern bureaucratic state. Javanese resistance to Dutch rule led to the bloody **Java War** (1825–1830). In 1830, after the war, the Dutch abolished the combination of tribute from rulers and forced labor from peasants that they had used to obtain spices, and they established instead a particularly exploitive policy called the Culture System. Under this system, Indonesian peasants were forced to plant a fifth of their land in export crops, especially coffee and sugar, to turn over to the Dutch as tax.

Java War The 1825–1830 war between the Dutch government and the Javanese, fought over the extension of Dutch control of the island.

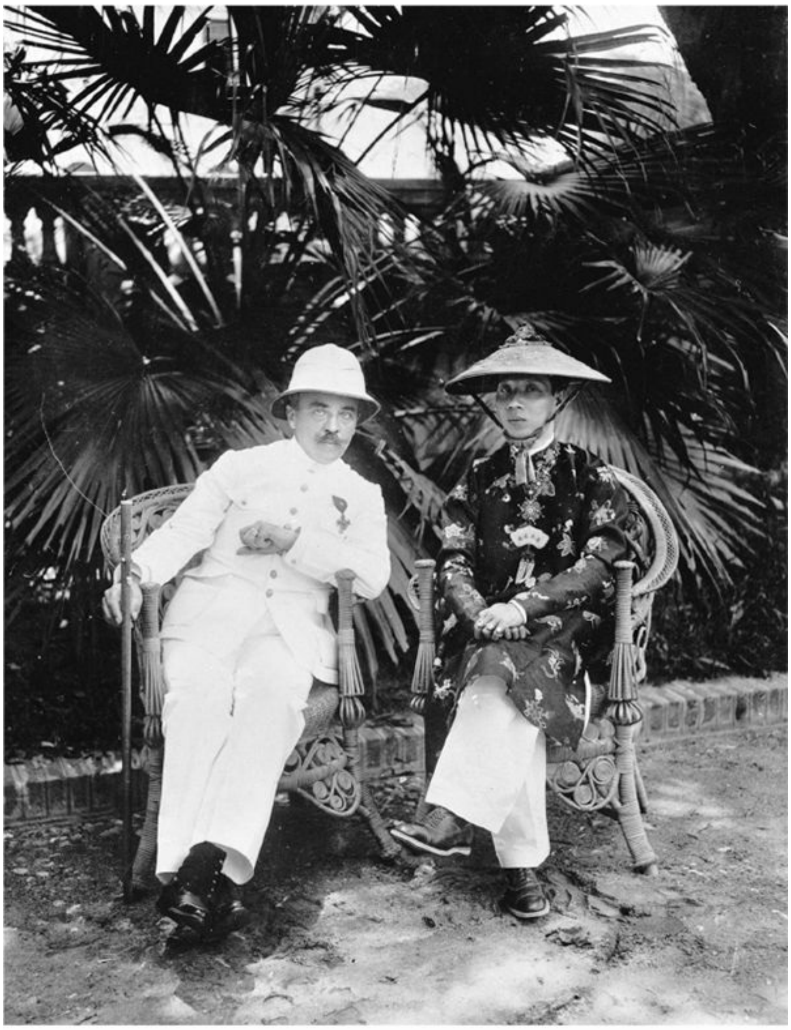
At the end of the nineteenth century the Dutch began to encourage Western education in the East Indies. The children of local rulers and privileged elites, much like their counterparts in India, encountered new ideas in Dutch-language schools. They began to question the long-standing cooperation of local elites with Dutch colonialism, and they searched for a new national identity. Thus anticolonial nationalism began to take shape in the East Indies in the early twentieth century, and it would blossom after World War I.

Mainland Southeast Asia

Unlike India and Java, mainland Southeast Asia had escaped European rule during the eighteenth century. In 1802 the **Nguyen Dynasty** (1802–1945) came to power in Vietnam, putting an end to thirty years of peasant rebellion and civil war. For the first time in the country’s history, a single Vietnamese monarchy ruled the entire country. Working through a centralizing scholar bureaucracy fashioned on the Chinese model, the Nguyen (GWIHN) Dynasty energetically built irrigation canals, roads and bridges, and impressive palaces in Hue (HWAY), the new capital city. Construction placed a heavy burden on the peasants drafted to do the work, and this hardship contributed to a resurgence of peasant unrest.

Nguyen Dynasty The last Vietnamese ruling house, which lasted from 1802 to 1945.

Roman Catholic missionaries from France posed a second, more dangerous threat to Vietnam’s Confucian ruling elite. The king and his advisers believed that Christianity would undermine Confucian moral values and the unity of the Vietnamese state. In 1825 King Minh Mang (r. 1820–1841) outlawed the teaching of Christianity, and soon his government began executing Catholic missionaries and Vietnamese converts. As many as thirty thousand Vietnamese Christians were executed in the 1850s. In response, in 1859–1860 a French naval force seized Saigon and three surrounding provinces in southern Vietnam, making that part of Vietnam a French colony. In 1884–1885 France launched a second war against Vietnam and conquered the rest of the country. Laos and Cambodia were added to form French Indochina in 1887. In all three countries the local rulers were left on their thrones, but France dominated and tried to promote French culture.



Maurice-Louis Branger/Roger-Viollet/Getty Images

The French Governor General and the Vietnamese Emperor The twelfth emperor of the Nguyen Dynasty, Khai Dinh (1885–1925), had to find ways to get along with the French governor general (in this picture, Albert Sarraut) if he wished to preserve his dynasty. Seen here in 1917 or 1918, he had adopted Western leather shoes but otherwise tried to keep a distinct Vietnamese identity in his dress.

After the French conquest, Vietnamese patriots continued to resist the colonial occupiers. After Japan's victory over Russia in 1905 (see "Japan as an Imperial Power"), a new generation of nationalists saw Japan as a model for Vietnamese revitalization and freedom. They went to Japan to study and planned for anticolonial revolution in Vietnam.

In all of Southeast Asia, only Siam (today Thailand) succeeded in preserving its independence. Siam was sandwiched between the British in Burma and the French in Indochina. Siam's very able king, Chulalongkorn (r. 1868–1910), took advantage of this situation to balance the two competitors against each other. Chulalongkorn had studied Greek and Latin and Western science and kept up with Western news by reading

British newspapers from Hong Kong and Singapore. He outlawed slavery and implemented modernizing reforms that centralized the government so that it could more effectively control outlying provinces coveted by the imperialists. Independent Siam gradually developed a modern centralizing state similar to those constructed by Western imperialists in their Asian possessions.

The Philippines

The United States became one of the imperialist powers in Asia when it took the Philippines from Spain in 1898. When the Spanish established rule in the Philippines in the sixteenth century, the islands had no central government or literate culture; order was maintained by village units dominated by local chiefs. Under the Spanish, Roman Catholic churches were established, and Spanish priests able to speak the local languages became the most common intermediaries between local populations, who rarely could speak Spanish, and the new rulers. The government of Spain encouraged Spaniards to colonize the Philippines through the encomienda system (see “Indigenous Population Loss and Economic Exploitation” in Chapter 16); Spaniards who had served the Crown were rewarded with grants giving them the exclusive right to control public affairs and collect taxes in a specific locality of the Philippines. A local Filipino elite also developed, aided by the Spanish introduction of private ownership of land. Manila developed into an important entrepôt in the galleon trade between Mexico and China, and this trade also attracted a large Chinese community, which handled much of the trade within the Philippines.

In the late nineteenth century wealthy Filipinos began to send their sons to study abroad, and a movement to press Spain for reforms emerged among those who had been abroad. When the Spanish cracked down on critics, a rebellion erupted in 1896. (See “Individuals in Society: José Rizal,” page 768.)

In 1898 war between Spain and the United States broke out in Cuba (see “The Spanish-American War” in Chapter 27), and in May the American naval commodore George Dewey sailed into Manila Bay and sank the Spanish fleet anchored there. Dewey called on the Filipino rebels to help defeat the Spanish forces, but when the rebels declared independence, the U.S. government refused to recognize them. U.S. forces fought the Filipino rebels, and by the end of the insurrection in 1902 the war had cost the lives of five thousand Americans and about two hundred thousand Filipinos. In the following years the United States introduced a form of colonial rule that included public works and economic development projects, improved education and medicine, and, in 1907, an elected legislative assembly.

INDIVIDUALS IN SOCIETY

José Rizal

The Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-43453

José Rizal.

IN THE MID-SEVENTEENTH CENTURY a Chinese merchant immigrated to the Philippines and married a woman who was half Chinese, half Filipino. Because of anti-Chinese animosity, he changed his name to Mercado, Spanish for "merchant."

Mercado's direct patrilineal descendant José Rizal (1861–1896) was born into a well-to-do family that leased a plantation from Dominican friars. Both of his parents were educated, and he was a brilliant student himself. In 1882, after completing his studies at the Jesuit-run college in Manila, he went to Madrid to study medicine. During his ten years in Europe he not only earned a medical degree in Spain and a Ph.D. in Germany but also found time to learn several European languages and make friends with scientists, writers, and political radicals.

While in Europe, Rizal became involved with Filipino revolutionaries and contributed numerous articles to their newspaper, *La Solidaridad*, published in Barcelona. Rizal advocated making the Philippines a province of Spain, giving it representation in the Spanish parliament, replacing Spanish friars with Filipino priests, and making Filipinos and Spaniards equal before the law. He spent a year at the British Museum doing research on the early phase of the Spanish colonization of the Philippines. He also wrote two novels.

The first novel, written in Spanish, was fired by the passions of nationalism. In satirical fashion, it depicts a young Filipino of mixed blood who studies for several years in Europe before returning to the Philippines to start a modern secular school in his hometown and to marry his childhood sweetheart. The church stands in the way of his efforts, and the colonial administration proves incompetent. The novel ends with the hero being gunned down after the friars falsely implicate him in a revolutionary conspiracy. Rizal's own life ended up following this narrative surprisingly closely.

In 1892 Rizal left Europe, stopped briefly in Hong Kong, and then returned to Manila to help his family with a lawsuit. Though he secured his relatives' release from jail, he ran into trouble himself. Because his writings were critical of the power of the church, he made many enemies, some of whom had him arrested. He was sent into exile to a Jesuit mission town on the relatively primitive island of Mindanao. There he founded a school and a hospital, and the Jesuits tried to win him back to the church. He kept busy during his four years in exile, not only teaching English, science, and self-defense, but also maintaining his correspondence with scientists in Europe. When a nationalist secret society rose in revolt in 1896, Rizal, in an effort to distance himself, volunteered to go to Cuba to help in an outbreak of yellow fever. Although he had no connections with the secret society and was on his way across the ocean, Rizal was arrested and shipped back to Manila.

Tried for sedition by the military, Rizal was found guilty. When handed his death certificate, Rizal struck out the words "Chinese half-breed" and wrote "pure native." He was publicly executed by a firing squad in Manila at age thirty-five, making him a martyr of the nationalist cause.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. How did Rizal's comfortable family background contribute to his becoming a revolutionary?
2. How would Rizal's European contemporaries have reacted to his opposition to the Catholic Church?

China Under Pressure

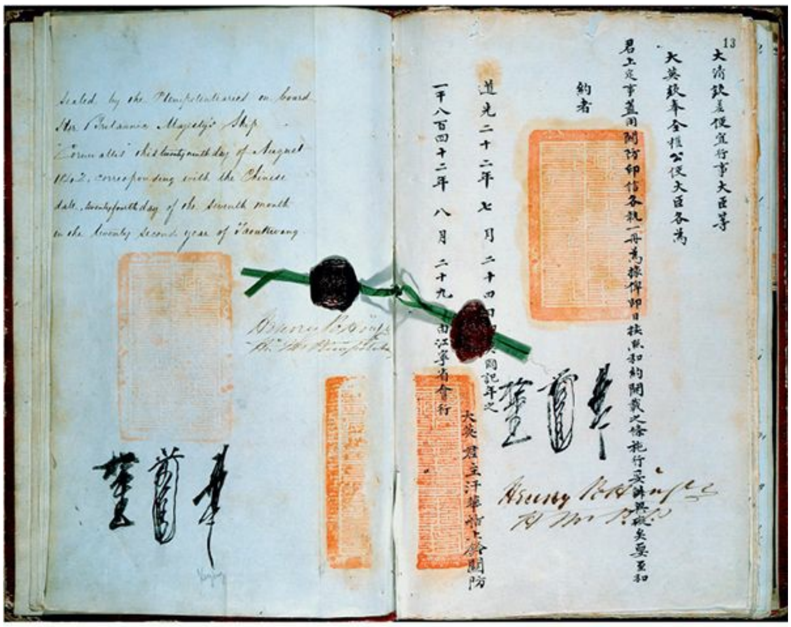
Was China's decline in the nineteenth century due more to internal problems or to Western imperialism?

In 1800 most Chinese had no reason to question the concept of China as the central kingdom. A century later China's world standing had sunk precipitously. In 1900 foreign troops marched into China's capital to protect foreign nationals, and more and more Chinese had come to think that their government, society, and cultural values needed to be radically changed.

The Opium War

Seeing little to gain from trade with European countries, the Qing (Manchu) emperors, who had been ruling China since 1644 (see "The Rise of the Manchus" in Chapter 21), permitted Europeans to trade only at the port of Guangzhou (Canton) and only through licensed Chinese merchants. Initially, the balance of trade was in China's favor. Great Britain and the other Western nations used silver to pay for tea, since they had not been able to find anything the Chinese wanted to buy. By the 1820s, however, the British had found something the Chinese would buy: opium. Grown legally in British-occupied India, opium was smuggled into China, where its use and sale were illegal. Huge profits and the cravings of addicts led to rapid increases in sales, from 4,500 chests a year in 1810 to 10,000 in 1830 and 40,000 in 1838. At this point it was China that suffered a drain of silver, since it was importing more than it was exporting.

To deal with this crisis, the Chinese government dispatched Lin Zexu to Guangzhou in 1839. He dealt harshly with Chinese who purchased opium and seized the opium stores of British merchants. Lin even wrote to Queen Victoria: "Suppose there were people from another country who carried opium for sale to England and seduced your people into buying and smoking it; certainly your honorable ruler would deeply hate it and be bitterly aroused."[2] Although for years the little community of foreign merchants had accepted Chinese rules, by 1839 the British, the dominant group, were ready to flex their muscles. British merchants wanted to create a market for their goods in China and get tea more cheaply by trading closer to its source in central China. They also wanted a European-style diplomatic relationship with China, with envoys and ambassadors, commercial treaties, and published tariffs. With the encouragement of their merchants in China, the British sent an expeditionary force from India with forty-two warships.



13

大清欽差便宜行事大臣等
大英欽奉全權公使大臣各為
君上定事蓋用關防印信各執一冊為據俾即日按照和約開載之條施行妥辦無礙矣要至和
約者
道光二十二年七月二十四日即大英紀年之
一千八百四十二年八月二十九日由江寧省會行
大英君主汗華全權大臣關防

Sealed by the Plenipotentiaries on board Her Britannic Majesty's Ship "Cornwallis" this twentyninth day of August 1842, corresponding with the Chinese date, twentyfourth day of the seventh month in the twenty second year of Taoukwang

Henry Pottinger
H.M. Plenipotentiary

National Archives, UK/Photo © Mary Evans Picture Library/The Image Works

Treaty of Nanjing The settlement reached by Britain and China in 1842 was written in both English and Chinese. The chief negotiators of both sides signed the document, and the seals of both countries were placed on it. The Chinese seal was impressed with red ink in the traditional way, while the British used wax.

With its control of the seas, the British easily shut down key Chinese ports and forced the Chinese to negotiate. Dissatisfied with the resulting agreement, the British sent a second, larger force, which took even more coastal cities, including Shanghai. This **Opium War** was settled at gunpoint in 1842. The Treaty of Nanjing and subsequent agreements opened five ports to international trade, fixed the tariff on imported goods at 5 percent, imposed an indemnity of 21 million ounces of silver on China to cover Britain's war expenses, and ceded the island of Hong Kong to Britain. Through the clause on **extraterritoriality** (the legal principle that exempts individuals from local law), British subjects in China became answerable only to British law, even in disputes with Chinese. The treaties also had a "most-favored nation" clause, which meant that whenever one nation extracted a new privilege from China, it was extended automatically to Britain.

Opium War The 1839–1842 war between the British and the Chinese over limitations on trade and the importation of opium into China.

extraterritoriality The legal principle that exempts individuals from local law, applicable in China because of the agreements reached after China's loss in the Opium War.

The treaties satisfied neither side. China continued to refuse to accept foreign diplomats at its capital in Beijing, and the expansion of trade fell far short of Western expectations. Between 1856 and 1860 Britain and France renewed hostilities with China. British and French troops occupied Beijing and set the emperor's summer palace on fire. Another round of harsh treaties gave European merchants and missionaries greater privileges and forced the Chinese to open several more cities to foreign trade.

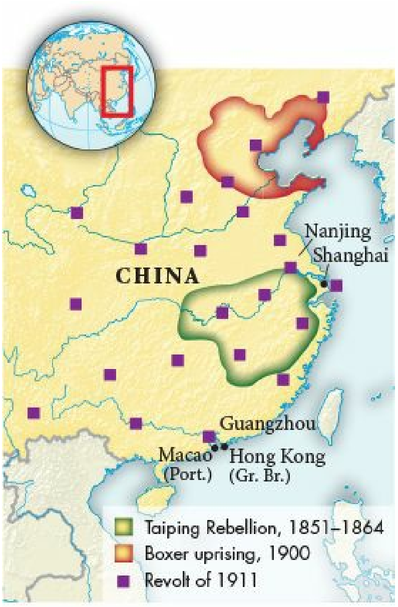
Internal Problems

China's problems in the nineteenth century were not all of foreign origin. By 1850 China, for centuries the world's most populous country, had more than 400 million people. As the population grew, farm size shrank, forests were put to the plow, surplus labor suppressed wages, and conflicts over rights to water and tenancy increased. Hard times also led to increased female infanticide, as families felt that they could not afford to raise more than two or three children and saw sons as necessities. (See "Global Viewpoints: Chinese and British Efforts to Reduce Infant Deaths," page 771.)

These economic and demographic circumstances led to some of the most destructive rebellions in China's history. The worst was the **Taiping Rebellion** (1851–1864), in which some 20 million people lost their lives, making it one of the bloodiest wars in world history.

Taiping Rebellion A massive rebellion by believers in the religious teachings of Hong Xiuquan, begun in 1851 and not suppressed until 1864.

The Taiping (TIGH-ping) Rebellion was initiated by Hong Xiuquan (hong shoh-chwan) (1814–1864). After reading a Christian tract given to him by a missionary, Hong interpreted visions he had had to mean he was Jesus's younger brother and had a mission to wipe out evil in China. He soon gathered followers, whom he instructed to destroy idols and ancestral temples, give up opium and alcohol, and renounce foot binding and prostitution. In 1851 he declared himself king of the Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace (Taiping), an act of open insurrection.


CHINA
Nanjing
Shanghai
Guangzhou
Macao (Port.)
Hong Kong (Gr. Br.)
🟩 Taiping Rebellion, 1851–1864
🟧 Boxer uprising, 1900
🟪 Revolt of 1911

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Chinese Rebellions, 1851–1911

By 1853 the Taiping rebels, as Hong's followers were known, had moved north and established their capital at the major city of Nanjing, which they held on to for a decade. From this base they set about creating a utopian society based on the equalization of landholdings and the equality of men and women. To suppress the Taipings, the Manchus had to turn to Chinese scholar-officials, who raised armies on their own, revealing the Manchus' military weakness.

GLOBAL VIEWPOINTS

Chinese and British Efforts to Reduce Infant Deaths

In the premodern world, infant survival was precarious. Chinese scholars knew that one reason was infanticide among the poor. In the first document, from the 1840s, the Chinese scholar You Zhi describes setting up a private charity to provide small payments to poverty-stricken parents so that they would not kill a newborn child. This charitable practice can be compared to the foundling hospitals put in place in England in the 1760s. Jonas Hanway, the English author of the second document, does not accuse parents of deliberately killing babies but observes that abandoned children die in high numbers.

You Zhi, "The Society to Save Babies"

■ When poor families have too many children, their difficult circumstances often compel them to drown newborn babies, a practice which has already become so widespread that no one considers it strange. Not only are baby girls drowned, at times even baby boys are; not only do the poor drown their children, even the well-to-do do it. . . .

Those making the effort to accumulate good deeds will buy live animals just to release them! Aren't human lives even more precious? . . .

We have formed a society named "The Society to Save Babies." Every time a baby is born to a truly poor family unable to raise it, our society will as a rule grant them money and rice to cover six months. Only when it is absolutely impossible for them to keep the child at home will the society send the child to an orphanage as a way to save its life. The parents may at first keep the baby for the subsidy, but they will come to love it more every day and so eventually will keep it out of love. . . .

In the area we serve, any family too destitute to keep a newborn should report to the Society, accompanied by neighbors who are willing to serve as witnesses. The Society's inspector will then go personally to the home to assess the situation, and if it is as reported, will give the parents one peck of white rice and two hundred coins. For the next five months they can claim the same amount each month, identifying themselves with a ticket. . . . After five months, if they definitely cannot afford to keep the child, the Society will arrange for it to be taken to an orphanage. . . .

With the passage of time, people will find ways to cheat. Once a payment system is started, there inevitably will be people who could support their children but pretend to be poor to obtain the money and rice. . . .

As to babies born from illicit relations, making it difficult for the mother to keep them, we should tell midwives that they will receive four hundred to five hundred cash as a reward if they secretly bring such babies to the Society. In this way we will be able to save quite a few additional lives.

Jonas Hanway, *An Earnest Appeal for Mercy to the Children of the Poor*

■ One of our most important inquietudes, especially in time of war, is that we want people, and yet many lives are lost by the grossest negligence in our police. . . .

Many children instead of being nourished with care, by the fostering hand or breast of a wholesome country nurse, are thrust into the impure air of a workhouse, into the hands of some careless, worthless young female, or decrepit old woman, and inevitably lost for want of such means as the God of nature, their father as well as ours, has appointed for their preservation. . . .

[W]e ought no more to suffer a child to die for want of the common necessaries of life, though he is born to labor, than one who is the heir to a dukedom. The extinction of those who labor would be more fatal to the community than if the number of the highest ranks of the people were reduced. . . .

Never shall I forget the evidence given at Guild-Hall, upon occasion of a master of a workhouse of a large parish, who was challenged for forcing a child from the breast of the mother, and sending it to the Foundling Hospital. He alleged this in his defense, “We send all our children to the Foundling Hospital; we have not saved one alive for fourteen years. We have no place fit to preserve them in; the air is too confined.”

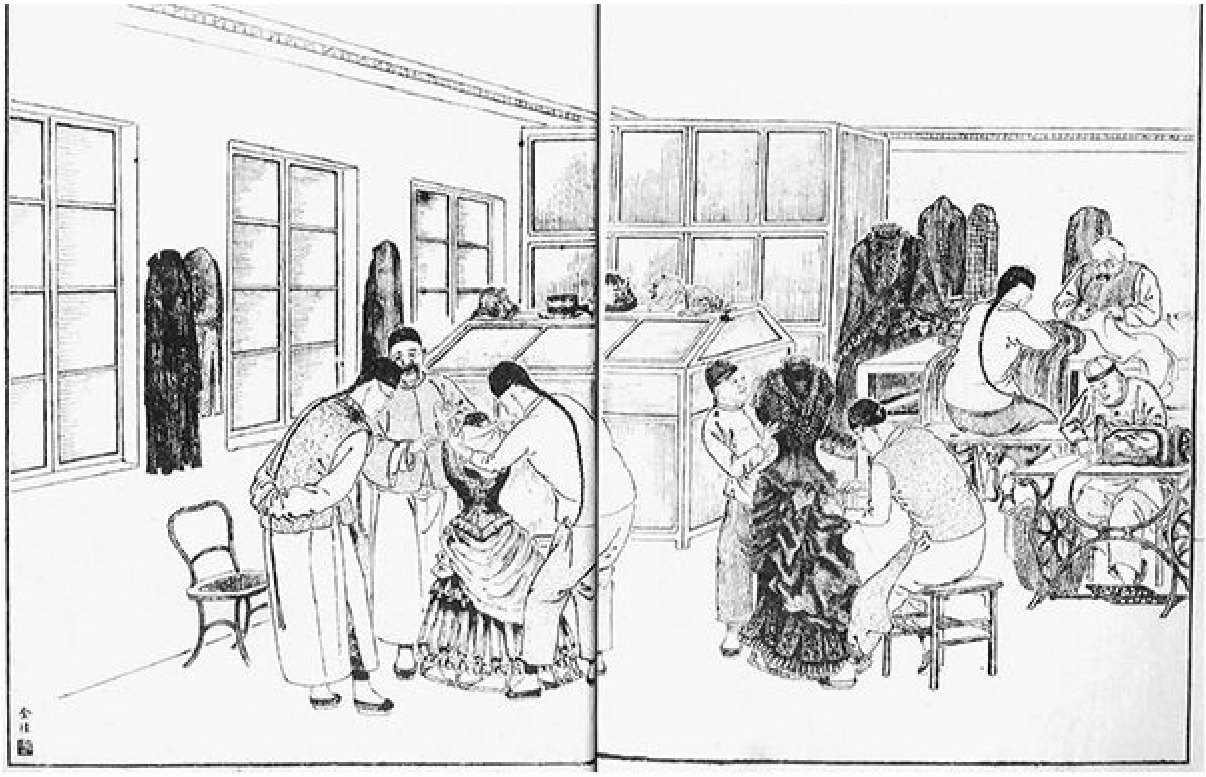
QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. How similar are the two authors’ goals? How do their religious values shape their goals?
2. How do the two authors view the poor?
3. What differences between their countries might account for the differences in the authors’ strategies?

Sources: *Deyi lu*, 2. 32, 40, 41, 55, http://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=276413, trans. Patricia Ebrey; Jonas Hanway, *An Earnest Appeal for Mercy to the Children of the Poor* (London: Dodsley, 1766), pp. 1–9.

The Self-Strengthening Movement

After the various rebellions were suppressed, forward-looking reformers began addressing the Western threat. Under the slogan "self-strengthening," they set about modernizing the military along Western lines. Some of the most progressive reformers also initiated new industries, which in the 1870s and 1880s included railway lines, steam navigation companies, coal mines, telegraph lines, and cotton spinning and weaving factories.



From Dianshizhai huabao, a Shanghai picture magazine, 1885 or later/Visual Connection Archive

Hong Kong Tailors In 1872 the newspaper *Shenbao* was founded in Shanghai, and in 1884 it added an eight-page weekly pictorial supplement. Influenced by the pictorial press then popular in Europe, it depicted both news and human interest stories, both Chinese and foreign, helping readers understand all of the social and cultural changes then taking place. This scene shows a tailor shop in Hong Kong where Chinese tailors use sewing machines and make women's clothes in current Western styles. To Chinese readers, men making women's clothes and placing them on bamboo forms would have seemed as peculiar as the style of the dresses.

These measures drew resistance from conservatives, who thought copying Western practices was compounding defeat. A highly placed Manchu official objected that "from ancient down to modern times" there had never been "anyone who could use mathematics to raise a nation from a state of decline or to strengthen it in times of weakness."[3] Yet knowledge of the West gradually improved with more translations and travel in both directions. Newspapers covering world affairs began publication in Shanghai and Hong Kong. By 1880 China had embassies in London, Paris, Berlin, Madrid, Washington, Tokyo, and St. Petersburg.

Despite the enormous effort put into trying to catch up, China was humiliated yet again at the end of the nineteenth century. First came the discovery that Japan had so successfully modernized that it posed a threat to China. Then in 1894 Japanese efforts to separate Korea from Chinese influence led to the brief Sino-Japanese War, in which China was decisively defeated the next year. China's helplessness in the face of aggression led to a scramble among the European powers for concessions and protectorates in China. At the high point of this rush in 1898, it appeared that the European powers might actually divide China among themselves, the way they had recently divided Africa.

Republican Revolution

China's humiliating defeat in the Sino-Japanese War in 1895 led to a renewed drive for reform. In 1898 a group of educated young reformers gained access to the twenty-seven-year-old Qing emperor. They warned him of the fate of Poland (divided by the European powers in the eighteenth century; see "Enlightened Absolutism and Its Limits" in Chapter 19) and regaled him with the triumphs of the Meiji reformers in Japan. They proposed redesigning China as a constitutional monarchy with modern financial and educational systems. For three months the emperor issued a series of reform decrees. But the Manchu establishment and the empress dowager felt threatened and not only suppressed the reform movement but imprisoned the emperor as well. Hope for reform from the top was dashed.

A period of violent reaction swept the country, reaching its peak in 1900 with the uprising of a secret society that foreigners dubbed the **Boxers**. The Boxers blamed China's ills on foreigners, especially Christian missionaries. After the Boxers laid siege to the foreign legation quarter in Beijing, a dozen nations, including Japan, sent twenty thousand troops to lift the siege. In the negotiations that followed, China had to agree to cancel civil service examinations and pay a staggering indemnity.

Boxers A Chinese secret society that blamed the country's ills on foreigners, especially missionaries, and rose in rebellion in 1900.

Private Collection/Bridgeman Images

Foreign Soldiers in Shanghai In this photo taken in 1900, British, French, German, and Japanese officers pose for a portrait. The foreign armies that suppressed the Boxer Uprising stayed for months in China.

After this defeat, gradual reform lost its appeal. More and more Chinese were studying abroad and learning about Western political ideas, including democracy and revolution. The most famous was Sun Yatsen (1866–1925). Sent by his peasant family to Hawaii, he learned English and then continued his education in Hong Kong. From 1894 on, he spent his time abroad organizing revolutionary societies. He joined forces with Chinese student revolutionaries studying in Japan, and together they sparked the **1911 Revolution**, which brought China's long history of monarchy to an end, to be replaced by a Western-style republic. China had escaped direct foreign rule but would never be the same.

1911 Revolution The uprising that brought China's monarchy to an end.

Japan’s Rapid Transformation

How was Japan able to quickly master the challenges posed by the West?

During the eighteenth century Japan (much more effectively than China) kept foreign merchants and missionaries at bay. It limited trade to a single port (Nagasaki), where only the Dutch were allowed, and forbade Japanese to travel abroad. Because Japan’s land and population were so much smaller than China’s, the Western powers never expected much from Japan as a trading partner and did not press it as urgently. Still, the European threat was part of what propelled Japan to modernize.

The “Opening” of Japan

Wanting to play a greater role in the Pacific, the United States decided to force the Japanese to open to trade. In 1853 Commodore Matthew Perry steamed into Edo (now Tokyo) Bay and demanded diplomatic negotiations with the emperor. Under threat of **gunboat diplomacy**, and after consulting with the daimyo (major lords), the officials signed a treaty with the United States that opened two ports and permitted trade.

gunboat diplomacy The imposition of treaties and agreements under threat of military violence, such as the opening of Japan to trade after Commodore Perry’s demands.

Japan at this time was a complex society. The emperor in Kyoto had no effective powers. For more than two hundred years real power had been in the hands of the Tokugawa shogun in Edo (AY-doh) (see “Tokugawa Government” in Chapter 21). The country was divided into numerous domains, each under a daimyo (DIGH-myoh). Each daimyo had under him samurai, warriors who had hereditary stipends and privileges, such as the right to wear a sword. Peasants and merchants were also legally distinct classes, and in theory social mobility from peasant to merchant or merchant to samurai was impossible. After two centuries of peace, there were many more samurai than were needed to administer or defend the country, and many lived very modestly. They were proud, however, and felt humiliated by the sudden American intrusion and the unequal treaties that the Western countries imposed. Some began agitating against the shogunate under the slogan “Revere the emperor and expel the barbarians.”

When foreign diplomats and merchants began to settle in Yokohama after 1858, radical samurai reacted with a wave of antiforeign terrorism and antigovernment assassinations. The response from Western powers was swift and unambiguous. They sent an allied fleet of American, British, Dutch, and French warships to demolish key Japanese forts, further weakening the power and prestige of the shogun's government.

The Meiji Restoration

In 1867 a coalition of reform-minded daimyo led a coup that ousted the Tokugawa Shogunate. The samurai who led this coup declared a return to direct rule by the emperor, which had not been practiced in Japan for more than six hundred years. This emperor was called the Meiji (MAY-jee) emperor and this event the **Meiji Restoration**, a great turning point in Japanese history.

Meiji Restoration The 1867 ousting of the Tokugawa Shogunate that "restored" the power of the Japanese emperors.

The domain leaders who organized the coup, called the Meiji Oligarchs, moved the boy emperor to Tokyo castle. They used the young sovereign to win over both the lords and the commoners. Real power remained in the hands of the oligarchs.

The battle cry of the Meiji reformers had been "strong army, rich nation." How were these goals to be accomplished? Convinced that they could not beat the West until they had mastered the secrets of its military and industrial might, they initiated a series of measures to reform Japan along modern Western lines. Within four years a delegation was traveling the world to learn what made the Western powers strong. Its members examined everything from the U.S. Constitution to the factories, shipyards, and railroads that made the European landscape so different from Japan's.

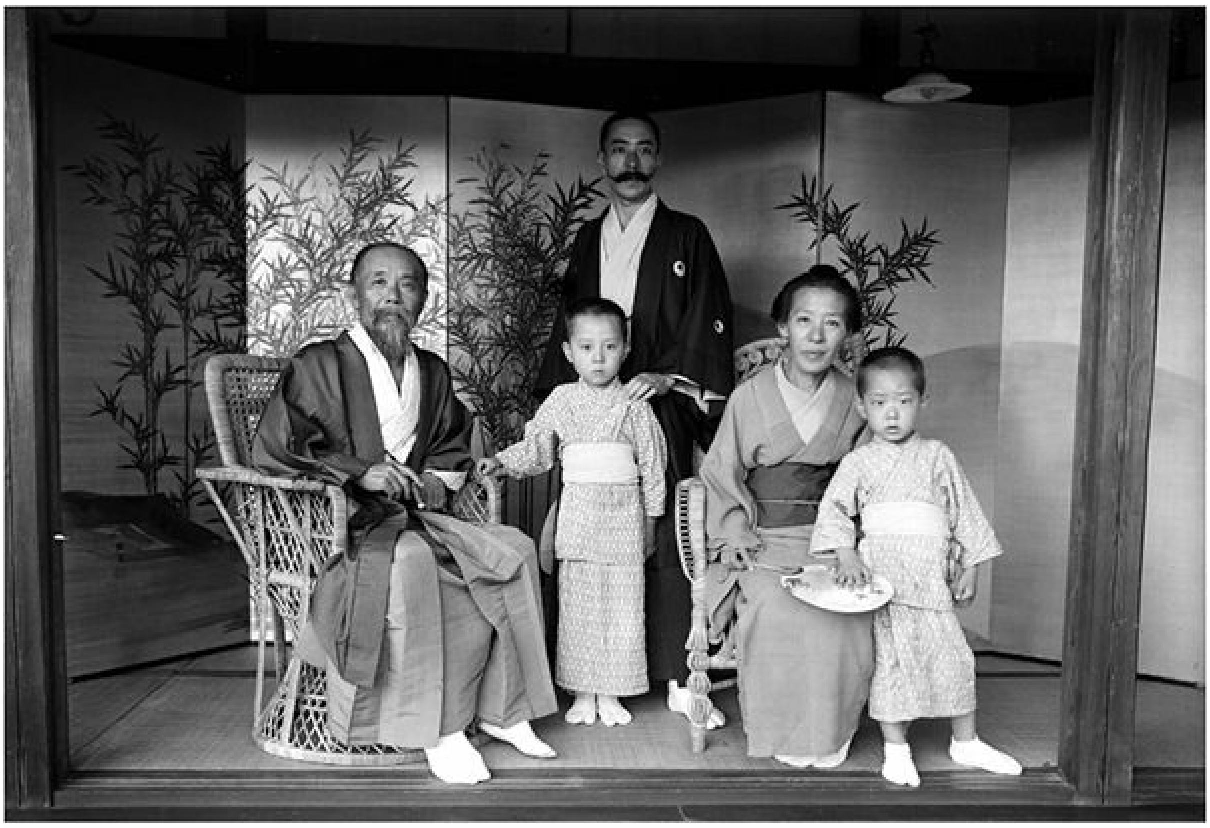
Japan under the shoguns had been decentralized, with most of the power over the population in the hands of the many daimyo. By elevating the emperor, the oligarchs were able to centralize the government. In 1871 they abolished the domains and merged the domain armies. Following the example of the French Revolution, they dismantled the four-class legal system and declared everyone equal. This amounted to stripping the samurai (7 to 8 percent of the population) of their privileges. Even their monopoly on the use of force was eliminated: the new army recruited commoners along with samurai. Not surprisingly, some samurai rose up against their loss of privileges. None of these uncoordinated uprisings made any difference.

Several leaders of the Meiji Restoration, in France on a fact-finding mission during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871, were impressed by the active participation of French citizens in the defense of Paris. For Japan to survive in the hostile international environment, they concluded, ordinary people had to be trained to fight. Consequently, a conscription law, modeled on the French law, was issued in 1872. To improve the training of soldiers, the new War College was organized along German lines, and German instructors were recruited to teach there. Young samurai were trained to form the new professional officer corps.

Many of the new institutions established in the Meiji period reached down to the local level. Schools open to all were rapidly introduced beginning in 1872. Teachers were trained in newly established teachers' colleges, where they learned to inculcate discipline, patriotism, and morality. Another modern institution that reached the local level was a national police force. In 1884 police training schools were established in every prefecture, and within a few years one- or two-man police stations were set up throughout the country. These policemen came to act as local agents of the central government. They not only dealt with crime but also enforced public health rules, conscription laws, and codes of behavior.

In 1889 Japan became the first non-Western country to adopt the constitutional form of government. A commission sent abroad to study European constitutional governments had come to the conclusion that the German constitutional monarchy would provide the best model for Japan, rather than the more democratic governments of the British, French, and Americans. Japan's new government had a two-house parliament, called the Diet. The upper house of lords was drawn largely from former daimyo and nobles, and the lower house was elected by a limited electorate (about 5 percent of the adult male population in 1890). Although Japan now had a government based on laws, it was authoritarian rather than democratic. The emperor was declared "sacred and inviolable." He had the right to appoint the prime minister and cabinet. He did not have to ask the Diet for funds because wealth assigned to the imperial house was entrusted to the Imperial Household Ministry, which was outside the government's control.

Cultural change during the Meiji period was as profound as political change. For more than a thousand years China had been the major source of ideas and technologies introduced into Japan. But in the late nineteenth century China, beset by Western pressure, had become an object lesson on the dangers of stagnation. The influential author Fukuzawa Yukichi began urging Japan to pursue "civilization and enlightenment," by which he meant Western civilization. (See “Analyzing the Evidence: Fukuzawa Yukichi, ‘Escape from Asia,’ ” above.) Soon Japanese were being told to conform to Western taste, eat meat, wear Western-style clothes, and drop customs that Westerners found odd, such as married women’s blackening their teeth.



Popperfoto/Getty Images

Ito Hirobumi and His Family The statesman Ito Hirobumi posed for this picture with his wife, son, and two grandsons at his country residence in 1908. Although as an official he promoted rapid political and economic change, at home he kept to many traditional practices, such as wearing traditional dress.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

Fukuzawa Yukichi, “Escape from Asia”

Fukuzawa Yukichi was one of the most prominent intellectuals and promoters of westernization in Meiji Japan. His views on domestic policy were decidedly liberal, but he took a hard-line approach to foreign affairs. His ruthless criticism of Korea and China published on March 16, 1885, can be read as inviting colonialism. In 1895, ten years after writing this call to action, he rejoiced at Japan’s victory over China in the conflict over Korea.

Civilization is like an epidemic of measles. The current measles in Tokyo, which has advanced eastwards from Nagasaki in western Japan, seems to have begun to claim more victims with the arrival of springtime. Will we be able now to find a means of checking this epidemic? It is obvious that we have no way to do so. We cannot put up effective resistance, even against an epidemic that carries with it only harm; much less against civilization, which is always accompanied by both harm and good, but by more good than harm.

Though our land of Japan is situated on the Eastern edge of Asia, the spirit of its people has already shaken off the backwardness of Asia to accept the civilization of the West. Unfortunately, however, we have two neighboring countries, one being called China, the other called Korea. The people of these two countries are no different from us Japanese people in having been brought up since olden times in the Asian culture and customs, and yet, whether because they are of another racial origin, or because, while similar in culture and customs, differ from us in the main lines of their traditional education, a comparison of the three countries, Japan, China, and Korea, reveals that the latter two resemble each other more closely than they do Japan. The people of those two countries do not know how to go about reforming and making progress, whether individually or as a country. It is not that they have not seen or heard of civilized things in the present world of facile communication; yet what their eyes and ears perceive have failed to stimulate their minds, and their emotional attachment to ancient manners and customs has changed little for the past hundreds and thousands of years. In this lively theater of civilization, where things change daily, they still speak of education in terms of Confucianism, cite humanity, justice, civility, and wisdom as their principles of school education, are completely obsessed only with outward appearance, are in reality not only ignorant of truths and principles but so extreme in their cruelty and shamelessness that for them morality is completely nonexistent, and yet are as arrogant as if they never gave a thought to self-examination.

In our view, these countries have no likelihood of maintaining their independence in the current tide of civilization's eastward advance. Let there not be the slightest doubt that, unless they are fortunate enough to have motivated men appear in their lands who, as a first step to improve the condition of their countries will plan such a great enterprise of overall reform of their governments as our Restoration was, and succeed in altering their people's minds through political reforms, those countries will meet their doom in but a few years, with their territories divided among the civilized countries of the world. The reason is that China and Korea, confronted by an epidemic of civilization comparable to measles, are impossibly trying to ward it off, despite its inevitability, by shutting themselves up in a room, with the result being that they are cutting off their supply of fresh air and asphyxiating themselves. Though mutual help between neighboring countries has been likened to the relationship between the lips and the teeth, China and Korea of today cannot be of any assistance at all to our country of Japan.

Civilized western man is not without a tendency to regard all three countries as identical because of their geographic proximity and to apply his evaluation of China and Korea to Japan also. For example, when he finds that the governments of China and Korea are old-fashioned autocracies without abiding laws, the western man will suppose Japan too to be a lawless country. When he finds that the gentlemen of China and Korea are too deeply infatuated to know what science is, the western scholar will think that Japan too is a land of Yin-Yang and the Five Elements. When the Chinese display their servility and shamelessness, they obscure the chivalrous spirit of the Japanese. When the Koreans employ cruel means of physical punishment, the Japanese too are surmised to be just as inhuman. Such examples are too numerous to count. This may be compared to the case in which most of those in a string of houses within a village or town are foolish, lawless, cruel, and inhuman; an occasional family that heeds what is just and right will be eclipsed by the other's evil and its virtue will never be noticed. It is indeed not infrequent that something similar happens in our foreign relations and indirectly interferes with them. This should be regarded a great misfortune for our country of Japan.

To plan our course now, therefore, our country cannot afford to wait for the enlightenment of our neighbors and to cooperate in building Asia up. Rather, we should leave their ranks to join the camp of the civilized countries of the West. Even when dealing with China and Korea, we need not have special scruples simply because they are our neighbors, but should behave toward them as the westerners do. One who befriends an evil person cannot avoid being involved in his notoriety. In spirit, then, we break with our evil friends of Eastern Asia.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What does Fukuzawa mean by “civilization”?
2. How does Fukuzawa’s justification of colonialism compare to Europeans’ justification of it during the same period?

Source: Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, comp., *Meiji Japan Through Contemporary Sources*. Vol. 3: *1869–1894* (Tokyo: Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, 1972), pp. 129–133, modified. Used by permission of the Center for East Asian Cultural Studies.

Industrialization

The leaders of the Meiji Restoration, wanting to strengthen Japan's military capacity, promoted industrialization. The government paid large salaries to attract foreign experts to help with industrialization, and Japanese were encouraged to go abroad to study science and engineering.

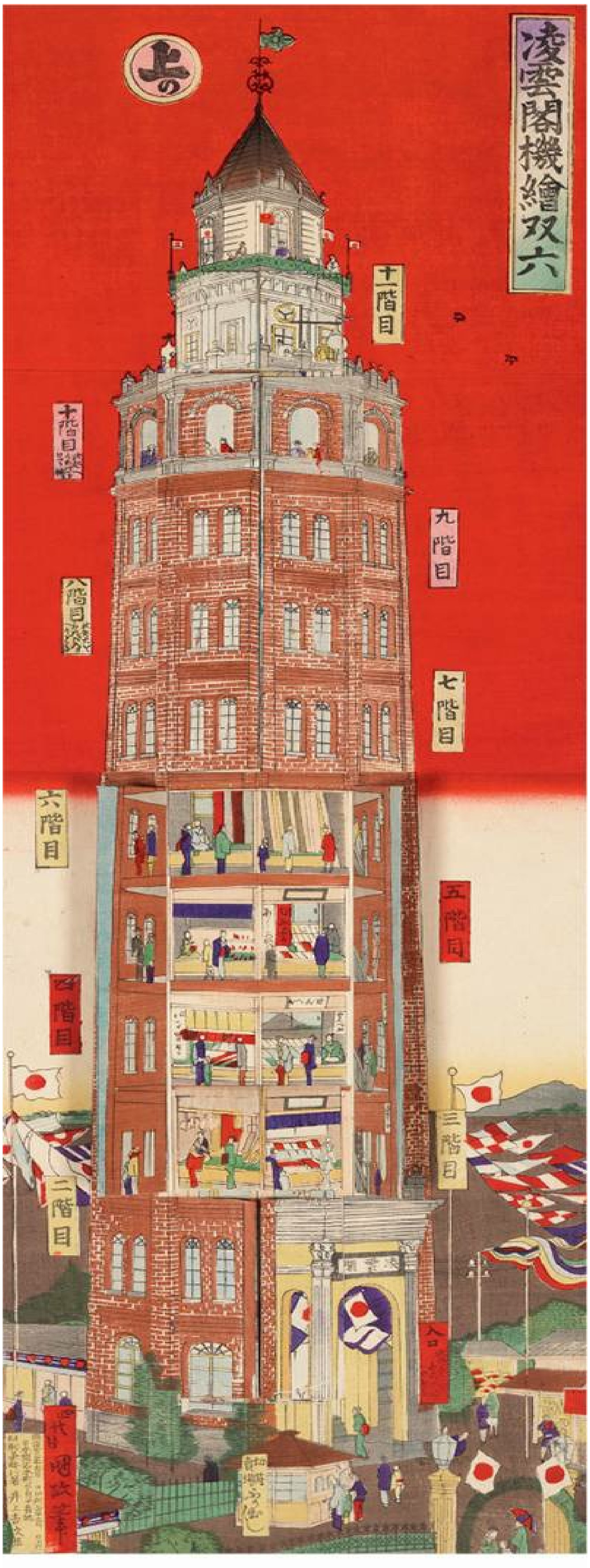
The government played an active role in getting railroads, mines, and factories started. Early on, the Japanese government decided to compete with China in the export of tea and silk to the West. Introducing the mechanical reeling of silk gave Japan a strong price advantage in the sale of silk, and Japan's total foreign trade increased tenfold from 1877 to 1900. The next stage was to develop heavy industry. A huge indemnity exacted from China in 1895, as part of the peace agreement, was used to establish the Yawata Iron and Steel Works. The third stage of Japan's industrialization would today be called import substitution. Factories such as cotton mills were set up to help cut the importation of Western consumer goods (See "Analyzing the Evidence: Japan's First Skyscraper," at right).

Most of the great Japanese industrial conglomerates known as *zaibatsu* (zigh-BAHT-dzoo), such as Mitsubishi, got their start in this period, often founded by men with government connections. Sometimes the government set up plants that it then sold to private investors at bargain prices. Successful entrepreneurs were treated as patriotic heroes.

As in Europe, the early stages of industrialization brought hardship to the countryside. Farmers often rioted as their incomes failed to keep up with prices or as their tax burdens grew. Workers in modern industries were no happier, and in 1898 railroad workers went on strike for better working conditions and overtime pay. Still, rice production increased, death rates dropped as public health was improved, and the population grew from about 33 million in 1868 to about 45 million in 1900.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

Japan’s First Skyscraper


凌雲閣機繪双六
上り
十階目
十一階目
九階目
八階目
七階目
六階目
五階目
四階目
三階目
二階目
入口

Pavilion Above the Clouds, Suroroku 1890, by Utagawa Kunimasa IV [1838–1920] [woodblock print with collage elements]/Mead Art Museum, Amherst College/Bridgeman Images

The title in the upper right of this woodblock print identifies the subject as the Pavilion That Pierces the Clouds, a well-known building completed in 1890 and popularly known as "Twelve Stories." It was designed by a Scottish engineer soon after his arrival in Japan and was the first building in Japan with an elevator. All its floors were equipped with electric lighting, adding to its modern allure. At 225 feet tall, it was the tallest building in Tokyo for decades and was visible from almost anywhere in the city. It was also the best place to look down on Tokyo, either from the lounge on the tenth floor or the observation deck equipped with telescopes on the twelfth floor. On a clear day one could see Mount Fuji.

Inside, Twelve Stories offered many kinds of amusement. On its second to seventh floors, it housed forty-six stores selling goods from around the world, including one that sold woodblock prints used in a popular board game. Art exhibitions were held on the ninth floor. There was also room for cultural events, including Western music concerts, photograph exhibitions, and beauty contests. The Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923 damaged the tower so severely that it had to be completely demolished, and it was never rebuilt, but in its heyday it was one of the best-known landmarks in Tokyo.

Utagawa Kunimasa IV (1838–1920), the artist who made this print, was trained by two former heads of the Utagawa line of woodblock print artists, and, like them, he supported himself largely though selling pictures of popular actors. With the rapid introduction of Western culture in the Meiji period, he and other artists of the period turned their attention to all that was modern and exotic, including foreigners and their odd clothing, vehicles, and buildings.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Locate all the people in this picture. How are they dressed? What are they doing?
2. Keeping in mind that the building in this picture was built in 1890, what connections can you draw between the politics of the period and this visual celebration of a new style of architecture?
3. How did the artist, Utagawa Kunimasa IV, adapt traditional woodblock print artistic conventions to the portrayal of new features of life in Tokyo? Would a visiting artist from the West have painted this scene the same way, or is there something distinctively Japanese about this picture?

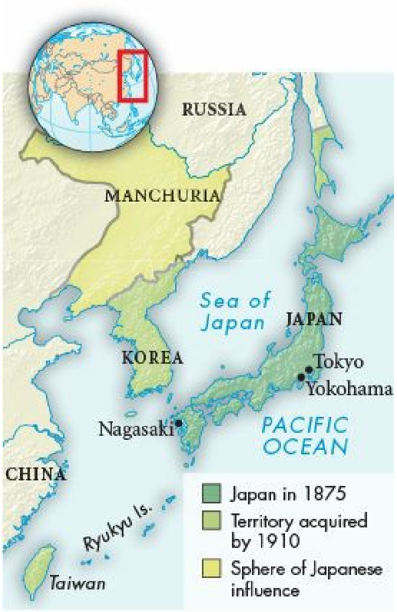
Japan as an Imperial Power

During the course of the Meiji period, Japan became an imperial power, making Taiwan and Korea into its colonies. The conflicts that led to Japanese acquisition of both of them revolved around Korea.

The Choson Dynasty had been on the throne in Korea since 1392. In the second half of the nineteenth century Korea found itself caught between China, Japan, and Russia, each trying to protect or extend its sphere of influence. Westerners also began demanding that Korea be "opened." Korea's first response was to insist that its foreign relations be handled through Beijing. Matters were complicated by the rise in the 1860s of a religious cult, the Tonghak movement, that had strong xenophobic elements. Although the government executed the cult founder in 1864, this cult continued to gain support, especially among impoverished peasants. Thus, like the Chinese government in the same period, the Korean government faced simultaneous internal and external threats.

In 1871 the U.S. minister to China took five warships to try to open Korea, but left after exchanges of fire resulted in 250 Koreans dead without any progress in getting the Korean government to make concessions. Japan tried next and in 1876 forced the Korean government to sign an unequal treaty and open three ports to Japanese trade. On China's urging, Korea also signed treaties with the European powers in an effort to counterbalance Japan.

Over the next couple of decades reformers in China and Japan tried to encourage Korea to adopt its own self-strengthening movement, but Korean conservatives did their best to undo reform efforts. In 1894, when the religious cult rose in a massive revolt, both China and Japan sent military forces, claiming to come to the Korean government's aid. They ended up fighting each other instead in what is known as the Sino-Japanese War (see "The Self-Strengthening Movement"). With its decisive victory, Japan gained Taiwan from China and was able to make Korea a protectorate. In 1910 Korea was formally annexed as a province of Japan.


RUSSIA
MANCHURIA
Sea of Japan
JAPAN
KOREA
Tokyo
Yokohama
Nagasaki
PACIFIC OCEAN
CHINA
Ryukyu Is.
Taiwan
Japan in 1875
Territory acquired by 1910
Sphere of Japanese influence

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Japanese Expansion, 1875–1914

Japan also competed aggressively with the leading European powers for influence and territory in China, particularly in the northeast (Manchuria). There Japanese and Russian imperialism met and collided. In 1904 Japan attacked Russian forces and, after its 1905 victory in the bloody **Russo-Japanese War**, emerged with a valuable foothold in China — Russia's former protectorate over Port Arthur (see Map 26.1).

Russo-Japanese War The 1904–1905 war between Russia and Japan fought over imperial influence and territory in northeast China (Manchuria).

Japan's victories over China and Russia changed the way European nations looked at Japan. Through negotiations Japan was able to eliminate extraterritoriality in 1899 and gain control of its own tariffs in 1911. Within Japan, the success of the military in raising Japan's international reputation added greatly to its political influence.

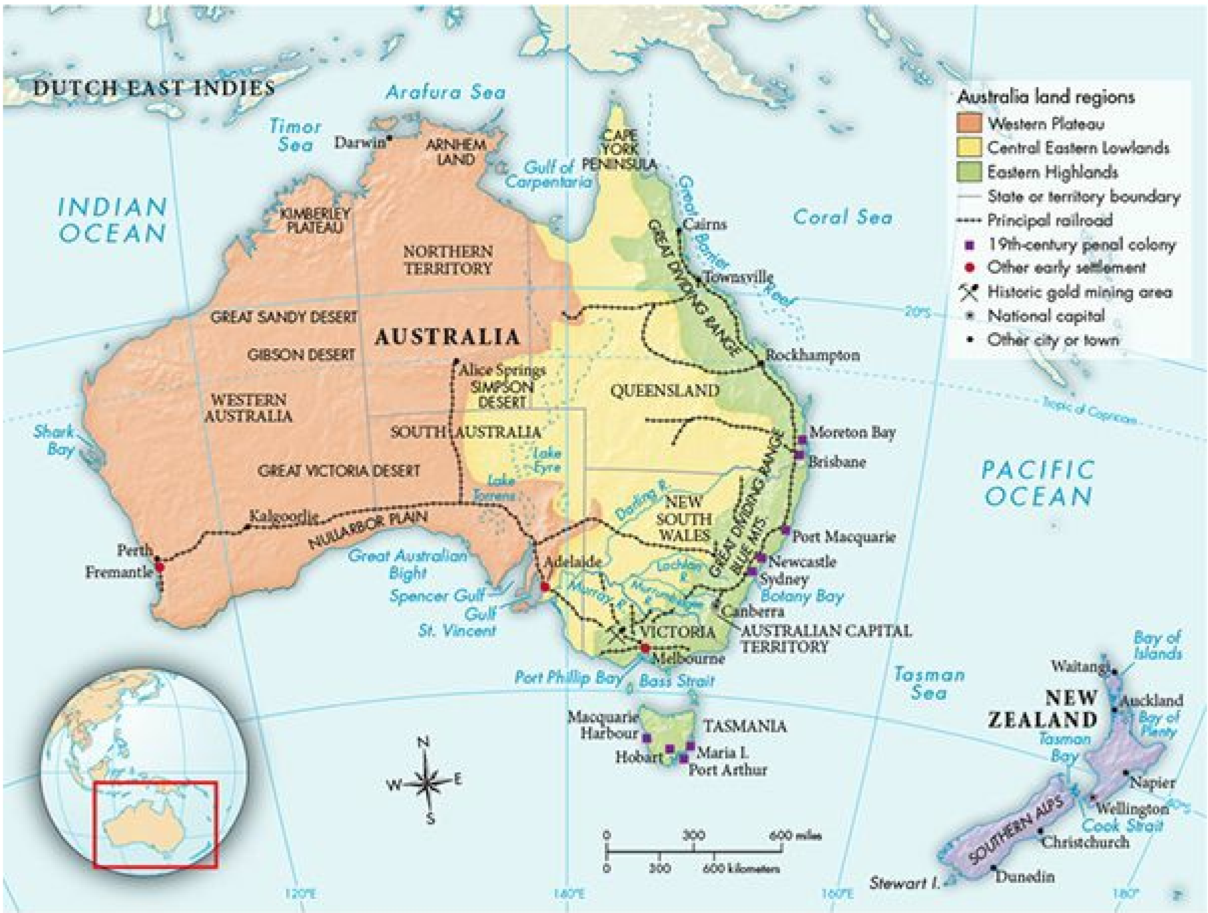
The Pacific Region and the Movement of People

What were the causes and consequences of the vast movement of people in the Pacific region?

The nineteenth century was marked by extensive movement of people into, across, and out of Asia and the broad Pacific region. Many of these migrants moved from one Asian country to another, but there was also a growing presence of Europeans in Asia, a consequence of the increasing integration of the world economy (see “The Expanding World Economy” in Chapter 25).

Settler Colonies in the Pacific: Australia and New Zealand

The largest share of the Europeans who moved to the Pacific region in the nineteenth century went to the settler colonies in Australia and New Zealand (Map 26.2). In 1770 the English explorer James Cook visited New Zealand, Australia, and Hawaii. All three of these places in time became destinations for migrants.


DUTCH EAST INDIES
Arafura Sea
Timor Sea
Darwin
ARNHEM LAND
CAPE YORK PENINSULA
Gulf of Carpentaria
INDIAN OCEAN
KIMBERLEY PLATEAU
NORTHERN TERRITORY
Great Barrier Reef
GREAT DIVIDING RANGE
Cairns
Townsville
Coral Sea
GREAT SANDY DESERT
GIBSON DESERT
AUSTRALIA
Rockhampton
Alice Springs
SIMPSON DESERT
QUEENSLAND
WESTERN AUSTRALIA
Shark Bay
SOUTH AUSTRALIA
Lake Eyre
Moreton Bay
Brisbane
GREAT VICTORIA DESERT
Lake Torrens
Darling R.
NEW SOUTH WALES
Kalgoorlie
NULLARBOR PLAIN
Perth
Fremantle
Great Australian Bight
Spencer Gulf
Gulf St. Vincent
Adelaide
Lachlan R.
Murray R.
Murrumbidgee R.
BLUE MTS.
Port Macquarie
Newcastle
Sydney
Botany Bay
Canberra
AUSTRALIAN CAPITAL TERRITORY
VICTORIA
Melbourne
Port Phillip Bay
Bass Strait
Tasman Sea
PACIFIC OCEAN
Tropic of Capricorn
20°S
40°S
Macquarie Harbour
TASMANIA
Hobart
Maria I.
Port Arthur
N
S
E
W
0 300 600 miles
0 300 600 kilometers
120°E
140°E
160°E
180°
Waitangi
Bay of Islands
NEW ZEALAND
Auckland
Bay of Plenty
Tasman Bay
Napier
Wellington
Cook Strait
SOUTHERN ALPS
Christchurch
Dunedin
Stewart I.
Australia land regions
Western Plateau
Central Eastern Lowlands
Eastern Highlands
State or territory boundary
Principal railroad
19th-century penal colony
Other early settlement
Historic gold mining area
National capital
Other city or town

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin’s

MAP 26.2 Australia Because of the vast deserts in western Australia, cities and industries developed mainly in the east. Australia's early geographical and cultural isolation bred a sense of inferiority. Air travel, the communications revolution, and the massive importation of Japanese products and American popular culture have changed that.

Between 200 and 1300 C.E. Polynesians settled numerous islands of the Pacific, from New Zealand in the south to Hawaii in the north and Easter Island in the east. Thus most of the lands that explorers like Cook encountered were occupied by societies with chiefs, crop agriculture, domestic animals such as chickens and pigs, excellent sailing technology, and often considerable experience in warfare. Australia had been settled millennia earlier by a different population. When Cook arrived in Australia, it was occupied by about three hundred thousand Aborigines who lived entirely by food gathering, fishing, and hunting. Like the Indians of Central and South America, the people in all these lands fell victim to Eurasian diseases and died in large numbers.

Australia was first developed by Britain as a penal colony. Between 1787 and 1869, when the penal colony system was abolished, a total of 161,000 convicts were transported to Australia. After the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, a steady stream of nonconvicts chose to relocate to Australia. Raising sheep proved suitable to Australia's climate, and wool exports steadily increased, from 75,400 pounds in 1821 to 24 million pounds in 1845. To encourage migration, the government offered free passage and free land to immigrants. By 1850 Australia had five hundred thousand inhabitants. The discovery of gold in Victoria in 1851 quadrupled that number in a few years. The gold rush also provided the financial means for cultural development. Public libraries, museums, art galleries, and universities opened in the thirty years after 1851. These institutions dispensed a distinctly British culture.

THE LIFE
EMIGRATION

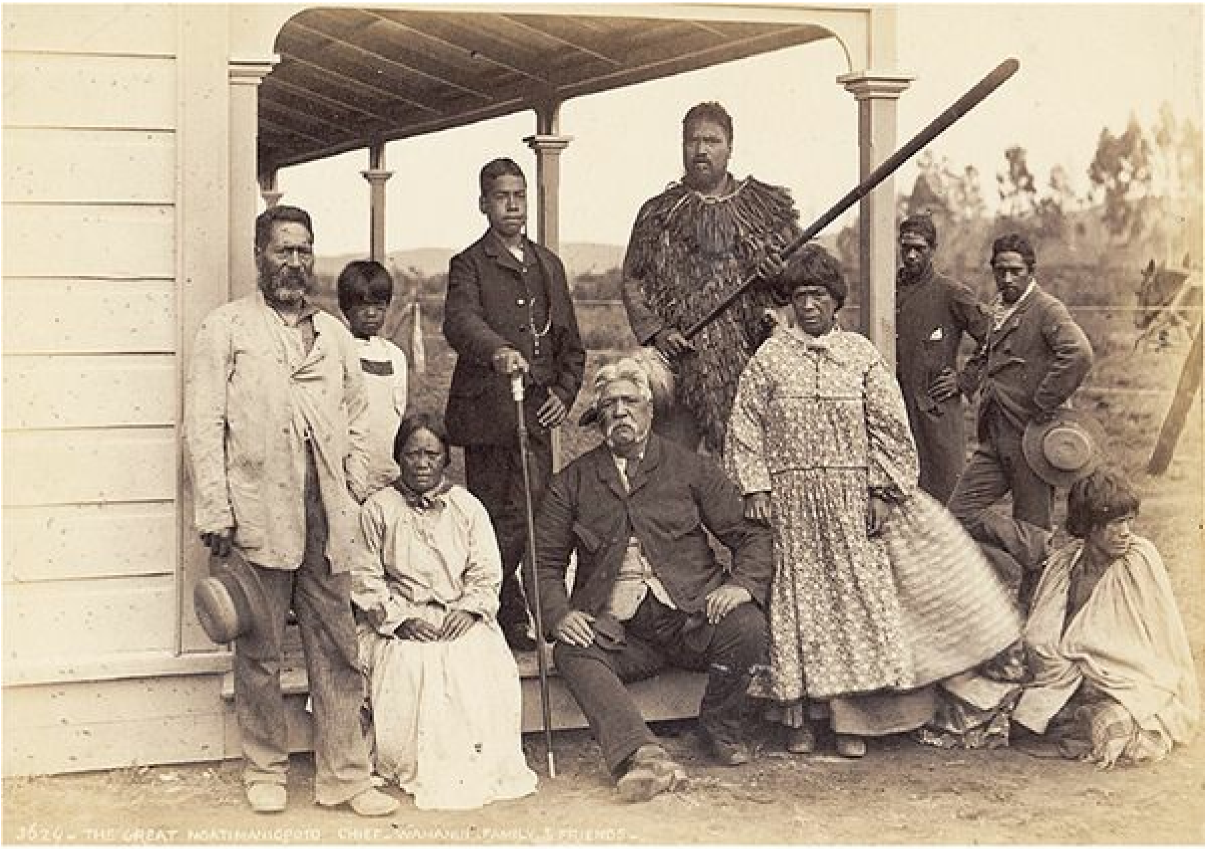
Photograph courtesy of the State Library of South Australia, S.A. Memory website

The "Life of Emigration" Puzzle, ca. 1840 Some of the advertising designed to attract people to move to Australia was aimed at children, such as this wooden puzzle depicting the life of a family moving from Britain to Australia.

Not everyone in Australia was of British origin, however. Chinese and Japanese built the railroads and ran the shops in the towns and the market gardens nearby. Filipinos and Pacific Islanders did the hard work in the sugarcane fields. Afghans and their camels controlled the carrying trade in some areas. But fear that Asian labor would lower living standards and undermine Australia's distinctly British culture led to efforts to keep Australia white.

Australia gained independence in stages. In 1850 the British Parliament passed the Australian Colonies Government Act, which allowed the four most populous colonies — New South Wales, Tasmania, Victoria, and South Australia — to establish colonial legislatures, determine the franchise, and frame their own constitutions. In 1902 Australia became one of the first countries in the world to give women the vote.

By 1900 New Zealand's population had reached 750,000, only a fifth of Australia's. One major reason more people had not settled these fertile islands was the resistance of the native Maori people. They quickly mastered the use of muskets and tried for decades to keep the British from taking their lands.


3626 – THE GREAT NGATIMANIAPOTO CHIEF – WAHANUI FAMILY & FRIENDS –

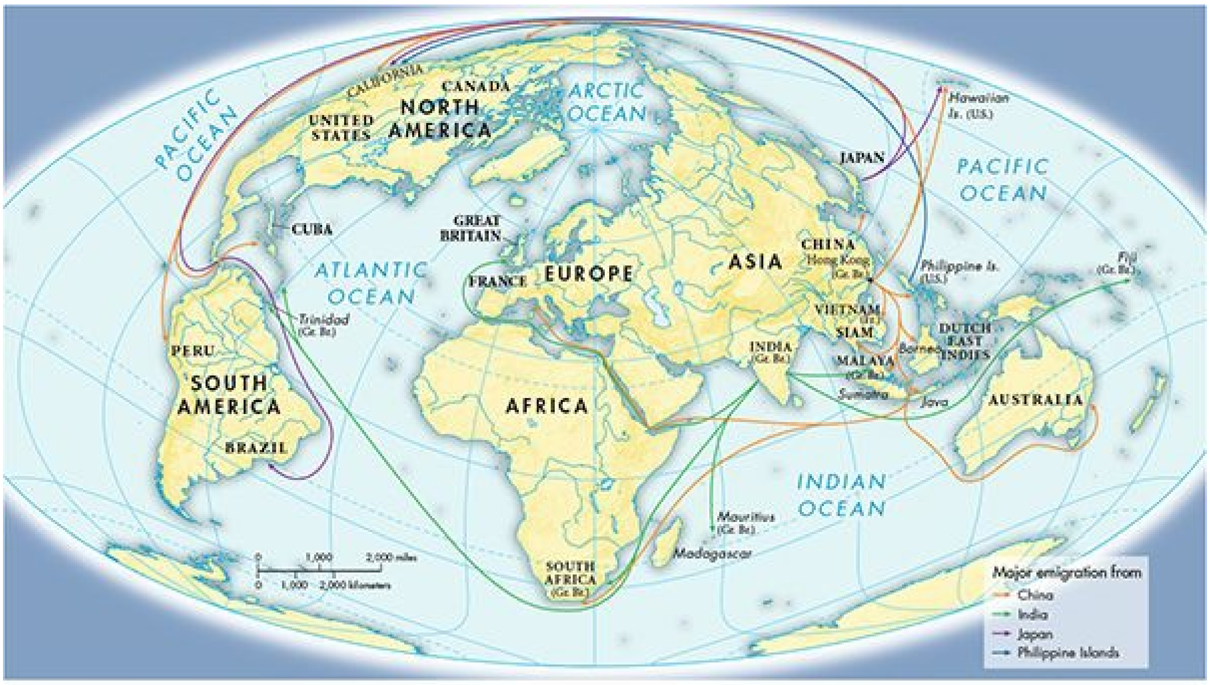
By Alfred Burton [1834–1914] [albumen print]/Private Collection/© Michael Graham-Stewart/Bridgeman Images

Maori Chief, 1885 This photograph depicts Chief Wahanui of the Ngati Maniapoto tribe with his family and friends. The chief had fought in the Maori wars against the British in 1864–1865. Twenty years later, he and his family had adopted many elements of Western material culture.

Foreign settlement in Hawaii began gradually. Initially, whalers stopped there for supplies, as they did at other Pacific Islands. Missionaries and businessmen came next, and soon other settlers followed, both whites and Asians. A plantation economy developed centered on sugarcane. In the 1890s leading settler families overthrew the native monarchy, set up a republic, and urged the United States to annex Hawaii, which it did in 1898.

Asian Emigration

Like Europeans, Asians left their native countries in unprecedented numbers in the nineteenth century (Map 26.3). As in Europe, both push and pull factors prompted people to leave home. Between 1750 and 1900 world population grew rapidly, in many places tripling. China and India were extremely densely populated countries — China with more than 400 million people in the mid-nineteenth century, India with more than 200 million. Not surprisingly, these two giants were the leading exporters of people in search of work or land. On the pull side were the new opportunities created by the flow of development capital into previously underdeveloped areas. In many of the European colonies in Asia the business class came to consist of both Asian and European migrants. Asian diasporas formed in many parts of the world, with the majority in Asia itself, especially Southeast Asia.


PACIFIC OCEAN
CALIFORNIA
CANADA
NORTH AMERICA
UNITED STATES
ARCTIC OCEAN
CUBA
GREAT BRITAIN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
FRANCE
EUROPE
Trinidad (Gr. Br.)
PERU
SOUTH AMERICA
BRAZIL
AFRICA
SOUTH AFRICA (Gr. Br.)
0 1,000 2,000 miles
0 1,000 2,000 kilometers
Hawaiian Is. (U.S.)
JAPAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
CHINA
Hong Kong (Gr. Br.)
ASIA
Philippine Is. (U.S.)
Fiji (Gr. Br.)
VIETNAM (Fr.)
SIAM
DUTCH EAST INDIES
Borneo
INDIA (Gr. Br.)
MALAYA (Gr. Br.)
Sumatra
Java
AUSTRALIA
INDIAN OCEAN
Mauritius (Gr. Br.)
Madagascar
Major emigration from
China
India
Japan
Philippine Islands

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 26.3 **Emigration Out of Asia, 1820–1914** As steamships made crossing oceans quicker and more reliable, many people in Asia left their home countries to find new opportunities elsewhere. European imperialism contributed to this flow, especially by recruiting workers for newly established plantations or mines. Many emigrants simply wanted to work a few years to build their savings and planned to return home. Often, however, they ended up staying in their new countries and forming families there.

By the nineteenth century Chinese formed key components of mercantile communities throughout Southeast Asia. Chinese often assimilated in Siam and Vietnam, but they rarely did so in Muslim areas such as Java, Catholic areas such as the Philippines, and primitive tribal areas such as northern Borneo. In these places distinct Chinese communities emerged, usually dominated by speakers of a single Chinese dialect.

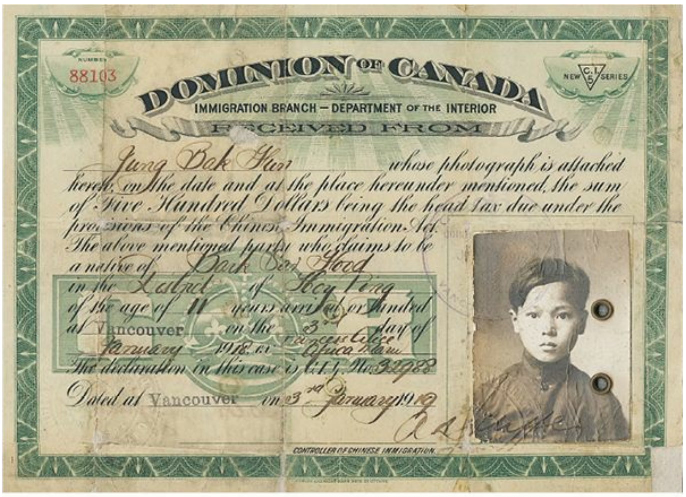
With the growth in trade that accompanied the European imperial expansion, Chinese began to settle in the islands of Southeast Asia in larger numbers. After Singapore was founded by the British in 1819, Chinese rapidly poured in, soon becoming the dominant ethnic group. In

British-controlled Malaya, some Chinese built great fortunes in the tin business, while others worked in the mines. Chinese also settled in the Spanish-controlled Philippines and in Dutch-controlled Indonesia.

Discovery of gold in California in 1848, Australia in 1851, and Canada in 1858 encouraged Chinese to book passage to those places. In California few arrived soon enough to strike gold, but they quickly found work building railroads, and others took up mining in Wyoming and Idaho.

Indian entrepreneurs were similarly attracted by the burgeoning commerce of the growing British Empire. The bulk of Indian emigrants were **indentured laborers**, recruited under contract. The rise of indentured labor from Asia was a direct result of the outlawing of the African slave trade in the early nineteenth century by Britain and the United States. Sugar plantations in the Caribbean and elsewhere needed new sources of workers, and planters in the British colonies discovered that they could recruit Indian laborers to replace blacks. After the French abolished slavery in 1848, they recruited workers from India as well. Later in the century many Indians emigrated to British colonies in Africa, the largest numbers to South Africa.

indentured laborers Laborers who agreed to a term of employment, specified in a contract.



NUMBER 88103

DOMINION OF CANADA

IMMIGRATION BRANCH — DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

NEW C.I. 5 SERIES

RECEIVED FROM

Jung Bak Hun whose photograph is attached hereto, on the date and at the place hereunder mentioned, the sum of Five Hundred Dollars being the head tax due under the provisions of the Chinese Immigration Act.

The above mentioned party who claims to be a native of Bak Sai Hood in the District of Hoy Ping of the age of 11 years arrived or landed at Vancouver on the 3rd day of January 1918 ex Africa Maru

The declaration in this case is C.I.9 No. 32988

Dated at Vancouver on 3rd January 1919

CONTROLLER OF CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

Head tax certificate for Jung Bak Hun, issued January 3, 1919/© Government of Canada. Reproduced with the permission of the Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada [2016]. Source: Library and Archives Canada/Department of Employment and Immigration fonds/Vol. 712, C.I.5 certificate 88103

Canadian Immigration Certificate This certificate proved that the eleven-year-old boy in the photograph had a legal right to be in Canada, as the $500 head tax required for immigration of Chinese had been paid. The head tax on Chinese immigrants introduced in 1885 started at $50, but it was raised to $100 in 1900 and to $500 in 1903. Equal to about what a laborer could earn in two years, the tax succeeded in its goal of slowing the rate of Asian immigration to Canada.

Indentured laborers secured as substitutes for slaves were often treated little better than slaves. In response to such abuse, the Indian colonial government established regulations stipulating a maximum indenture period of five years, after which the migrant would be entitled to passage home. Even though government “protectors” were appointed at the ports of embarkation, exploitation of indentured workers continued largely unchecked.

In areas outside the British Empire, China offered the largest supply of ready labor. Starting in the 1840s contractors arrived at Chinese ports to recruit labor for plantations and mines in Cuba, Peru, Hawaii, Sumatra, South Africa, and elsewhere. Chinese laborers did not have the British government to protect them and seem to have suffered even more than Indian workers.

India and China sent more people abroad than any other Asian countries during this period, but they were not alone. As Japan started to industrialize, its cities could not absorb all those forced off the farms, and people began emigrating in significant numbers, many to Hawaii and later to South America. Emigration from the Philippines also was substantial, especially after it became a U.S. territory in 1898.

Asian migration to the United States, Canada, and Australia — the primary destinations of European emigrants — would undoubtedly have been greater if it had not been so vigorously resisted by the white settlers in those regions. In 1882 Chinese were barred from becoming American citizens, and the immigration of Chinese laborers was suspended. Australia also put a stop to Asian immigration with the Commonwealth Immigration Restriction Act of 1901, which established the “white Australia policy” that remained on the books until the 1970s.

Most of the Asian migrants discussed so far were illiterate peasants or business people, not members of traditional educated elites. By the beginning of the twentieth century, however, another group of Asians was going abroad in significant numbers: students. Most of these students traveled abroad to learn about Western science, law, and government in the hope of strengthening their own countries. On their return they contributed enormously to the intellectual life of their societies, increasing understanding of the modern Western world and also becoming the most vocal advocates of overthrowing the old order and driving out the colonial masters.

Among the most notable of these foreign-educated radicals were Mohandas Gandhi (1869–1948) (see “Gandhi’s Resistance Campaign in India” in Chapter 29) and Sun Yatsen. Sun developed his ideas about the republican form of government while studying in Hawaii and Hong Kong. Gandhi, after studying law in Britain, took a job in South Africa, where he became involved in trying to defend the interests of the Indians who lived and worked there. It was there that he gradually elaborated his idea of passive resistance.

The Countries of Asia in Comparative Perspective

What explains the similarities and differences in the experiences of Asian countries in this era?

At the start of the nineteenth century the societies of Asia varied much more than those of any other part of the world. In the temperate zones of East Asia, the old established monarchies of China, Japan, and Korea were all densely populated and boasted long literary traditions and traditions of unified governments. They had ties to each other that dated back many centuries and shared many elements of their cultures. South of them, in the tropical and subtropical regions, cultures were more diverse. India was just as densely populated as China, Japan, and Korea, but politically and culturally less unified, with several major languages and dozens of independent rulers reigning in kingdoms large and small, not to mention the growing British presence. In both India and Southeast Asia, Islam was much more important than it was in East Asia. All the countries with long written histories and literate elites were at a great remove from the thinly populated and relatively primitive areas without literate cultures and sometimes even without agriculture, such as Australia and some of the islands of the Philippines and Indonesia.

The nineteenth century gave the societies of Asia more in common in that all of them in one way or another had come into contact with the expanding West. Still, the Western powers did not treat all the countries the same way. Western powers initially wanted manufactured goods from the more developed Asian societies, especially Indian cotton textiles and Chinese porcelains. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Britain had already gained political control over large parts of India and was intent on forcing China to trade on terms more to its benefit. It paid virtually no attention to Korea and Japan, not seeing in them the same potential for profit. The less developed parts of Asia also attracted increasing Western interest, not because they could provide manufactured goods, but because they offered opportunities for Western development, much as the Americas had earlier.

The West that the societies of Asia faced during the nineteenth century was itself rapidly changing, and the steps taken by Western nations to gain power in Asia naturally also changed over time. Western science and technology were making rapid advances, which gave European armies progressively greater advantages in weaponry. The Industrial Revolution made it possible for countries that industrialized early, such as Britain, to produce huge surpluses of goods for which they had to find markets; this development shifted their interest in Asia from a place to buy goods to a place to sell goods. Britain had been able to profit from its colonization of India, and this profit both encouraged it to consolidate its rule and invited its European rivals to look for their own colonies. For instance, rivalry with Britain led France to seek colonies in Southeast Asia not only for its own sake but also as a way to keep Britain from extending its sphere of influence any farther.

There were some commonalities in the ways Asian countries responded to pressure from outside. In the countries with long literary traditions, often the initial response of the established elite was to try to drive the unwelcome foreigners away. This was the case in China, Japan, and Korea in particular. Violent antiforeign reactions exploded again and again, but the superior military technology of the industrialized West almost invariably prevailed. Some Asian leaders insisted on the need to preserve their cultural traditions at all costs. Others came to the opposite conclusion that the West was indeed superior in some ways and that they would have to adopt European ideas or techniques for their own purposes. This can be seen both among Indians who acquired education in English and in many of the Meiji reformers in Japan. The struggles between the traditionalists and the westernizers were often intense. As nationalism took hold in the West, it found a receptive audience among the educated elites in Asia. How could the assertion that every people had the right to control its own destiny not appeal to the colonized?

Whether they were colonized or not, most countries in Asia witnessed the spread of new technologies between 1800 and 1914. Railroads, telegraphs, modern sanitation, and a wider supply of inexpensive manufactured goods brought fundamental changes in everyday life not only to lands under colonial rule, such as India and Vietnam, but also, if less rapidly, to places that managed to remain independent, such as China and Japan. In fact, the transformation of Japan between 1860 and 1900 was extraordinary. By 1914 Japan had urban conveniences and educational levels comparable to those in Europe.

Chapter Summary

In the nineteenth century the countries of Asia faced new challenges. In India Britain extended its rule to the whole subcontinent, though often the British ruled indirectly through local princes. Britain brought many modern advances to India, such as railroads and schools. Slavery was outlawed, as was widow suicide and infanticide. Resistance to British rule took several forms. In 1857 Indian soldiers in the employ of the British rose in a huge revolt, and after Britain put down this rebellion it ruled India much more tightly. Indians who received English education turned English ideas of liberty and representative rule against the British and founded the Indian National Congress, which called for Indian independence.

In Southeast Asia by the end of the nineteenth century most countries, from Burma to the Philippines, had been made colonies of Western powers, which developed them as exporters of agricultural products or raw materials, including rubber, tin, sugar, tea, cotton, and jute. The principal exception was Siam (Thailand), whose king was able to play the English and French off against each other and institute centralizing reforms. In the Philippines more than three centuries of Spanish rule ended in 1898, but Spain was replaced by another colonial power: the United States.

In the nineteenth century China's world standing declined as a result of both foreign intervention and internal unrest. The government's efforts to suppress opium imports from Britain led to military confrontation with the British and to numerous concessions that opened China to trade on Britain's terms. Within its borders, China faced unprecedented population pressure and worsening economic conditions that resulted in uprisings in several parts of the country. Further humiliations by the Western powers led to concerted efforts to modernize, but China never quite caught up. Inspired by Western ideas of republican government, revolutionaries tried to topple the dynasty, finally succeeding in 1911–1912.

Japan was the one Asian country to quickly transform itself when confronted by the military strength of the West. It did this by overhauling its power structure. The Meiji centralized and strengthened Japan's power by depriving the samurai of their privileges, writing a constitution, instituting universal education, and creating a modern army. At the same time they guided Japan toward rapid industrialization. By the early twentieth century Japan had become an imperialist power with colonies in Korea and Taiwan.

The nineteenth century was also a great age of migration. Citizens of

Great Britain came east in large numbers, many to join the Indian civil service or army, others to settle in Australia or New Zealand. Subjects of Asian countries also went abroad, often leaving one Asian country for another. Asian students traveled to Europe, Japan, or the United States to continue their educations. Millions more left in search of work. With the end of the African slave trade, recruiters from the Americas and elsewhere went to India and China to secure indentured laborers. Asian diasporas formed in many parts of the world.

By the turn of the twentieth century the countries in the Asia and Pacific region varied greatly in wealth and power. There are several reasons for this. The countries did not start with equivalent circumstances. Some had long traditions of unified rule; others did not. Some had manufactured goods that Western powers wanted; others offered raw materials or cheap labor. The timing of the arrival of Western powers also made a difference, especially because Western military superiority increased over time. European Great Power rivalry had a major impact, especially after 1860. Similarities in the experiences of Asian countries are also notable and include many of the benefits (and costs) of industrialization seen elsewhere in the world, such as modernizations in communication and transportation, extension of schooling, and the emergence of radical ideologies.

CONNECTIONS

The nineteenth century brought Asia change on a much greater scale than did any earlier century. Much of the change was political — old political orders were ousted or reduced to tokens by new masters, often European colonial powers. Old elites found themselves at a loss when confronted by the European powers with their modern weaponry and modern armies. Cultural change was no less dramatic as the old elites pondered the differences between their traditional values and the ideas that seemed to underlie the power of the European states. In several places ordinary people rose in rebellion, probably in part because they felt threatened by the speed of cultural change. Material culture underwent major changes as elites experimented with Western dress and architecture and ordinary people had opportunities to travel on newly built railroads. Steamships, too, made long-distance travel easier, facilitating the out-migration of people seeking economic opportunities far from their countries of birth.

In the Americas, too, the nineteenth century was an era of unprecedented change and movement of people. Colonial empires were being overturned there, not imposed as they were in Asia in the same period. The Americas were on the receiving end of the huge migrations taking place, while Asia, like Europe, was much more an exporter of people. The Industrial Revolution brought change to all these areas, both by making available inexpensive machine-made products and by destroying some old ways of making a living. Intellectually, in both Asia and the Americas the ideas of nationalism and nation building shaped how people, especially the more educated, thought about the changes they were experiencing.

CHAPTER 26 Review and Explore

Identify Key Terms

Identify and explain the significance of each item below.

Great Mutiny / Great Revolt (p. 760)
Indian Civil Service (p. 761)
Indian National Congress (p. 764)
Java War (p. 766)
Nguyen Dynasty (p. 766)
Opium War (p. 769)
extraterritoriality (p. 769)
Taiping Rebellion (p. 769)
Boxers (p. 772)
1911 Revolution (p. 773)
gunboat diplomacy (p. 773)
Meiji Restoration (p. 773)
Russo-Japanese War (p. 778)
indentured laborers (p. 781)

Review the Main Ideas

Answer the focus questions from each section of the chapter.

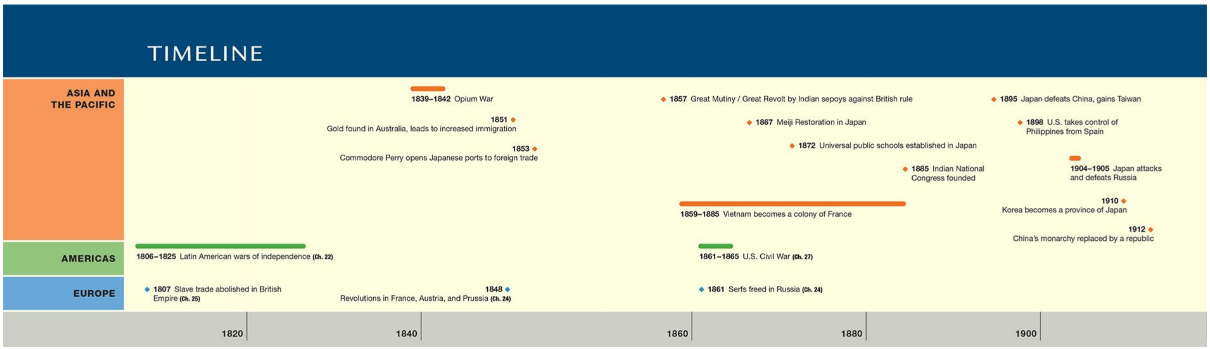
1. In what ways did India change as a consequence of British rule? (p. 760)
2. Why were most but not all Southeast Asian societies reduced to colonies? (p. 765)
3. Was China's decline in the nineteenth century due more to internal problems or to Western imperialism? (p. 767)
4. How was Japan able to quickly master the challenges posed by the West? (p. 773)
5. What were the causes and consequences of the vast movement of people in the Pacific region? (p. 778)
6. What explains the similarities and differences in the experiences of Asian countries in this era? (p. 783)

Make Comparisons and Connections

Analyze the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters.

1. How quickly was Asia affected by the Industrial Revolution in Europe (Chapter 23)? Explain your answer.

2. How do the experiences of European colonies in Asia compare to those in Africa (Chapter 25)?
3. How does China’s response to the challenge of European pressure compare to that of the Ottoman Empire (Chapter 25) during the same period?



Suggested Resources

Books

Bayly, C. A. *Indian Society and the Making of the British Empire*. 1990. A synthesis of recent research that provides a complex portrait of the interaction of Indian society and British colonial administration.

Bose, Sugata, and Ayesha Jalal. *Modern South Asia: History, Culture, Political Economy*. 1998. Incorporates recent scholarship with postcolonial perspective in a wide-ranging study.

Duus, Peter. *The Abacus and the Sword: The Japanese Penetration of Korea, 1895–1910*. 1995. Analyzes the interplay of business interests (the abacus) and military interests (the sword) in Japan’s push for colonial possessions.

Fairbank, John King, and Merle Goldman. *China: A New History*, 2d ed. 2006. A treatment of China’s experiences in the nineteenth century that is rich in interesting detail.

Hane, Mikiso. *Peasants, Rebels, Women, and Outcastes: The Underside of Modern Japan*, 2d ed. 2003. Draws on wide-ranging sources to provide a fuller picture of Japanese history.

Hopper, Helen. *Fukuzawa Yukichi: From Samurai to Capitalist*. 2005. A brief account of the life of a key westernizing intellectual.

Irokawa, Daikichi. *The Culture of the Meiji Period*. 1988. Makes excellent use of letters, diaries, and songs to probe changes in the ways ordinary people thought during a crucial period of political change.

Kuhn, Philip A. *Chinese Among Others: Emigration in Modern Times*. 2008. A history of Chinese emigration that is global in scope and vividly written.

Metcalf, Barbara D., and Thomas Metcalf. *A Concise History of Modern India*. 2012. A well-crafted overview.

Pruitt, Ida. *A Daughter of Han: The Autobiography of a Chinese Working Woman*. 1967. A highly revealing glimpse of Chinese society fashioned by journalist Ida Pruitt in the 1930s based on what a Chinese woman born in

1867 told Pruitt of her life.

Rowe, William T. *China’s Last Empire: The Great Qing*. 2009. An overview of the Qing Empire by a major historian.

Spence, Jonathan. *God’s Chinese Son*. 1997. Tells the story of the Taipings as much as possible from their own perspective.

Steinberg, David Joel, ed. *In Search of Southeast Asia: A Modern History*, rev. ed. 1987. An impressive work on Southeast Asia by seven specialists.

Walthall, Anne. *Japan: A Cultural, Social, and Political History*. 2006. A concise overview with good coverage of local society and popular culture.

Yeh, Catherine. *Shanghai Love: Courtesans, Intellectuals, and Entertainment Culture: 1850–1910*. 2006. An engaging account of the culture that developed in the treaty ports of China.

Documentaries

The Meiji Revolution (PBS, 1992). Part of the award-winning *Pacific Century* series. Makes extensive use of photographs and woodblock prints as well as feature films.

The Two Coasts of China: Asia and the Challenge of the West (PBS, 1992). Part of the award-winning *Pacific Century* series. Focuses mostly on the elite response to the shift in foreign threat from the north to the seacoast.

Feature Films

Burning of the Imperial Palace (Han Hsiang Li, 1983). This joint Hong Kong–Chinese film dramatizes the events that culminated in the looting and destruction of the imperial Old Summer Palace by invading English and French troops in 1860.

Mangal Pandey: The Rising (Ketan Mehta, 2005). A fictional story of friendship and betrayal during the time of the 1857 uprising in India.

The Man Who Would Be King (John Huston, 1975). In this popular film based on a Rudyard Kipling story, two rogue ex-noncommissioned officers of the Indian army set off from late-nineteenth-century British India in search of adventure. The actors include Sean Connery, Michael Caine, and Christopher Plummer.

The Opium War (Jin Xie, 1997). The Chinese view of the Opium War, dramatized.

Websites

British India and the “Great Rebellion.” A good overview of the 1857 conflict in India. **www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/victorians/indian_rebellion_01.shtml**

Early Photography of Japan. A well-organized, easy-to-use portal to more than two thousand early photos of Japan in Harvard collections. **hcl.harvard.edu/collections/epj/index.cfm**

27

The Americas in the Age of Liberalism

1810–1917

Edward S. Curtis Collection/Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C./LC-USZ62-1044492

Yaqui Woman

Indians across the Americas found their world under assault during the nineteenth century as new nation-states completed the process of territorial

consolidation begun in the colonial era. Yaqui people like the woman depicted here faced the dual pressures of the United States' westward expansion and Mexico's integration of northern borderlands.

Independence brought striking change and stubborn continuities to the Americas. With the exception of Haiti's revolution, American nations gained independence with their colonial social orders mostly intact. Slavery endured in the United States, Cuba, and Brazil until the second half of the nineteenth century. In Spanish America land remained concentrated in the hands of colonial elites. Territorial expansion displaced most of the indigenous communities that had withstood colonialism. By 1900 millions of immigrants from Europe, the Middle East, and Asia had settled in the Americas.

Though new political systems and governing institutions emerged, political rivals struggled to share power. Liberal republicanism became the most common form of government. But there were exceptions, such as the monarchy that ruled Brazil until 1889 and the parliamentary system tied to Britain that developed in Canada, which retained a symbolic role for the British monarch. Economically, the United States nurtured expanding internal markets and assumed an influential place in Atlantic and Pacific trade. Across Latin America, new nations with weak internal markets and often poorly consolidated political systems struggled to accumulate capital or industrialize.

CHAPTER PREVIEW

NEW NATIONS
How and why did the process of nation-state consolidation vary across the Americas?

SLAVERY AND ABOLITION
Why did slavery last longer in the United States, Brazil, and Cuba than in the other republics of the Americas? How did resistance by slaves shape abolition?

EXPORT-LED GROWTH AND SOCIAL UNREST
As Latin America became more integrated into the world economy, how did patterns of economic growth shape political culture and social reactions?

IMMIGRATION
What factors shaped patterns of immigration to the Americas? How did immigrants shape — and how were they shaped by — their new settings?

A NEW AMERICAN EMPIRE
In what ways did U.S. policies in the Caribbean and Central America resemble European imperialism? How did U.S. foreign policy depart from European imperialism?

New Nations

How and why did the process of nation-state consolidation vary across the Americas?

After American nations gained their independence between 1783 and 1825, each began a long and often-violent process of state-building and consolidating its eventual national territory. In countries such as Mexico and Argentina new governments failed to establish the trust needed for political stability. In the United States long-standing tensions culminated in the Civil War, while in Cuba nationalists fought a long struggle for independence from Spain.

Liberalism and Caudillos in Spanish America

To establish political and economic frameworks, American nations reached for ideologies that circulated in the Atlantic in the age of revolution (see “Demands for Liberty and Equality” in Chapter 22).The dominant ideology of the era was liberalism. Liberals sought to create representative republics with strong central governments framed by constitutions that defined and protected individual rights, in particular the right to freely own and buy and sell private property. Beginning with the United States, colonies that became independent nations in the Americas all adopted liberal constitutions.

The U.S. Constitution, in its earliest form, is an example of classic liberalism: it defined individual rights, but those individual rights were subordinated to property rights. Slaves were considered property rather than individuals with constitutional rights. Only property owners could vote, only men could own property, and the new government did not recognize the property of Indians. Liberalism mainly served and protected **oligarchs** — the small number of individuals and families who had monopolized political power and economic resources since the colonial era. Liberalism preserved slavery, created tools that allowed the wealthy and powerful to continue to concentrate landownership in the countryside, gave industrialists a free hand over their workers, and concentrated political power in the hands of those who held economic power.

oligarchs In Latin America, the small number of individuals and families that had monopolized political power and economic resources since the colonial era.

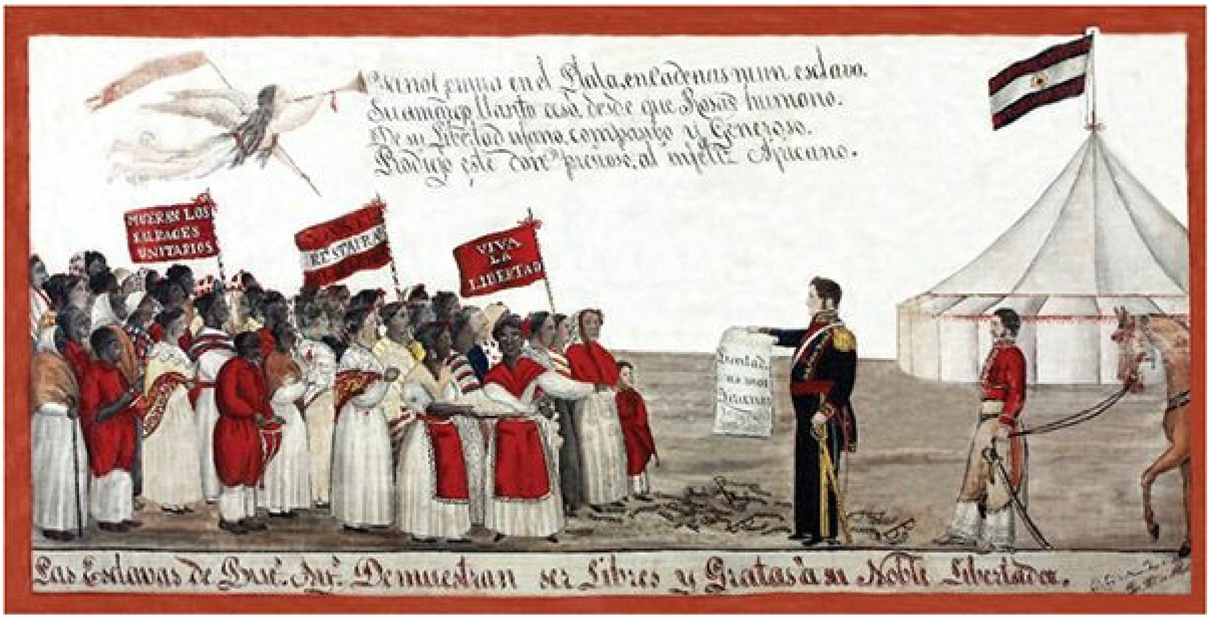
By the end of the nineteenth century liberalism commingled with other ideologies such as Social Darwinism and scientific racism (see “Science for the Masses” in Chapter 24). This combination also inspired the imperial ambitions of the United States toward Mexico and the **Circum-Caribbean**, the region that includes the Antilles as well as the lands that bound the Caribbean Sea in Central America and northern South America.

Circum-Caribbean The region encompassing the Antilles as well as the lands that bound the Caribbean Sea in Central America and northern South America.

The implementation of liberalism took different shapes. The United States deferred questions about centralized federal power over local state authority, as well as the legality of slavery, until its Civil War (1861–1865). After the North prevailed, liberal economic growth gave rise to business and industrial empires and stimulated the immigration of millions of people to provide cheap labor for the booming economy. In Spanish America wars of independence left behind a weak consensus about government, which led to long cycles of civil war across many countries.

The lack of a shared political culture among powerful groups in Spanish America created a crisis of confidence. Large landowners held great local power that they refused to yield to politicians in a distant capital. Political factions feared that if a rival faction won power, it would not abide by the rules and limits framed by the constitution, or that a rival would use its governing authority to crush its opponents. The power vacuum that resulted was often filled by caudillos, strong leaders who came to power and governed through their charisma and leadership abilities. This form of leadership is known as **caudillismo** (COW-deeh-is-moh).

caudillismo Government by figures who rule through personal charisma and the support of armed followers in Latin America.


MUERAN LOS SALVAJES UNITARIOS
VIVA LA LIBERTAD
Las Esclavas de Bue. Ayr. Demuestran ser Libres y Gratas a su Noble Libertador.

Pictures from History/CPA Media

Caudillo Juan Manuel de Rosas of Argentina Frees a Group of Enslaved Women, 1841 One of the best-known caudillos, Rosas ruled Argentina from 1829 to 1852. To maintain his power, Rosas relied on the loyalty of his armed followers and his ability to cultivate a popular following through measures like the gradual abolition of slavery.

The rule of a caudillo often provided temporary stability amid the struggles between liberals and conservatives, but caudillos cultivated their own prestige at the expense of building stable political institutions.

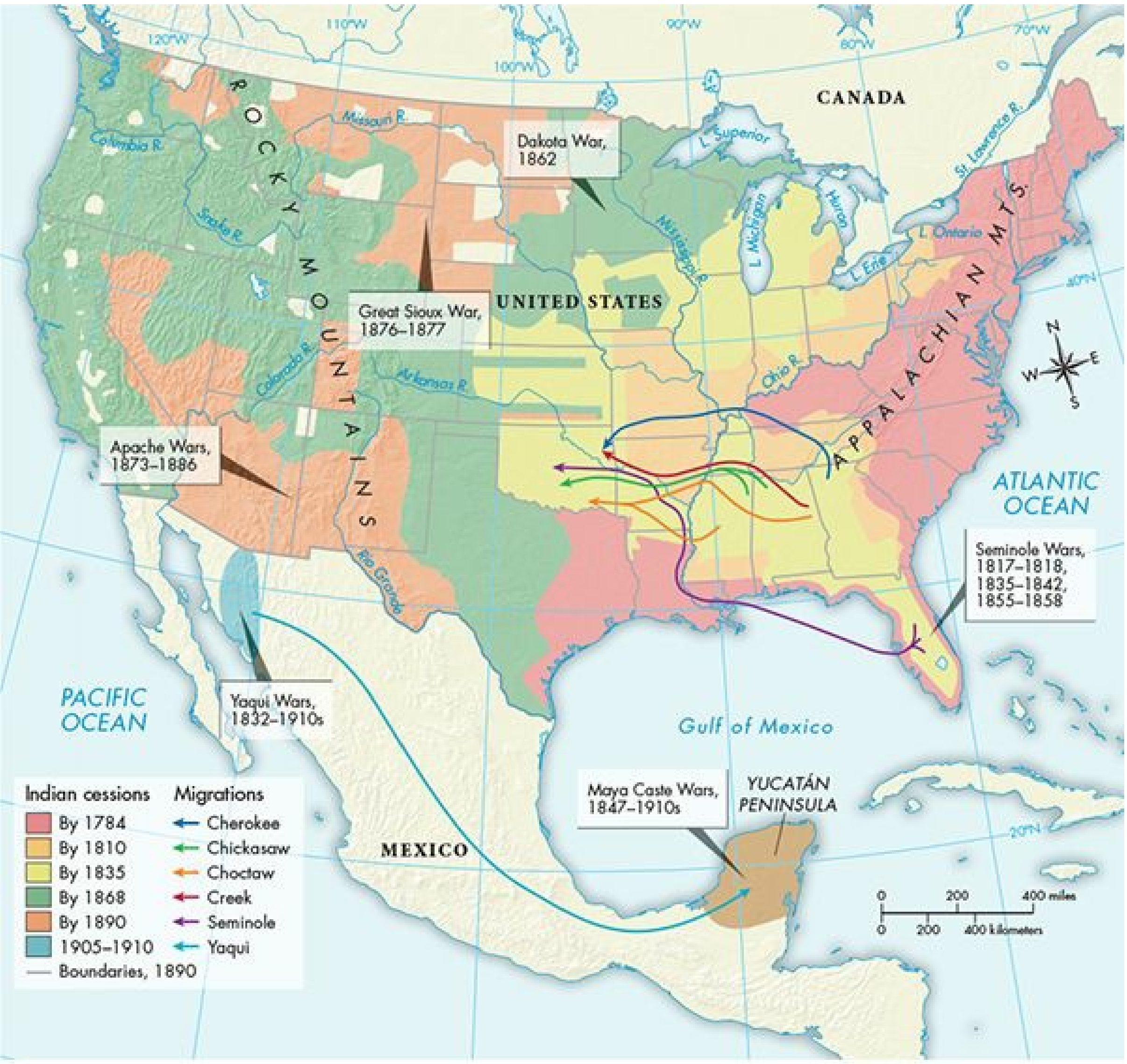
Mexico and the United States

The rumblings of independence first stirred Mexico in 1810. A century later, in 1910, the country was engulfed in the first great social upheaval of the twentieth century, the Mexican Revolution. In the century between these events, Mexico declined politically and economically from its status as the most prosperous and important colony of the Spanish Empire. It lost most of its national territory as Central American provinces broke away and became independent republics and as the United States expanded westward and captured or purchased Mexico's northern lands.

Mexicans experienced political stabilization and economic growth again in the second half of the nineteenth century when liberal leaders, especially the dictator Porfirio Díaz (r. 1876–1911), imposed order and attracted foreign investment. But as Díaz himself is said to have remarked, "Poor Mexico, so far from God, so close to the United States."[1] The United States pursued territorial expansion under the doctrine of **manifest destiny**, by which the United States would absorb all the territory spanning from its original Atlantic states to the Pacific Ocean. To do so, the United

States took lands from Indian nations and Mexico (Map 27.1).

manifest destiny The doctrine that the United States should absorb the territory spanning from the original Atlantic states to the Pacific Ocean.


120°W
110°W
100°W
90°W
80°W
70°W
40°N
20°N
CANADA
UNITED STATES
MEXICO
ROCKY MOUNTAINS
APPALACHIAN MTS.
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Gulf of Mexico
YUCATÁN PENINSULA
Columbia R.
Snake R.
Missouri R.
Colorado R.
Arkansas R.
Rio Grande
Mississippi R.
Ohio R.
St. Lawrence R.
L. Superior
L. Michigan
Huron
L. Erie
L. Ontario
Dakota War, 1862
Great Sioux War, 1876–1877
Apache Wars, 1873–1886
Yaqui Wars, 1832–1910s
Maya Caste Wars, 1847–1910s
Seminole Wars, 1817–1818, 1835–1842, 1855–1858
N
S
E
W
0 200 400 miles
0 200 400 kilometers
Indian cessions
By 1784
By 1810
By 1835
By 1868
By 1890
1905–1910
Boundaries, 1890
Migrations
Cherokee
Chickasaw
Choctaw
Creek
Seminole
Yaqui

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 27.1 Displacement of Indigenous Peoples, 1780s–1910s The United States and Mexico waged repeated wars to claim the lands of Native American nations. This was the last stage of the process of conquest and dispossession that began with the arrival of Europeans in the Americas three centuries earlier. As national armies seized native lands, displaced native peoples were forcibly removed, leading to the deaths of thousands and the destruction of cultures.

Mexico's woes after independence resulted mainly from the inability of its political leaders to establish a consensus about how to govern the new nation. The general who led the war against Spain, Agustín de Iturbide, proclaimed himself emperor in 1822. When he was deposed a year later, the country’s southern provinces broke away, becoming Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Costa Rica. Power in Mexico rested in the hands of regional caudillos and local bosses. The presidency changed hands frequently as rival factions competed against each other. Antonio López de Santa Anna, the most powerful of Mexico’s caudillos, held the presidency ten times between 1833 and 1854 — three separate times in 1833 alone.

By contrast, the United States established a clearer vision of government embodied in the 1789 Constitution. Deep disagreements remained over questions such as the power of the federal government relative to state governments, which played out in debates about the future of slavery and westward expansion. These tensions lasted well into the nineteenth century and culminated in the Civil War (1861–1865).

Economically, the United States remained integrated into the expanding and industrializing British Empire, so U.S. merchants retained access to Atlantic markets and credit. But the United States faced deepening regional differences: in the first half of the nineteenth century the North grew fastest, becoming the center of immigration, banking, and industrialization. In the South slavery and tenant farming kept much of the population at the economic margins and weakened internal markets. Slavery also inhibited immigration, since immigrants avoided settling in areas where they had to compete with unfree labor.

The dichotomy between the economies of the U.S. North and South repeated itself in the difference between the economies of the United States and Latin America. Latin American economies were organized around the export of agricultural and mineral commodities like sugar and silver, not around internal markets as in the United States, and these export economies were disrupted by the independence process.

The fate of the major silver mine in Mexico illustrates the challenges presented by independence. La Valenciana in central Mexico was the most productive silver mine in the world. It was one of the first places where the steam engine was used to pump water out of shafts, allowing the mine to reach below the water table. The machinery was destroyed during Mexico’s war of independence (1810–1821), and the flooded mine ceased operation. Neither private investors nor the new government had the capital necessary to reactivate the mine after independence.

Mexico entered a vicious cycle: without capital and economic activity, tax revenues evaporated, public administration disintegrated, and the national government became unmanageable. The lack of political stability, in turn, drove investors away. The consequences are striking: in 1800 Mexico produced half the goods and services that the United States did; by 1845 production had dropped to only 8 percent. Per capita income fell by half.[2]

Politically and economically weakened after independence, Mexico was vulnerable to expansionist pressure from the United States. At independence, Mexico's northern territories included much of what is today the U.S. Southwest and West. These territories attracted the interest of U.S. politicians, settlers, and land speculators. In the 1820s settlers from the U.S. South petitioned the Mexican government for land grants in the province of Texas, in return for which they would adopt Mexican citizenship. The U.S. government encouraged these settlers to declare the independence of Texas in 1836.

After Texas and Florida became U.S. states in 1845, President James Polk expanded the nation's border westward, precipitating the Mexican-American War (1846–1848). (See "Global Viewpoints: Perspectives on the Mexican-American War," page 794.) In the **Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo** (1848), Mexico ceded half its territory to the United States. With the U.S. acquisition of Florida from Spain in 1819 and the conquest of Mexican territory, many Latinos — U.S. citizens or residents of Latin American origin or descent — became U.S. citizens not because they moved to the United States but because the United States moved to them.

Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo The 1848 treaty between the United States and Mexico in which Mexico ceded large tracts of land to the United States.

GLOBAL VIEWPOINTS

Perspectives on the Mexican-American War

The Mexican-American War (1846–1848) was fought over U.S. control of northern Mexico, which became the Southwest and West of the United States. But the war was not fought only on the border: the U.S. Army and Navy fought far less armed and prepared Mexican forces from the Pacific to the borderlands and the Caribbean, going so far as to capture Mexico City.

José Joaquín de Herrera, President of Mexico, on the Loss of Texas, December 1845

■ In order to start a war, politicians agree that three questions must be examined: 1st, that of justice, 2nd, that of availability of resources, 3rd, that of convenience. . . . If, for launching war, one would only have to consider our justice, any hesitation in this matter would be either a crime or a lack of common sense. But next come the questions of feasibility and convenience for starting and maintaining hostilities with firmness and honor and all the consequences of a war of this nature.

A foreign war against a powerful and advanced nation that possesses an impressive navy and a . . . population that increases every day because of immigrants attracted to its great . . . prosperity, would imply immense sacrifices of men and money — not to assure victory, but simply to avoid defeat. Are such sacrifices possible for the Mexican Republic in her present state of exhaustion, after so many years of error and misadventure?

Manuel Crescencio Rejón, Minister of the Interior and Foreign Affairs Under Two Mexican Presidents, Arguing Against Ratification of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, 1848

■ The social advantages which would accrue to us by accepting a peace now have been exaggerated, as well as the ease with which we would be able to maintain our remaining territories. It would be necessary, in order to sustain such illusions, to underestimate the spirit of enterprise of the North American people in industrial and commercial pursuits, to misunderstand their history and their tendencies, and also to presuppose in our own spirit less resistance than we have already shown toward the sincere friends of progress. Only through such illusions might one maintain that the treaty would bring a change that would be advantageous to us — as has been claimed.

Walt Whitman, Editorial in Favor of the War in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, May 11, 1846

■ We are justified in the face of the world, in having treated Mexico with more forbearance than we have ever yet treated an enemy — for Mexico, though contemptible in many respects, is an enemy deserving a vigorous "lesson." . . . Let our arms now be carried with a spirit which shall teach the world that, while we are not forward for a quarrel, America knows how to crush, as well as how to expand!

Ulysses S. Grant, Looking Back on His Participation in the War, 1885

■ I was bitterly opposed to the measure, and to this day regard the war, which resulted, as one of the most unjust ever waged by a stronger against a weaker nation. It was an instance of a republic following the bad example of European monarchies, in not considering justice in their desire to acquire additional territory. . . . The occupation, separation and annexation [of Mexico] were, from the inception of the movement to its final consummation, a conspiracy to acquire territory out of which slave states might be formed for the American Union.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What issues do the Mexican politicians raise? What are their areas of disagreement?
2. How does the knowledge that Whitman's piece was a newspaper editorial shape your reading of it?
3. What might the implications have been for the U.S. forces if many officers had disapproved of the war the way Grant did?

Sources: Carol and Thomas Christensen, *The U.S. Mexican War* (San Francisco: Bay Books, 1998), p. 50; Ernesto Chávez, *The U.S. War with Mexico: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2008), pp. 127, 83; Ulysses S. Grant, *Memoirs*, chap. 3, accessed through Project Gutenberg, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/5860/5860-h/5860-h.htm.

Liberal Reform in Mexico

In 1853 Mexican president Santa Anna unintentionally ushered in a new era of liberal consolidation and economic reform by triggering a backlash against his sale of Mexican territory along the northern border to the United States in a deal known as the Gadsden Purchase. Many Mexicans thought Santa Anna betrayed the nation and threw their support behind a new generation of liberal leaders. Beginning with the presidency of Ignacio Comonfort (pres. 1855–1858), these liberals carried out sweeping legal and economic changes called *La Reforma*, or “the reform.”

Liberal reformers sought to make all individuals equal under the law and established property ownership as a basic right and national goal. The first major step in La Reforma was the Juárez Law (1855), which abolished old legal privileges for military officers and members of the clergy. The law was written by Minister of Justice Benito Juárez (hoo-AH-rehs), an Indian from Oaxaca (whah-HAH-kah) whose first language was Zapotec. Juárez began life as a farmer but earned a law degree and became the most important force in consolidating Mexico’s political system in the decades after independence. An even more consequential measure, the **Lerdo Law** (1856), banished another legacy of colonialism: “corporate lands,” meaning lands owned by groups or institutions, such as the Catholic Church, a major landowner, rather than by individual property owners. Liberals saw those landholdings as backward and inefficient and wanted to replace them with small rural farm owners.

Lerdo Law An 1856 Mexican law that barred corporate landholdings.

These reforms triggered a backlash from conservative landowners and the church. When liberals ratified a new constitution in 1857, the Catholic Church threatened to excommunicate anyone who swore allegiance to it. Conservatives revolted, triggering a civil war called the Wars of Reform (1857–1861). Liberal forces led by Benito Juárez defeated the conservatives, who then conspired with French emperor Napoleon III to invite a French invasion of Mexico. Napoleon III saw an opportunity to re-establish France’s American empire. His propaganda gave currency to the term “Latin America,” used to assert that France had a natural role to play in Mexico because of a common “Latin” origin.

The French army invaded Mexico in 1862. Its main resistance was the defense mounted by a young officer named Porfirio Díaz, who blocked the invaders’ advance through the city of Puebla on their way to Mexico City. The day of the Battle of Puebla, May 5, became a national holiday (known in the United States as “Cinco de Mayo”). Mexican conservatives and Napoleon III installed his Austrian cousin Maximilian of Habsburg as emperor of Mexico.

The deposed Juárez led a guerrilla war against the French troops backing Maximilian. When the U.S. Civil War ended in 1865, the U.S. government sought to root out France’s influence on its border. The United States threw its support behind Juárez and pressured France to remove its troops. Bolstered by surplus Civil War armaments that flooded across the border into Mexico, Juárez’s nationalists prevailed and executed Maximilian. Conservatives had been completely discredited: they had conspired with another country to install a foreign leader through a military invasion.

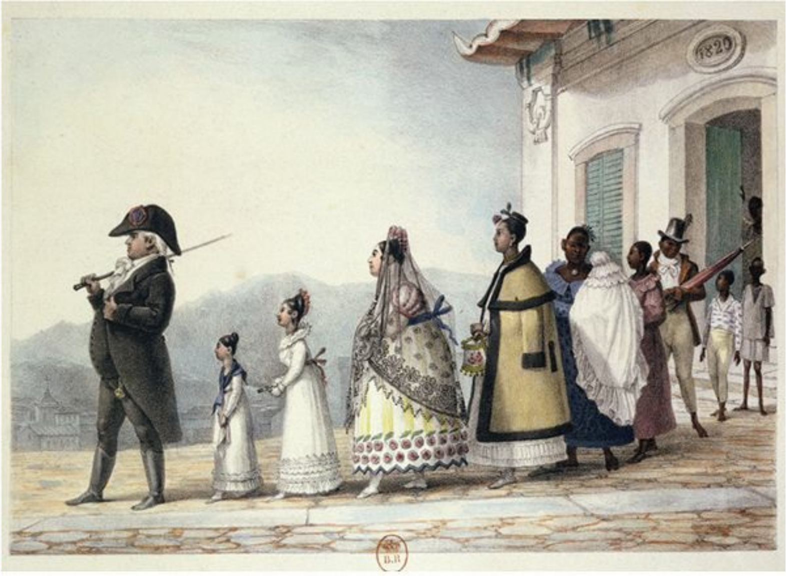
We can compare Benito Juárez, who governed the restored republic until 1876, with Abraham Lincoln. Both rose from humble rural origins to become able liberal lawyers. They became agile political and military leaders who prevailed in civil wars. The decade between the Wars of Reform and Juárez’s restoration of the republic in 1867 can also be compared to the U.S. Civil War: both were watersheds in which questions that had lingered since independence were violently resolved and liberalism emerged as the dominant political philosophy.

Brazil: A New World Monarchy

Brazil gained independence in 1822 as a monarchy ruled by Emperor Pedro I, the son and heir of the Portuguese emperor. The creation of a Brazilian monarchy marked the culmination of a process that began in 1808, when Napoleon’s armies crossed the Pyrenees from France to invade the Iberian Peninsula. Napoleon toppled the Spanish crown, but the Portuguese royal family, many of the government’s bureaucrats, and most of the aristocracy fled aboard British warships to Portugal’s colony of Brazil. This would be the first and only time a European empire would be ruled from one of its colonies.

Before the seat of Portuguese power relocated to Brazil, colonial policies had restricted many activities in Brazil in order to keep the colony dependent and subordinate to Portugal. It was only with the arrival of the imperial court that Brazil gained its first printing press, library, and military and naval academies, as well as schools for engineering, medicine, law, and the arts.

With the flight of the emperor to Brazil in 1808 and the declaration of independence by his son in 1822, Brazil achieved something that had eluded Spanish-American nations: it retained territorial unity under relative political stability. A liberal constitution adopted in 1824 lasted until a republican military coup in 1889. It established a two-chamber parliamentary system and a role for the emperor as a guide and intermediary in political affairs. Pedro I was not adept in this role and abdicated in 1831, leaving behind a regency governing in the name of his young son, Pedro II. In 1840, at the age of fourteen, Pedro II declared himself an adult and assumed the throne, ruling Brazil for the next forty-nine years.



Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, France/Archives Charmet/Bridgeman Images

A Government Functionary Leaving Home with His Family and Servants, 1839 This lithograph is a depiction of Brazilian patriarchal and slave society social hierarchies that are shown through differences of gender, race, and age. The male patriarch is followed by members of the household ordered by their diminishing rank.

Independent Brazil had many continuities with its colonial past. It remained the society with the largest number of African slaves in the Americas. It also continued to be economically and militarily dependent on Britain, as its mother-country, Portugal, had been in the eighteenth century. Britain negotiated with Brazil a "Friendship Treaty" that allowed British industrial goods to enter the country with very low tariffs. The flood of cheap British imports inhibited Brazilian industrialization. British economic and political influence, as well as special privileges enjoyed by British citizens in Brazil, were examples of **neocolonialism**, the influence that European powers and the United States exerted over politically and economically weaker countries after independence.

neocolonialism The establishment of political and economic influence over regions after they have ceased to be formal colonies.

Slavery and Abolition

Why did slavery last longer in the United States, Brazil, and Cuba than in the other republics of the Americas? How did resistance by slaves shape abolition?

In former Spanish-American colonies, the abolition of slavery quickly followed independence. In British colonies, slavery ended in 1834, and the British navy suppressed the Atlantic slave trade. But in the United States, Cuba, and Brazil slavery endured well into the nineteenth century. In each of these countries the question of abolition became entwined with the disputes over the nature of government and authority — federal unionism versus states' rights in the United States, independence for Cuba, and monarchy versus republicanism in Brazil.

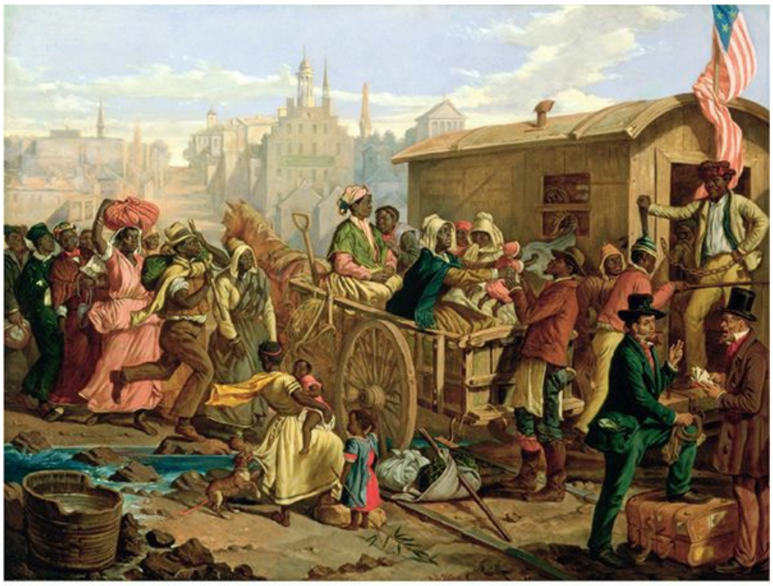
Slave Societies in the Americas

Africans and their descendants were enslaved in every country of the Americas. The experiences in slavery and freedom of Africans and African Americans, defined here as the descendants of slaves brought from Africa anywhere in the New World, varied considerably. Several factors shaped their experiences: the nature of slave regimes in different economic regions, patterns of manumission (individual slaves' gaining their freedom), the nature of abolition (the ending of the institution of slavery), and the proportion of the local population they represented.

The settlement of Africans as slaves was the most intense in areas that relied on plantation agriculture. (See "Analyzing the Evidence: Slaves Sold South from Richmond, 1853," at right.) Plantations cultivated a single crop — especially sugar, coffee, tobacco, and cotton — on a vast scale that supplied distant global markets. Cotton from Alabama was spun by looms in New England or Britain; sugar and coffee from Brazil were consumed in European salons. Enslaved Africans played many other roles as well. From Buenos Aires to Boston, slavery was widespread in port cities, where it was fed by easy access to the slave trade and the demand for street laborers such as porters. And across the Americas, enslaved women were forced into domestic service, a role that conferred social prestige on their masters, but which also added sexual abuse to the miseries that enslaved people endured.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

Slaves Sold South from Richmond, 1853



After the Sale: Slaves Going South from Richmond, 1853, by Eyre Crowe [1824–1910] [oil on canvas]/© Chicago History Museum, Illinois, USA/Bridgeman Images

This scene was painted by a British artist, based on events he witnessed in the U.S. South twenty years after slavery was abolished in the British Empire. Being "sold south," as this image depicts, was a terrifying fate. In addition to having their families ripped apart, those who were sold were sent to plantations where the labor regimes were famously harsh. Note the ways in which the artist depicts not only the slave families but also the white, mixed, and free black traders.

The experience of being "sold south" in the United States had its equivalents in other slave societies. In Cuba the dreaded destination was the easternmost province of Oriente, with the fearsome intensity of its sugar plantation regime. In Brazil slaves faced the threat of being sent across the Atlantic to Portuguese colonies in west and central Africa. The threat of being sent to a more grueling and often-lethal region was a terrible power masters wielded over slaves, but so too was the power to destroy a family by selling away husbands or wives, or separating parents from young children. Slave regimes in the Americas endured in part because of the terror that masters wielded over slaves, and these threats were powerful tools in maintaining slave owners' domination over enslaved people.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. How does the artist try to provoke a reaction against slavery?
2. How are whites and free blacks represented in the image?
3. Can you think of other examples of art with social or political messages? How would this painting compare in its effectiveness?

Independence and Abolition

Slavery and abolition became intertwined with the process of political independence. The different relationships between independence and abolition in the United States and Haiti shaped perceptions across the rest of the continent. In Haiti independence was achieved in a revolution in which slaves turned against their oppressors. By contrast, the United States gained its independence in a war that did not result in widespread slave revolt, and it created a liberal political regime that preserved the institution of slavery. When elites in other American colonies contemplated independence, they weighed whether the U.S. or the Haitian experience awaited them. As a result, in colonies where the subordinated population was the largest, independence movements proceeded the slowest. News of the Haitian Revolution spread briskly through slave communities. Slaves far from the Caribbean wore pendants with images of Haitian revolutionary leader Toussaint L'Ouverture. (See "Individuals in Society: Toussaint L'Ouverture" in Chapter 22.)

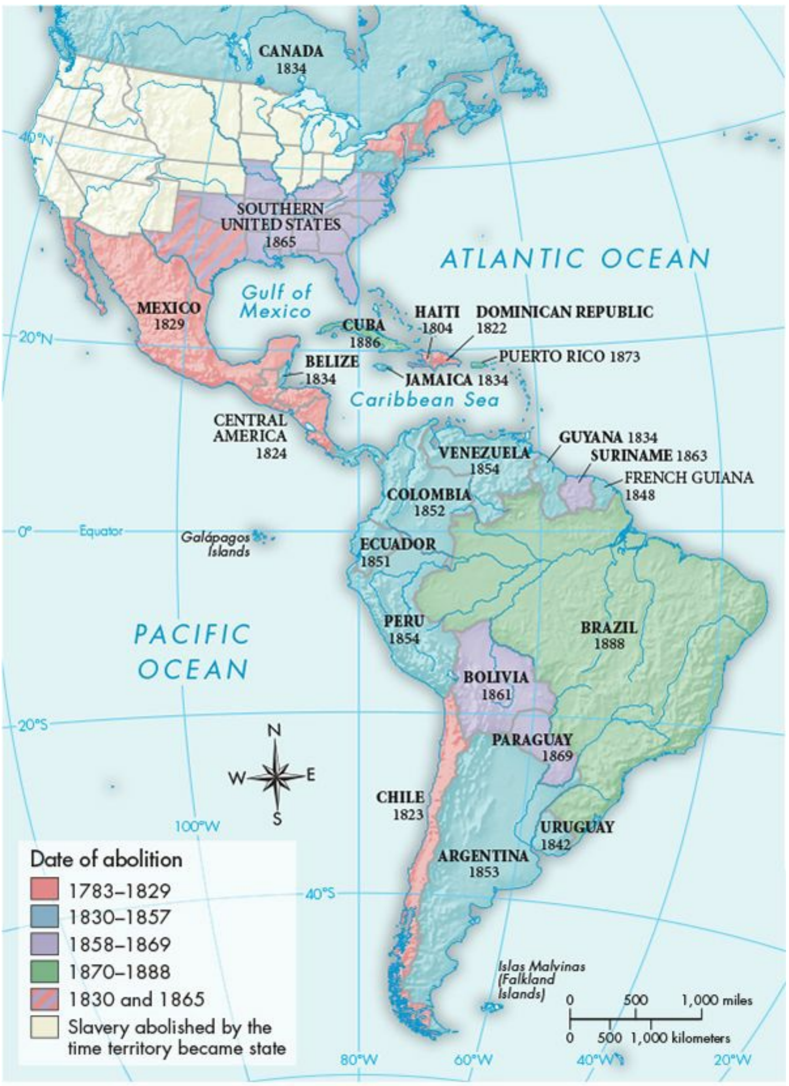
British efforts to keep their North American colonies, as well as a combination of moral and economic appeals for the abolition of slavery in British territories, hastened the end of the slave trade to the Americas. When British forces fought to prevent the independence of the United States, they offered freedom to slaves who joined them. Many slaves did so, and after the British defeat and withdrawal, they dispersed to Spanish Florida, the Caribbean, and West Africa.

In 1807 British abolitionists pressured the British Parliament to end the Atlantic slave trade to British colonies, and in 1833 Parliament voted to abolish slavery the following year in Canada and Britain's Caribbean colonies. To reduce economic competition, the British government pressured other nations to follow suit. A British naval squadron patrolled the Atlantic to suppress the slave trade. The squadron captured slave ships, freed the slaves they carried, and resettled them in a colony the British government established in Sierra Leone in 1787 to settle former slaves who had sided with Britain in the American Revolution.

In Spanish America independence forces enlisted the participation of slaves and offered freedom in return. Thousands gained manumission by siding with rebel forces, and new national governments enacted gradual abolition. The first step toward abolition was often through **free womb laws** that freed children born to slave women. These laws, passed across independent Spanish America between 1811 and 1825, created gradual abolition but did not impose an immediate financial loss on slaveholders: to the contrary, the free children of slaves remained apprenticed to their masters until they reached adulthood. Similar laws hastened the abolition of slavery in the Northern states of the United States.

free womb laws Laws passed across the nineteenth-century Americas that instituted a gradual form of abolition through which children born to slaves gained their freedom.

The combination of free womb laws and manumission as a reward for military service meant that unlike in the United States, by the time slavery was abolished in Latin American countries, most peoples of African descent had already gained their freedom (Map 27.2).


CANADA 1834
SOUTHERN UNITED STATES 1865
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Gulf of Mexico
MEXICO 1829
CUBA 1886
HAITI 1804
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC 1822
PUERTO RICO 1873
BELIZE 1834
JAMAICA 1834
Caribbean Sea
CENTRAL AMERICA 1824
VENEZUELA 1854
GUYANA 1834
SURINAME 1863
FRENCH GUIANA 1848
COLOMBIA 1852
ECUADOR 1851
Galápagos Islands
Equator
PERU 1854
BRAZIL 1888
BOLIVIA 1861
PACIFIC OCEAN
PARAGUAY 1869
CHILE 1823
URUGUAY 1842
ARGENTINA 1853
Islas Malvinas (Falkland Islands)
N
S
E
W
40°N
20°N
0°
20°S
40°S
100°W
80°W
60°W
40°W
20°W
0 500 1,000 miles
0 500 1,000 kilometers
Date of abolition
🟥 1783–1829
🟦 1830–1857
🟪 1858–1869
🟩 1870–1888
▨ 1830 and 1865
⬜ Slavery abolished by the time territory became state

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Mapping the Past

MAP 27.2 Abolition in the Americas The process of abolition in the Americas was gradual and varied across regions. In some areas, such as Mexico and parts of New England, slavery was abolished soon after independence, while in the U.S. South it lasted until the end of the Civil War. In Texas slavery was abolished by the Mexican government, but when Texas became part of the United States, slavery was legally reinstated. In British territories slavery was abolished in 1834. Across Latin America the abolition of slavery was hastened by civil wars that mobilized slaves as combatants. The last country to abolish slavery, Brazil, did so only in 1888.

ANALYZING THE MAP How did the United States resemble Latin America in its patterns of abolition?

CONNECTIONS Why did some countries abolish slavery earlier, and why did others do so much later?

In the United States the questions of nation building and slavery remained connected. The determination of Southern states to protect the slave regime was enshrined in the Constitution, which granted individual states autonomy in matters such as slavery. As slavery was abolished in Northern states, westward expansion tested the political compromise between the North and South, culminating in the Civil War. In 1854, even as slavery was abolished in the last Spanish-American republics, armed confrontations erupted in Kansas over whether that territory would be incorporated as a state permitting slavery. Tensions between the North and the South reached a breaking point when Abraham Lincoln, opposed to the spread of slavery, was elected president in 1860. Southern political leaders, fearing that Lincoln might abolish slavery, seceded and formed a new nation, the Confederate States of America. Lincoln declared the secession illegal and waged war to preserve the territorial integrity of the United States. The ensuing civil war resulted in the deaths of over 750,000 combatants and civilians.

In 1862 Lincoln sought to pressure the Confederate states to rejoin the Union by issuing the Emancipation Proclamation. The proclamation, which became effective January 1, 1863, abolished slavery in all states that remained opposed to the Union. It was intended as leverage to bring the rebel states back, not to abolish slavery altogether; consequently it freed slaves only in states that had seceded. Nevertheless, the proclamation hastened the demise of slavery. In 1865 Southern rebel states surrendered after Northern armies decimated their industrial, agricultural, and military capacity. Months later, the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution fully abolished slavery. Subsequent amendments recognized the citizenship and rights of people formerly enslaved.

Two aspects made slavery in the United States different from slavery in Latin America: gradual abolition in the North made it a regional rather than a national institution; and the Civil War, followed by military occupation of the South (1865–1877), created a lasting regional backlash that codified racial segregation. This did not make the South entirely racist and the North entirely antiracist: segregation is a form of racism but hardly the only one. Instead race relations in the northern and western states of the United States resembled those of Latin America, where racial prejudice and the marginalization of African Americans were perpetuated through largely informal practices, such as discrimination in employment, housing, and lending. Meanwhile, the U.S. South erected a distinct legal edifice preserving white privilege that best resembled the oppressive white-minority regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia (see “Resistance to White Rule in Southern Africa” in Chapter 32).

Abolition in Cuba and Brazil

Cuba and Brazil followed long paths to abolition. In Cuba nationalist rebels fought for independence from Spain in the Ten Years’ War (1868–1878). Many slaves and free blacks joined the failed anticolonial struggle, and rebel leaders expressed support for abolition. Spanish authorities sought to defuse the tensions feeding that struggle by granting freedom to slaves who fought on the Spanish side in the war, to the children of slaves born since 1868, and to slaves over age sixty. By 1878 Spanish forces had defeated the nationalists, but the conflict had set in motion an irreversible process of abolition.

In Brazil an 1871 law granted freedom to children born to slaves, and an 1885 law granted freedom to slaves over age sixty. At best, these laws were half measures, aimed at placating abolitionists without disrupting the economic reliance on slave labor. At worst, they mocked the meaning of abolition: children freed under the free womb laws remained apprenticed to their mother’s master until they reached adulthood. These laws preserved masters’ access to the labor of the children of slaves, while freeing masters from their obligations to care for elderly slaves. Slavery was finally abolished in Cuba in 1886 and in Brazil in 1888, making them the last regions of the Americas to end slavery. Abolition did not come about solely through laws from the top down. Pressure exerted by slaves contributed to abolition. Slave resistance, in its many forms, intensified in the later years of the nineteenth century. Slaves escaped in growing numbers. In many cases, they settled in communities of runaway slaves, particularly in Brazil, where the vast interior offered opportunities to resettle out of the reach of slave society. (See “Thinking Like a Historian: The Abolition of Slavery in Brazil, from Above and Below,” page 800.) In the years preceding abolition, in some regions of Brazil slave flight became so widespread that slaves might simply leave their plantation and hire themselves out to a nearby planter whose own slaves had also run away. In the end, the costs of slavery had become unsustainable.

THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN

The Abolition of Slavery in Brazil, from Above and Below

The abolition of slavery in the Americas was a gradual process that involved pressure applied by slaves and free blacks, as well as abolitionist politics practiced by powerful groups and individuals. Sources on abolition can offer very different versions of how abolition came to pass. In many cases, planters and politicians credited themselves for abolition, which they presented as a sign of their virtue and enlightenment. The experiences of slaves often tell a different story in which abolition was hastened by their flight and resistance.

1 **Joaquim Nabuco, argument for the benefits of abolition, 1883.** Joaquim Nabuco was a wealthy Brazilian landowner who became one of the political leaders in favor of the abolition of slavery. In his most famous work, *Abolitionism*, Nabuco points out the ways the nation would benefit from ending slavery.

■ Only after slaves and masters are both liberated from the yoke that keeps them equally from free life can we apply ourselves to this serious program of reforms — among which those that can be passed into law, though of tremendous importance, are insignificant alongside those that we must achieve ourselves by means of education, fellowship, the press, through voluntary immigration, by a cleansed spiritual life, and through a new vision of the State. . . .

Compare the Brazil of today, with its slavery, to the ideal of the Fatherland that we Abolitionists uphold: a nation in which all are free; where, lured by the honesty of our institutions and by the freedom of our system, European immigration will bring to the tropics a ceaseless current of vibrant, energetic, and healthy Caucasian blood which we will be able to absorb without danger, unlike that Chinese wave with which the large property owners aspire to corrupt and debase our race even further; a nation that could labor with originality toward the good of humanity and the advancement of South America.

2 **Antônio Manuel Bueno de Andrada on slaves' struggles for freedom, 1918.** Antônio Manuel Bueno de Andrada, a Brazilian abolitionist, recalled the efforts of slaves to free themselves in the last years of slavery by escaping en masse from their plantations.

■ A large group of slaves fled from the outskirts of Capivarí [in the state of São Paulo]. The large group included more than one hundred able-bodied men, women, old people, and children, led by a black man named Pio. They marched to the city of Porto Feliz. Police units surrounded them on the road, but the fugitive slaves resisted and fended off their attackers. They marched calmly through the city's streets in the full light of day. Farther ahead, they prevailed in two or three more skirmishes with the police. His forces having been beaten, the police chief asked the Army to intervene. Under the command of junior officer Gasparino Carneiro Leão, fifty cavalrymen set out to surround and detain the resolute rebels. By this time the National Army refused to serve as "bloodhounds," as slave hunters. The noble young Gasparino made no secret of his abolitionist sentiments. He set out on the shameful mission intending to not attack the unfortunate slaves. From atop a hill near Santo Amaro he spotted the slaves, who were descending the opposite side of the pass. The commander sent out a corporal who was also an abolitionist to urge the blacks to disperse into the forest. The corporal dismounted and set out on foot. The leader of the fugitives, the black man Pio, did not know the corporal's humanitarian intentions, so he charged at the soldier and killed him with the blow of a scythe. The soldiers spontaneously responded with shots that killed the black man. Despite the moment's agitation, the abolitionist officer did not allow the slaughter of the terrified fugitives. He returned to São Paulo to face a military tribunal that absolved him unanimously.

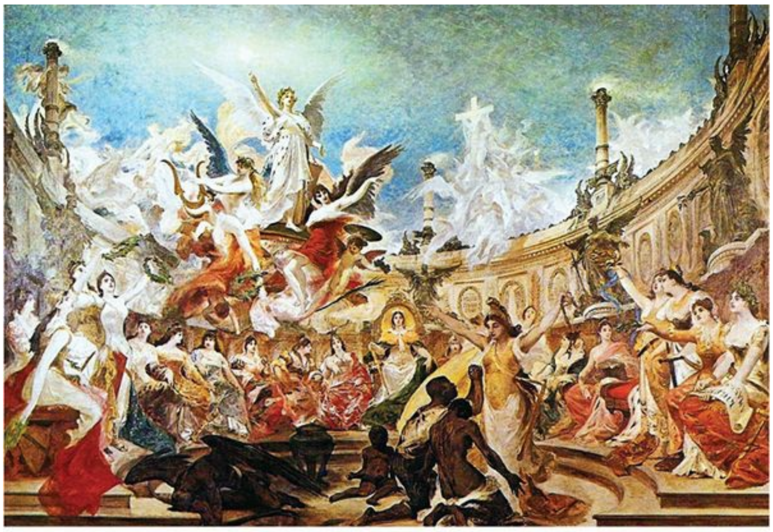
The slaves continued on their painful journey to the city of Santos. At the edge of the Serra do Mar, near the peaks where the Cubatão River flows [over 100 miles from Capivarí], they were hunted down like wild animals. The bush captains and police mercilessly killed men, women, and children. Fewer than twenty fugitives made it to Santos. The body of the black man Pio was taken to São Paulo and opened up at a police station. The coroner's report showed that he had not eaten for more than three days!

The autopsy revealed that this black leader, who fought off organized forces, and who marched with a commanding presence through wealthy towns, suffered from hunger at the moment in which he gave his life for the freedom of his race.

3 **Government of São Paulo province, report on slave flight, 1888.** The coffee-planting province of São Paulo was one of Brazil's most important regions economically and a site of intense slave labor. In this document, provincial officials report on the disintegration of the slave labor system through massive slave resistance.

■ [G]rave and unforseen events precipitated the conclusion of slavery in the province. We refer to the flight en masse of slaves from a large number of agricultural establishments and the consequent abandonment of agriculture. These events, assuming ever more alarming proportions, partly because of the effects of the sudden withdrawal of workers from the plantations, partly because of the dangers posed to public security on the highways and in the towns through which the bands of fleeing slaves passed, could not fail to alarm the public spirit, inspiring apprehension and disquiet.

4 **Pedro Américo, *Liberation of the Slaves,* 1889.** This allegorical painting by Brazilian artist Pedro Américo depicts a slave family kneeling before a figure representing liberty. Behind the family, a demon representing slavery lies vanquished.



© Pictures from History/The Image Works

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. In Source 1, to whom is Joaquim Nabuco addressing his appeal? According to Nabuco, who suffers because of the existence of slavery? What interests are served by abolition?
2. In the painting in Source 4, what symbols are used to explain abolition? For instance, what is the architectural style? What color and what gender are the different figures, and what significance do you think these details have?
3. How do Antônio Manuel Bueno de Andrada's account in Source 2 and the government report in Source 3 shape our understanding of how slavery came to an end in Brazil?
4. Compare the vision of abolition offered by the appeal in Source 1 and the painting in Source 4 with the vision of abolition offered by the accounts of slave flight in Sources 2 and 3. What does the disparity between the visions tell us about abolition?

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

Using the sources above, along with what you have learned in class and in this chapter, write a short essay that compares Brazilian slaves' resistance to bondage through flight with examples of popular resistance in other parts of the world.

Sources: (1) Joaquim Nabuco, *O Abolicionismo* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1938), pp. 243–246, trans. Jerry Dávila; (2) Antônio Manuel Bueno de Andrada, "A abolição em São Paulo: Depoimento de um testemunha," May 13, 1918, p. 3, trans. Jerry Dávila; (3) Quoted in George Reid Andrews, *Blacks and Whites in São Paulo, Brazil, 1888–1988* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), p. 40.

Export-Led Growth and Social Unrest

As Latin America became more integrated into the world economy, how did patterns of economic growth shape political culture and social reactions?

Beginning in the 1850s and accelerating through conflicts like Mexico's Wars of Reform, the U.S. Civil War, and the Paraguay War in South America, the consolidation of liberalism in the Americas created conditions for a return of foreign investment that brought economic growth. But liberal reforms created new economic pressures against rural workers and indigenous communities who led reform and resistance movements such as those unleashed by the Mexican Revolution.

Latin America Re-enters the World Economy

The wars of independence in Spanish America disrupted the trade networks that had sustained the region's economies, while civil war and rule by caudillos delayed the consolidation of liberal regimes. In the first decades of independence, Latin America's economic integration with the world decreased. For rural peasants and indigenous communities, this was a benefit in disguise: the decline of trade made lands less valuable. The rents landowners could charge tenant farmers decreased, making it easier for peasants to gain access to land.

By the second half of the nineteenth century Latin American elites reached a compromise that combined liberal political ideas about the way national government should be structured with liberal economic policies that favored large landowners. Political stability and economic growth returned. Foreign investment intensified. By the turn of the twentieth century Latin American countries were firmly tied to the world economy. Indigenous and rural communities paid a high price for this return to economic growth: as the value of agricultural exports increased, so did the value of land. Governments, foreign investors, and large landowners seized indigenous lands through war, legal action, or coercion at a dizzying rate.

For example, in the late 1880s the Argentine government sold off lands it took from indigenous communities. The land was inexpensive, but because it was sold in such large parcels, the few who could purchase it did so by mortgaging existing landholdings. Though reformers had imagined the creation of a class of small farmers, the result was the opposite: more than 20 million acres were sold to just 381 landowners who created vast estates known as **latifundios**.[3]

latifundios Vast landed estates in Latin America.

Liberal economic policies and the intensification of foreign trade concentrated land in the hands of wealthy exporters. Governments represented the interests of large landowners by promoting commodity exports and industrial imports, following the liberal economic principle of comparative advantage (that countries should export what they could produce the most efficiently and import what other countries could produce more cheaply and efficiently). Brazil became the world's largest exporter of coffee and experienced a brief but intense boom in rubber production. Argentina became one of the most efficient and profitable exporters of grains and beef. Chile and Peru served the international market for fertilizers by exporting nitrates and bat guano.

These export booms depended on imported capital and technology. In the Circum-Caribbean this came mostly from investors in the United States, while in South America it often came from Britain. (See "Individuals in Society: Henry Meiggs, Promoter and Speculator," at right.)

© Mary Evans Picture Library/Grenville Collins Postcard Collection/The Image Works

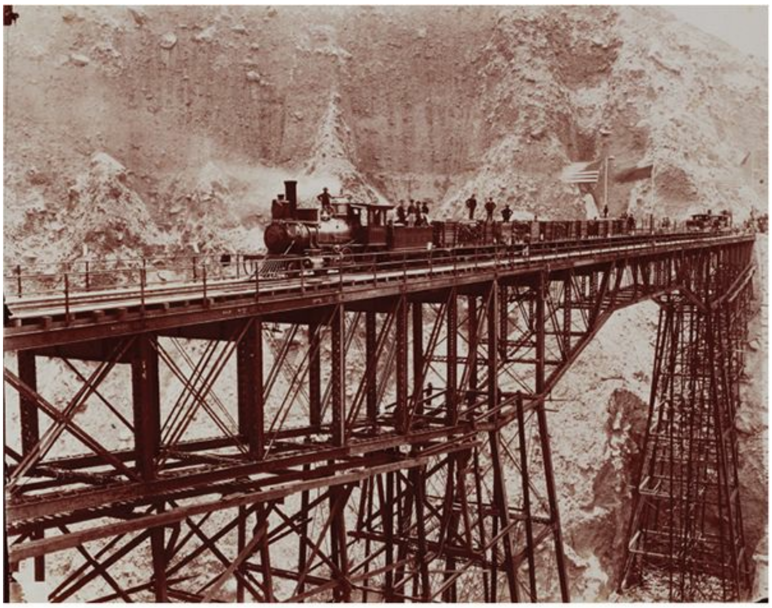
Barranquilla, Colombia, ca. 1910 Like port cities across Latin America, Barranquilla in Colombia began as a center of trade, and by the early twentieth century it was a bustling center of immigration and industrialization.

British capital and technology built Argentina's network of railroads and refrigerated meatpacking plants. Chile's nitrate-mining industry was expanded through the War of the Pacific (1879–1883), a conflict in which

Chile seized territory in bordering Peru and Bolivia. As a result, Bolivia lost its access to the Pacific and became a landlocked nation. The war and its outcomes revealed British influence as well: to finance the war, the Chilean government issued bonds bought by British investors. The bonds were repaid through the sale of concessions for mining the nitrate-rich lands that Chile conquered from Bolivia. In 1878 British companies controlled 13 percent of nitrate mining. By 1890 they controlled 90 percent.

INDIVIDUALS IN SOCIETY

Henry Meiggs, Promoter and Speculator



Michael Maslan/Corbis/VCG via Getty Images

The challenges in building the Callao-Lima-Oroya railroad across the Andes can be imagined from this picture of one of its many bridges.

ALL THROUGHOUT THE AMERICAS IN THE NINETEENTH century, opportunities beckoned. Henry Meiggs, born in upstate New York in 1811, responded to several of them, building and losing fortunes in Brooklyn, San Francisco, Chile, and Peru.

Meiggs, with only an elementary school education, began work at his father’s shipyard. He soon started his own lumber business and did well until he lost everything in the financial panic of 1837. He rebuilt his business, and when gold was discovered in California in 1848, he filled a ship with lumber and sailed around Cape Horn to San Francisco, where he sold his cargo for $50,000, twenty times what he had paid for it. He then entered the lumber business, organizing crews of five hundred men to fell huge California redwoods and bring them to his steam sawmills. As his business flourished, he began speculating in real estate, which led to huge debts when the financial crisis of 1854 hit. In an attempt to save himself and his friends, Meiggs forged warrants for more than $900,000; when discovery of the fraud seemed imminent, he sailed with his wife and children for South America.

Although at one point Meiggs was so strapped for cash that he sold his watch, within three years of arriving in Chile, he had secured his first railway contract, and by 1867 he had built about 200 miles of rail lines in that country. In 1868 he went to Peru, which had less than 60 miles of track at the time. In the next nine years he would add 700 more.

Meiggs was not an engineer, but he was a good manager. He recruited experienced engineers from abroad and arranged the purchase of foreign rolling stock, rails, and ties, acting as a promoter and developer. Much of the funding came from international investors in Peruvian bonds.

The most spectacular of the rail lines Meiggs built was Peru's Callao-Lima-Oroya line, which crosses the Andes at about seventeen thousand feet above sea level, making it the highest standard-gauge railway in the world. Because water was scarce in many areas along the construction site, it had to be transported up to workers, who were mostly local people. Dozens of bridges and tunnels had to be built, and casualties were high. Eight hundred people were invited to the banquet that marked the beginning of work on the Oroya Railway. Meiggs drummed up enthusiasm at the event by calling the locomotive the "irresistible battering ram of modern civilization."

In Peru Meiggs became known for his extravagance and generosity, and some charged that he bribed Peruvian officials on a large scale to get his projects approved. He was a good speaker and loved to entertain lavishly. In one example of his generosity, he distributed thousands of pesos and soles to the victims of the earthquake of 1868. He also contributed to the beautification of Lima by tearing down an old wall and putting a seven-mile-long park in its place.

Always the speculator, Meiggs died poor in 1877, with his debts exceeding his assets. He was beloved, however, and more than twenty thousand Peruvians, many of whom had labored on his projects, attended his funeral at a Catholic church in Lima.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What accounts for the changes in fortune that Meiggs experienced?
2. Were the Latin American governments that awarded contracts to Meiggs making reasonable decisions?
3. Should it matter whether Meiggs had to bribe officials to get the railroads built? Why or why not?

Liberal Consolidation in South America

As in the United States and Mexico, the process of liberal nation-state consolidation in South America took place through military conflict. The War of the Triple Alliance, or Paraguay War (1865–1870), in which Paraguay fought Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay, played a similar role to Mexico's Wars of Reform and the U.S. Civil War in consolidating liberalism. In 1865 Paraguayan leader Francisco Solano López declared war against the three neighboring countries after political competition between Argentina and Brazil threatened Paraguay's use of Uruguay's port of Montevideo. Landlocked Paraguay depended on Montevideo as a shipping point for its imports and exports.

The war was devastating for Paraguay, which lost more than half its national population, including most adult men. But victory, too, was traumatic for Argentina and Brazil: why had it taken five years to defeat a much smaller neighbor? The war prompted debates about the need for economic modernization and the reform of national governments.

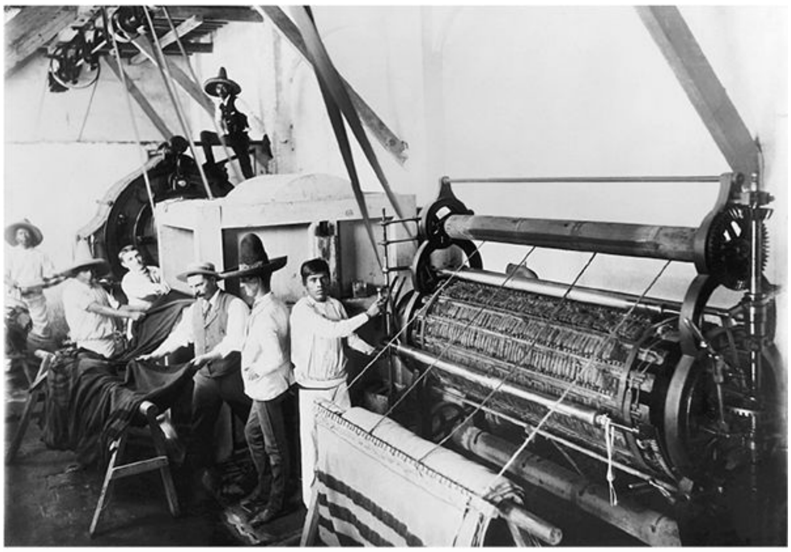
In Brazil, where Emperor Pedro II's calls for volunteers to enlist in the army fell on deaf ears, the army enlisted slaves who, if they served honorably and survived, would be granted freedom. What did it mean that the free citizens of a nation would not mobilize to defend it, and that the nation prevailed only through the sacrifices borne by its slaves? For many, especially officers who were veterans of the conflict, the lesson was that being a monarchy that relied on slavery made Brazil a weak and backward nation. Veteran officers and liberal opponents of the war formed a movement to create a liberal republic and abolish slavery. These republicans overthrew monarchy in 1889 and created a liberal republic.

In Argentina, after the war with Paraguay, liberal leaders beginning with Domingo Sarmiento (pres. 1868–1874) pressed modernizing reforms. These included a military campaign called the Conquest of the Desert (1878–1885), in which Argentine troops took control of the lands of Mapuche Indians in the southern region of Patagonia and opened new lands for sale to ranchers. The wars were accompanied by ambitious railroad construction that linked inland areas to the coast to transport goods, which brought the introduction of barbed wire fencing that intensified ranching capabilities and the development of new strains of cattle and wheat that increased production.

The Porfiriato and Liberal Stability in Mexico

When Porfirio Díaz became president of Mexico in 1876, the hero of the

Battle of Puebla inherited a country in which much had been achieved: President Juárez had established national unity against the French invasion. His generation of liberal leaders had also created a legal and political framework based on the 1857 constitution. But it was a country that faced enormous challenges: per capita income was less than it had been at independence in 1821. The country had barely four hundred miles of railroads, compared to more than seventy thousand miles in the United States. Díaz's first challenge was to attract foreign investment.


© akg-images/The Image Works

The Growth of Industry in Mexico Workers at a textile mill in Mexico around 1900.

Porfirio Díaz built a regime — the **Porfiriato** — with unprecedented stability and ruled, with a single term out of power, from 1876 to 1911. He ruled by the mantra "*pan o palo*," bread or the stick, rewarding supporters and ruthlessly punishing opponents. The political stability he created made Mexico a haven for foreign investment, particularly from the United States. Foreign trade increased tenfold, and the country became the third-largest oil producer in the world. Railroads rapidly expanded, reaching fifteen thousand miles of track by 1910, much of it connecting Mexico to the United States. Railroads also connected regions long isolated from each other and sustained national markets for the first time since the colonial era.

Porfiriato The regime of Porfirio Díaz, who presided in Mexico from 1876 to 1880 and again from 1884 to 1911.

The Porfiriato was a modernizing regime. The government swelled with technocrats called *científicos* (see-en-TEE-fee-kohs), to whom Díaz granted great autonomy and lavish rewards. By contrast, the Porfiriato considered indigenous peoples racially inferior and suppressed them. This was the case of the Yaqui Indians of Sonora, at the border with Arizona (see Map 27.1). Díaz's army vanquished Yaqui communities, seized their land, and dispatched survivors to the Yucatán, where they worked as slaves on plantations cultivating *henequén* (hen-eh-KEN), a plant whose fibers were used in the hay-baling machines increasingly used by U.S. farmers. The Porfiriato used the mission of modernization and economic development to justify a range of abuses.

Economic progress enriched Díaz and his allies but proved perilous to rural communities. As the rise in foreign investment and economic activity made land valuable, small landholders became vulnerable. Large landowners and speculative investors used the Lerdo Law to usurp the lands of peasants across the countryside. In addition, the 1883 Law of Barren Lands allowed real estate companies to identify land that was not being cultivated (often land that communities allowed to lie fallow as they rotated crops) so it could be surveyed and auctioned off. The abuse of these laws by land speculators had devastating consequences: by 1910, 80 percent of rural peasants had no land.

The Porfiriato and its liberal ideology favored the needs of foreign investors over its own citizens. Most of Mexico's 1910 population of 12 million remained tied to the land. The expansion of railroads into that land made it valuable, and liberal reforms provided the tools to transfer that value from peasants to capitalists. Given Mexico's proximity to the United States, that process was swifter and more intense than it was elsewhere in Latin America, and it led to the first great social upheaval of the twentieth century.

The Mexican Revolution

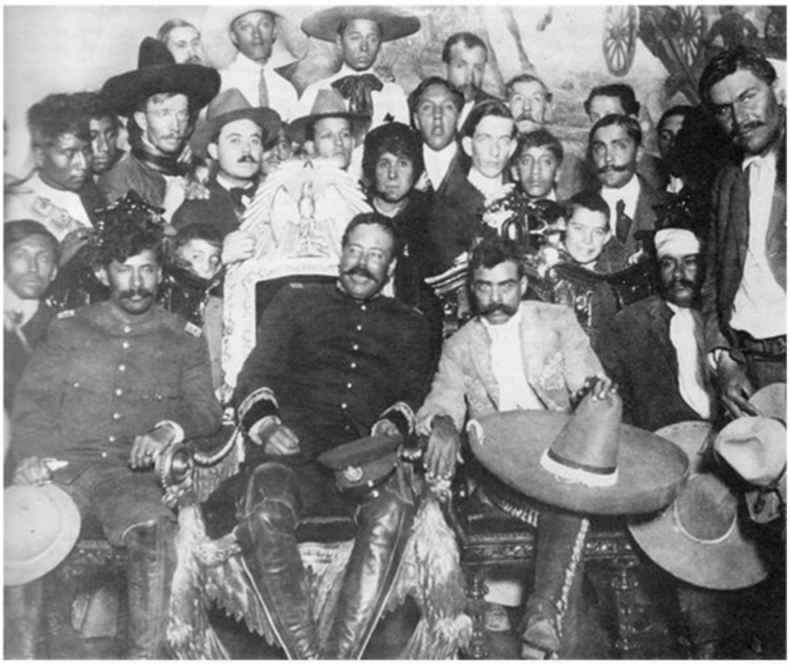
Porfirio Díaz declared himself the unanimous winner of Mexico's 1910 elections. His defeated challenger, wealthy landowner and liberal lawyer Francisco Madero, issued a manifesto calling the election illegitimate and pronouncing himself the provisional president of Mexico. Madero's call to arms was the spark that ignited a powder keg of grievances from peasants whose lands had been taken or threatened, and from exploited urban workers.

Peasants and workers across the country rose up, drove out Díaz, and annointed Madero provisional president. Madero proved to be a weak reformer, and armed peasant groups rose up again, this time against him.

The U.S. ambassador, who considered Madero to be inadequate in his defense of U.S. business interests, conspired with the commander of Madero’s army to assassinate him in 1912. Mexico’s revolution now deepened, as factions around the country joined the fighting.

The ideological leadership of the Mexican Revolution came from Emiliano Zapata and his supporters, who hailed from rural communities south of Mexico City whose lands were threatened. The Zapatistas made their demands in a document called the **Plan de Ayala** (ai-YAH-lah) that called for the return of all land, forests, and waters taken from rural communities. Their pledge to fight until these demands were met was taken up by many armed groups across Mexico, particularly the army commanded by the charismatic Pancho Villa (pahn-choh VEE-yah). They found allies as well in the Red Brigades of anarchist and socialist workers who controlled the capital, Mexico City, during much of the war.

Plan de Ayala Document written by Zapatistas during the Mexican Revolution that demanded the government return all land, forests, and waters taken from rural communities.



Universal History Archive/UIG/Bridgeman Images

Emiliano Zapata and Pancho Villa in Mexico’s Presidential Palace, 1914 Villa sits in the presidential chair topped with the golden eagle, and Zapata appears next to him on the right, holding a sombrero. Two small children peer over their shoulders as each leader insists he will not claim the presidency since his goal was reform and not power.

Supporters of the Plan de Ayala were gradually beaten back by the faction that would eventually prevail, a group called the Constitutionalists, led by politician Venustiano Carranza and Álvaro Obregón, a skilled general who emulated tactics and strategies employed in Europe in the First World War. But to consolidate political control and to convince rebels like those supporting Zapata and Villa to put down their arms, their constitution included key demands from the Plan de Ayala and from urban workers.

In meeting the demands of peasants and workers, Mexico’s 1917 constitution imposed the most significant limits to liberalism yet attempted in the Americas. It broke the fundamental liberal embrace of private property by asserting that all land, water, and subsoil resources belong to the nation, which allows their use for the public good. This clause allowed the government to expropriate lands from large estates to make grants of collective land called *ejidos* (eh-HEE-dohz) to rural communities. Over 80 million acres of farmland and forests would be redistributed as ejidos. The constitution included the most advanced labor code in the world at the time, guaranteeing workers the right to unionize and strike, an eight-hour workday, a minimum wage, and protections for women workers, including maternity leave.

By agreeing to these social demands, the Constitutionalist faction was able to consolidate control over a new political order that would enjoy remarkable stability: the political party that emerged from the Constitutionalists would hold presidential power for almost all of the next one hundred years.

Immigration

What factors shaped patterns of immigration to the Americas? How did immigrants shape — and how were they shaped by — their new settings?

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries unprecedented numbers of people from Europe, Asia, and the Middle East settled across North and South America. The largest wave of immigrants — some 28 million between 1860 and 1914 — settled in the United States. Another 8 million had settled in Argentina and Brazil by 1930. This cycle of immigration was a product of liberal political and economic reforms that abolished slavery, established stable political systems, and created a framework for integrating immigrants as factory and farm laborers.

Immigration to Latin America

In 1852 the Argentine political philosopher Juan Bautista Alberdi published *Bases and Points of Departure for Argentine Political Organization*, in which he argued that the development of his country depended on immigration. Drawing on the Social Darwinist theory that whites were racially more advanced than Indians and blacks, Alberdi maintained that black and indigenous Argentines lacked basic skills, and it would take too long to train them. Thus he pressed for massive immigration from northern Europe and the United States:

> Each European who comes to our shores brings more civilization in his habits, which will later be passed on to our inhabitants, than many books of philosophy. . . . Do we want to sow and cultivate in America English liberty, French culture, and the diligence of men from Europe and from the United States? Let us bring living pieces of these qualities.[4]

Alberdi's ideas, guided by the aphorism "to govern is to populate," won immediate acceptance and were even incorporated into the Argentine constitution, which declared, "The Federal government will encourage European immigration." Other countries of the Americas, also influenced by Social Darwinism, adopted similar immigration policies.

Coffee barons in Brazil, *latifundiarios* (owners of vast estates) in Argentina, or investors in nitrate and copper mining in Chile made enormous profits that they reinvested in new factories. Latin America had been tied to the Industrial Revolution in Britain and northern Europe from the outset as a provider of raw materials and as a consumer of industrial goods. In the major exporting countries of Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico, domestic industrialization now began to take hold in the form of textile mills, food-processing plants, and mechanized transportation such as modern ports and railroads.

By the turn of the twentieth century an industrial working class had begun to emerge. In Brazil and Argentina these workers, who were mainly European immigrants, proved unexpectedly contentious: they brought with them radical ideologies that challenged liberalism, particularly anarchism and **anarcho-syndicalism**, a version of anarchism that advocated placing power in the hands of workers' unions. These workers clashed with bosses and political leaders who rejected the idea that workers had rights. The authorities suppressed worker organizations such as unions, and they resisted implementing labor laws such as a minimum wage, restrictions on child labor, the right to strike, or factory safety regulations.

anarcho-syndicalism A version of anarchism that advocated placing power in the hands of workers' unions.

Radicalized workers mounted labor actions that at times grew into general strikes with over one hundred thousand workers picketing. But outside of Mexico, the movements of urban workers did not merge with rural unrest in the formula that produced revolution.

Although Europe was a significant source of immigrants to Latin America, so were Asia and the Middle East. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries large numbers of Japanese arrived in Brazil, most settling in São Paulo state, creating the largest Japanese community in the world outside of Japan. From the Middle East, Lebanese, Turks, and Syrians also entered Brazil. South Asian laborers went to Trinidad, Jamaica, Guyana, and other British territories in the Caribbean, mostly as indentured servants under five-year contracts. Perhaps one-third returned to India, but the rest stayed, saved money, and bought small businesses or land. After slavery was abolished in Cuba in 1886, some work in the cane fields was done by Chinese indentured laborers. Likewise, the abolition of slavery in Mexico led to the arrival of thousands of Chinese bonded servants.

Thanks to the influx of new arrivals, Buenos Aires, São Paulo, Mexico City, Montevideo, Santiago, and Havana experienced spectacular growth. By 1914 Buenos Aires had emerged as one of the most cosmopolitan cities in the world, with a population of 3.6 million. As Argentina's political capital, the city housed its government bureaucracies and agencies. The meatpacking, food-processing, flour-milling, and wool industries were concentrated there as well. Half of all overseas tonnage passed through the city, which was also the heart of the nation's railroad network. Elegant shops near the Plaza de Mayo catered to the expensive tastes of the elite upper classes that constituted about 5 percent of the population. By contrast, the thousands of immigrants who toiled twelve hours a day, six days a week, on docks and construction sites and in meatpacking plants were crowded into the city's one-room tenements.

Immigrants brought wide-ranging skills that helped develop industry and commerce. In Argentina, Italian and Spanish settlers stimulated the expansion of cattle ranching, meat processing, wheat farming, and the shoe industry. In Brazil, Italians gained a leading role in the coffee industry, and Japanese farmers made the country self-sufficient in rice production. Chinese laborers built Peruvian railroads, and in sections of large cities such as Lima, the Chinese dominated the ownership of shops and restaurants.

© The Print Collector/Heritage/The Image Works

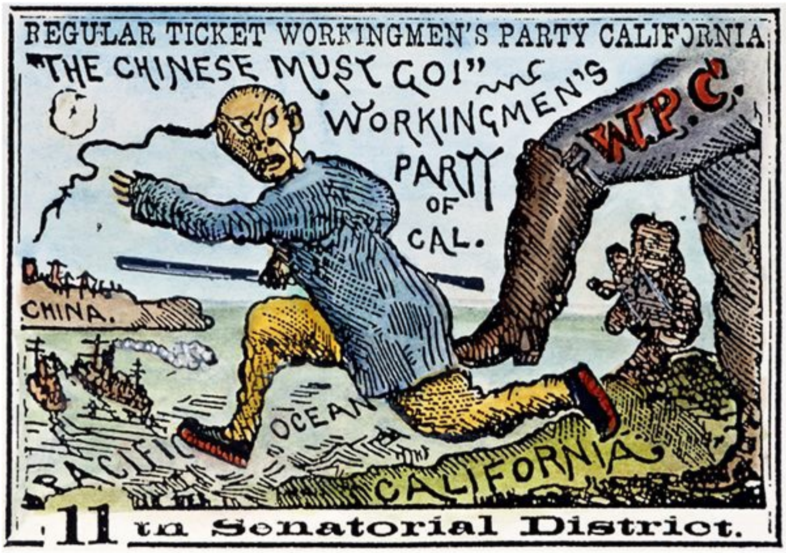
© SZ Photo/Sherl/The Image Works

Immigrants in the Americas Indian immigrants at a Jamaican banana plantation (top) and German immigrants in Brazil (bottom) at the turn of the twentieth century. Immigrants brought new cultures and worldviews to the Americas.

Immigration to the United States

After the Civil War ended in 1865, the United States underwent an industrial boom powered by exploitation of the country’s natural resources. The federal government turned over vast amounts of land and mineral resources to private industrialists for development. In particular, railroad companies — the foundation of industrial expansion — received 130 million acres. By 1900 the U.S. railroad system was 193,000 miles long, connected every part of the nation, and represented 40 percent of the railroad mileage in the world, and it was all built by immigrant labor.

Between 1860 and 1914, 28 million immigrants came to the United States. Though many became rural homesteaders, industrial America developed through the labor of immigrants. Chinese, Scandinavian, and Irish immigrants laid railroad tracks. At the Carnegie Steel Corporation, Slavs and Italians produced one-third of the world’s total steel supply in 1900. As in South America, immigration fed the growth of cities. In 1790 only 5.1 percent of Americans were living in centers of twenty-five hundred or more people. By 1860 this figure had risen to 19.9 percent, and by 1900 almost 40 percent of the population lived in cities. Also by 1900, three of the largest cities in the world were in the United States — New York City with 3.4 million people, Chicago with 1.7 million, and Philadelphia with 1.4 million.


REGULAR TICKET WORKINGMEN'S PARTY CALIFORNIA
"THE CHINESE MUST GO!"
WORKINGMEN'S PARTY OF CAL.
W.P.C.
CHINA.
PACIFIC OCEAN
CALIFORNIA
11 th Senatorial District.

Sarin Images/Granger, NY — All rights reserved.

“The Chinese Must Go!” Anti-immigrant sentiment intensified as immigration to the United States accelerated in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This 1880 campaign advertisement presented Chinese immigrants as a threat to native-born workers.

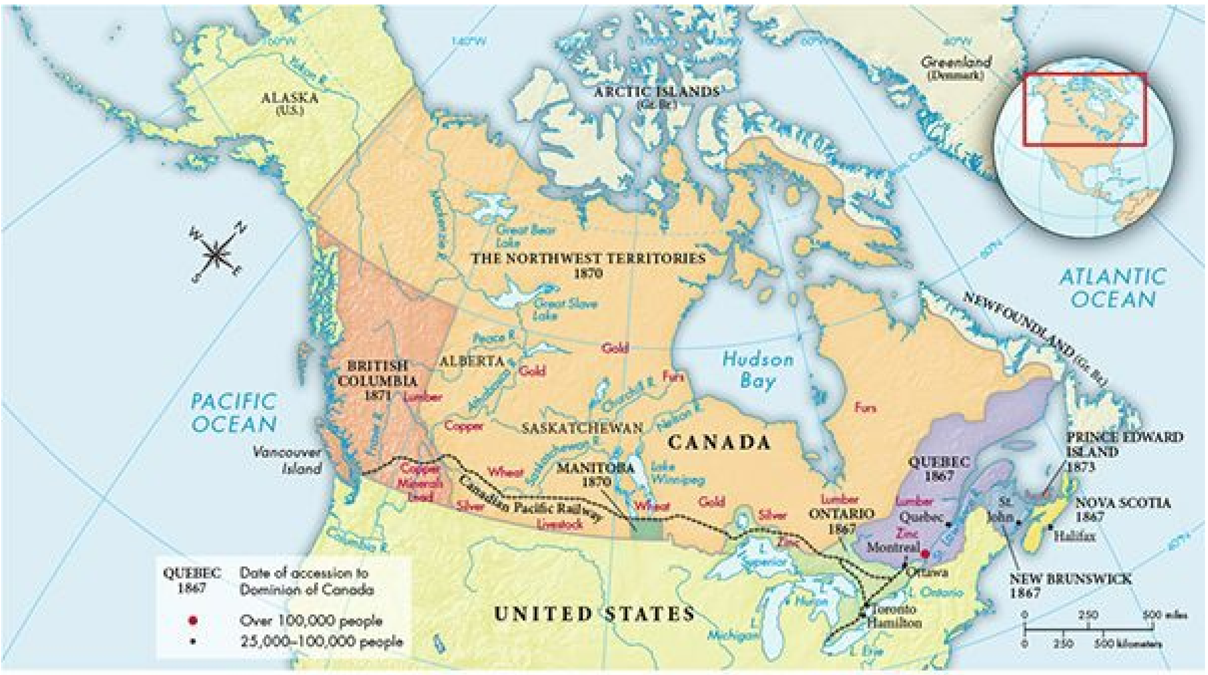
Working conditions for new immigrants were often deplorable. Industrialization had created a vast class of workers who depended entirely on wage labor. Employers paid women and children much less than men. Some women textile workers earned as little as $1.56 for seventy hours of work, while men received from $7 to $9 for the same work. Because business owners resisted government efforts to install costly safety devices, working conditions in mines and mills were frightful. In 1913 alone, even after some safety measures had been instituted, twenty-five thousand people died in industrial accidents. Between 1900 and 1917 seventy-two thousand railroad workers died on the job. Workers responded to these conditions with strikes, violence, and, gradually, unionization.

Immigrants faced more than economic exploitation: they were also subjected to harsh ethnic stereotypes and faced pressure to culturally assimilate. An economic depression in the 1890s increased resentment toward immigrants. Powerful owners of mines, mills, and factories fought the organization of labor unions, fired thousands of workers, slashed wages, and ruthlessly exploited their workers. Workers in turn feared that immigrant labor would drive salaries lower. Some of this antagonism sprang from racism, some from old Protestant prejudice against Catholicism, the faith of many of the new arrivals. Anti-Semitism against Jewish immigrants from eastern Europe intensified, while increasingly violent agitation against Asians led to race riots in California and finally culminated in the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which denied Chinese laborers entrance to the country. Japanese immigration to the United States was restricted in 1907, so later Japanese immigrants settled in South America.

Immigrants were received very differently in Latin America, where oligarchs encouraged immigration from Europe, the Middle East, and Japan because they believed these “whiter” workers were superior to black or indigenous workers. By contrast, in the United States the descendants of northern European Protestants developed prejudices and built social barriers out of their belief that Catholic Irish, southern and eastern European, or Jewish immigrants were not white enough.

Immigration to Canada

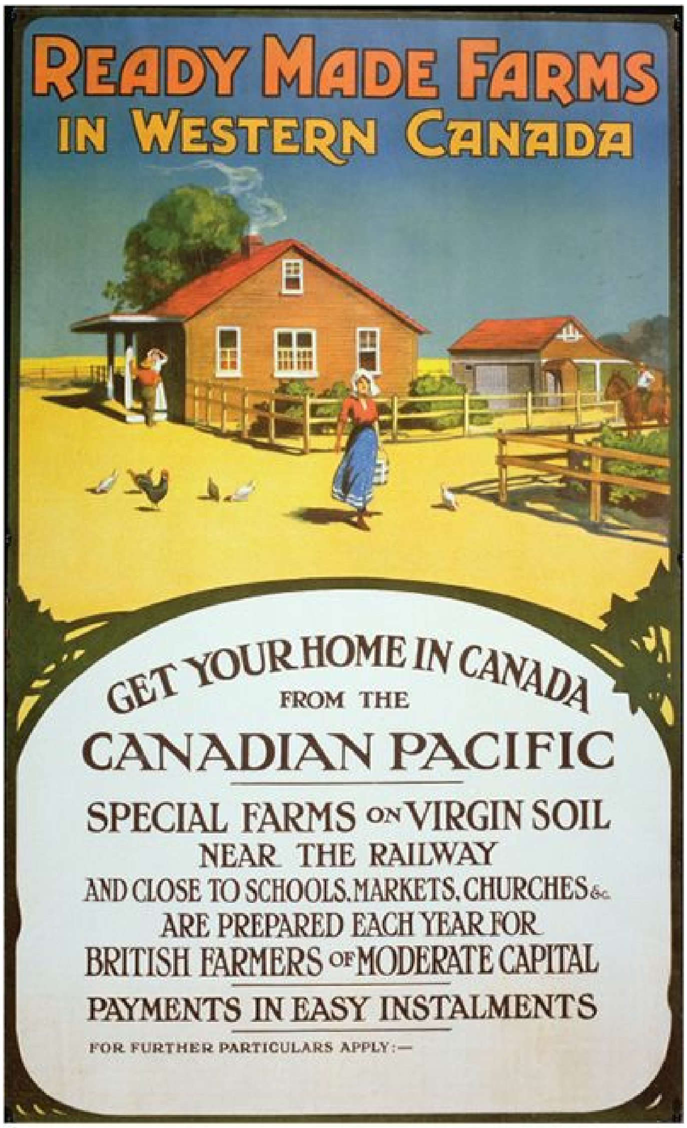
Canada was sparsely populated in the nineteenth century relative to other areas of the Americas. Provinces of the British colony gained governing autonomy after 1840 and organized a national government, the Dominion of Canada, in 1867 (Map 27.3). British authorities agreed to grant the provinces political independence in order to avoid the disruption and loss of influence that followed U.S. independence, and in return the Dominion retained a symbolic role for the British monarchy. By 1900 Canada still had only a little over 5 million people (as compared to 13.6 million in Mexico and 76 million in the United States). As in the United States and Latin America, native peoples were pushed aside by Canada's development plans, and their population dropped by half or more during the century, many succumbing to the newcomers' diseases. By 1900 there were only about 127,000 indigenous people left in Canada. French Canadians were the largest minority in the population, and they remained different in language, law, and religion.


ALASKA
(U.S.)
Yukon R.
ARCTIC ISLANDS
(Gt. Br.)
Greenland
(Denmark)
N
E
S
W
Great Bear Lake
THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES
1870
Great Slave Lake
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NEWFOUNDLAND (Gt. Br.)
Peace R.
Gold
Hudson Bay
BRITISH COLUMBIA
1871
ALBERTA
Gold
Lumber
Furs
PACIFIC OCEAN
Copper
SASKATCHEWAN
CANADA
Furs
Vancouver Island
Copper
Minerals
Lead
Wheat
MANITOBA
1870
Lake Winnipeg
Gold
QUEBEC
1867
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND
1873
Silver
Canadian Pacific Railway
Livestock
Wheat
Silver
Lumber
ONTARIO
1867
Lumber
Quebec
Zinc
Montreal
St. John
NOVA SCOTIA
1867
Halifax
Columbia R.
Zinc
L. Superior
Ottawa
NEW BRUNSWICK
1867
L. Ontario
QUEBEC
1867
Date of accession to Dominion of Canada
● Over 100,000 people
• 25,000–100,000 people
UNITED STATES
Huron
Michigan
Toronto
Hamilton
L. Erie
0 250 500 miles
0 250 500 kilometers

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 27.3 The Dominion of Canada, 1871 Shortly after the Dominion of Canada came into being as a self-governing nation within the British Empire in 1867, new provinces were added. Vast areas of Canada were too sparsely populated to achieve provincial status. Alberta and Saskatchewan did not become part of the Dominion until 1905; Newfoundland was added only in 1949.

Immigration to Canada increased in the 1890s. Between 1897 and 1912, 961,000 people entered Canada from the British Isles, 594,000 from Europe, and 784,000 from the United States. Some immigrants went to work in the urban factories of Hamilton, Toronto, and Montreal. However, most immigrants from continental Europe — Poles, Germans, Scandinavians, and Russians — flooded the midwestern plains and soon transformed the prairies into one of the world’s greatest grain-growing regions. Between 1891 and 1914 wheat production soared from 2 million bushels per year to 150 million bushels. Mining expanded, and British Columbia, Ontario, and Quebec produced large quantities of wood pulp, much of it sold to the United States. Canada’s great rivers were harnessed to supply hydroelectric power for industrial and domestic use. But Canada remained a predominantly agricultural country, with less than 10 percent of its population engaged in manufacturing.


READY MADE FARMS
IN WESTERN CANADA
GET YOUR HOME IN CANADA
FROM THE
CANADIAN PACIFIC
SPECIAL FARMS ON VIRGIN SOIL
NEAR THE RAILWAY
AND CLOSE TO SCHOOLS, MARKETS, CHURCHES &c.
ARE PREPARED EACH YEAR FOR
BRITISH FARMERS OF MODERATE CAPITAL
PAYMENTS IN EASY INSTALMENTS
FOR FURTHER PARTICULARS APPLY:—

Private Collection/Peter Newark American Pictures/
Bridgeman Images

Promoting European Immigration and Settlement A Canadian Pacific Railway advertisement seeking British farmers to immigrate to Canada reflects patterns seen across the Americas: in lands wrested from indigenous communities, the arrival of railroads integrated territories into the national and global economy, while making those lands available for white European settlement.

A New American Empire

In what ways did U.S. policies in the Caribbean and Central America resemble European imperialism? How did U.S. foreign policy depart from European imperialism?

By 1890 the United States had claimed the contiguous territories it acquired through purchase, war, and displacement. Its frontier was closed. The United States redirected its expansionist pressures outward, beginning with the remnants of the Spanish Empire: Cuba and Puerto Rico in the Caribbean, and the Philippine Islands and Guam in the Pacific.

The United States emulated the imperialism of European nations like Britain and France by claiming control of land and people that served its economic interests and justifying its domination by arguing that it was advancing civilization.

U.S. Intervention in Latin America

Between 1898 and 1932 the U.S. government intervened militarily thirty-four times in ten nations in the Caribbean and Central America to extend and protect its economic interests. U.S. influence in the Circum-Caribbean was not new, however, and stretched back to the early nineteenth century. In 1823 President James Monroe proclaimed in the **Monroe Doctrine** that the United States would keep European influence out of Latin America. This doctrine asserted that Latin America was part of the U.S. sphere of influence. U.S. intervention in Latin America was also a byproduct of the manifest destiny ideal of consolidating national territory from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Often the easiest way to connect the two sides of the continent was through Latin America.

Monroe Doctrine An 1823 proclamation that established a U.S. sphere of influence over the Americas by opposing European imperialism on the continent.

The California gold rush of the 1840s created pressure to move people and goods quickly and inexpensively between the eastern and western parts of the United States decades before its transcontinental railroad was completed in 1869. It was cheaper, faster, and safer to travel to the east or west coast of Mexico and Central America, traverse the continent where it was narrower, and continue the voyage by sea. The Panama Railway, the first railroad constructed in Central America, served exactly this purpose and was built with U.S. investment in 1855.

Facing pressure from abolitionists against expanding the slave regime westward, planters and politicians in the U.S. South responded by seeking opportunities to annex new lands in Latin America and the Caribbean. They eyed Cuba, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, and Nicaragua. In Nicaragua, Tennessean William Walker employed a mercenary army to depose the government and install himself as president (1856–1857). One of his first acts was to reinstate slavery. He was overthrown by armies sent from Costa Rica, El Salvador, and Honduras.

By the end of the nineteenth century U.S. involvement in Latin America had intensified, first through private investment and then through military force. In 1893 a group of U.S. investors formed the Santo Domingo Improvement Company, which bought the foreign debt of the Dominican Republic and took control of its customs houses in order to repay investors and creditors. After the government propped up by the U.S. company fell, President Theodore Roosevelt introduced what would be known as the **Roosevelt Corollary** to the Monroe Doctrine, which stated that the United States, as a civilized nation, would correct the “chronic wrongdoing” of its neighbors, such as failure to protect U.S. investments.

Roosevelt Corollary A corollary to the Monroe Doctrine stating that the United States would correct what it saw as “chronic wrongdoing” in neighboring countries.

To this end, in 1903 and 1904 Roosevelt deployed Marines to the Dominican Republic to protect the investments of U.S. firms. Marines occupied and governed the Dominican Republic again from 1916 to 1924. The violent and corrupt dictator Rafael Trujillo (troo-HEE-yo) ruled from 1930 to 1961 with the support of the United States. When he eventually defied the United States, he was assassinated by rivals acting with the encouragement of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Versions of the Dominican Republic’s experience played out across the Circum-Caribbean. U.S. Marines occupied Haiti from 1915 to 1934 and Nicaragua from 1912 to 1934. These military occupations followed a similar pattern of using military force to protect private U.S. companies’ investments in banana and sugar plantations, railroads, mining, ports, and utilities. And as U.S. forces departed, they left power in the hands of dictators who served U.S. interests. These dictators governed not through popular consent but through force, corruption, and the support of the United States.

The Spanish-American War

In Cuba a second war of independence erupted in 1895 after it had failed to gain freedom from Spain in the Ten Years' War (1868–1878). A brutal war of attrition ensued, and by 1898 the countryside was in ruins and Spanish colonial control was restricted to a handful of cities. Cuban nationalists were on the verge of defeating the Spanish forces and gaining independence. But before they could realize this goal, the United States intervened, resulting in the Spanish-American War (1898).

The U.S. intervention began with a provocative act: sailing the battleship *Maine* into Havana harbor. This was an aggressive act because the battleship was capable of bombarding the entire city. But soon after it laid anchor, the *Maine* exploded and sank, killing hundreds of sailors. The U.S. government accused Spain of sinking the warship, a charge Spain denied, and demanded that the Spanish government provide restitution. Later investigations determined that a kitchen fire spread to the main munitions storage and blew up the ship. The sinking of the *Maine* led to war between Spain and the United States over control of Cuba and the Philippines. The U.S. Navy and Marines fought and defeated Spanish forces in the Pacific and the Caribbean. With its victory, the United States acquired Guam and Puerto Rico and launched a military occupation of Cuba and the Philippines.

Puerto Rico and Guam became colonies directly ruled by U.S. administrators, and residents of both island territories did not gain the right to elect their own leaders until after the Second World War. They remained commonwealths (territories that are not states) of the United States. The U.S. government also established direct rule in the Philippines, brushing aside the government established by Filipino nationalists who had fought for freedom from Spain. Nationalists then fought against the United States in the Philippine-American War (1899–1902) in an unsuccessful effort to establish an independent government.

Cuba alone gained independence, but U.S. pressure limited that independence. The Platt Amendment, which the United States imposed as a condition of Cuban independence, gave the U.S. Senate the power to cancel laws passed by the Cuban congress, withheld the Cuban government's right to establish foreign treaties, and granted the United States control over Guantanamo Bay, where it established a permanent naval base. In addition to imposing legal limits on Cuban independence, the United States militarily occupied Cuba in 1899–1902, 1906–1908, and 1912. Between 1917 and 1922 U.S. administrator Enoch Crowder governed the island from his staterooms on the battleship *Minnesota*.

The constraints that the U.S. government imposed on Cuban politics, along with its willingness to deploy troops and periodically establish military rule, created a safe and fertile environment for U.S. investment. As the first U.S. commander of Cuba, General Leonard Wood equated good government with investor confidence: “When people ask me what I mean by stable government, I tell them ‘money at six percent.’ ”[5] Cuban farmers had been bankrupted by the war of independence that had raged since 1895. One hundred thousand farms and three thousand ranches were destroyed. U.S. investors flooded in. By 1919 half of the island’s sugar mills were owned by U.S. businesses. Small farms were consolidated into estates as twenty-two companies took hold of 20 percent of Cuba’s national territory. U.S. companies like Coca-Cola and Hershey were among the new landowners that took control of their most important ingredient: sugar.

The United States exported its prevailing racial prejudices to its new Caribbean territories. In Cuba, U.S. authorities encouraged political parties to exclude black Cubans. Black war veterans established the Independent Party of Color in 1908 in order to press for political inclusion. Party leaders Evaristo Estenoz and Pedro Ivonet sought to use the party’s potential electoral weight to incorporate black Cubans into government and education. The party was banned in 1910, and in 1912 its leaders organized a revolt that led to a violent backlash by the army and police, supported by U.S. Marines. The campaign against members of the party was followed by a wave of lynchings of black Cubans across the island. (See “Analyzing the Evidence: Reyita Castillo Bueno on Slavery and Freedom in Cuba,” above.)

In Puerto Rico the influence of U.S. racism was more direct. In 1913, as the U.S. Congress debated granting Puerto Ricans U.S. citizenship, the federal judge for Puerto Rico appointed by President Woodrow Wilson objected and wrote to the president that Puerto Ricans “have the Latin American excitability and I think Americans should go slowly in granting them anything like autonomy. Their civilization is not at all like ours yet.” Later the judge declared, “The mixture of black and white in Porto Rico threatens to create a race of mongrels of no use to anyone, a race of Spanish American talkers. A governor of the South, or with knowledge of southern remedies for that trouble could, if a wise man, do much.”[6]

The United States instituted the “remedies” to which the judge alluded, such as the sterilization of thousands of Puerto Rican women as part of a policy aimed at addressing what the government saw as overpopulation on the island. In addition, Puerto Rican men drafted into U.S. military service were organized into segregated units, as African Americans were.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

Reyita Castillo Bueno on Slavery and Freedom in Cuba

Reyita Castillo Bueno was born in Cuba in 1902. When she narrated her life to her granddaughter, she reflected on her own grandmother, an Angolan woman brought to Cuba in the illicit slave trade of the mid-nineteenth century. Her memories captured both the slow process of abolition (her mother worked like a slave for her family's master, even though she was born after the free womb law) and the difficulties black Cubans faced after the United States intervened in the independence struggle.

My Grandma Flew Away

My grandmother's name was Antonina, although everyone called her Tatica. . . . Tatica told us her family came from a little village in a place called Cabinda [at the border between Angola and Congo], they were Quicongos and they grew manioc and coffee and also wove with raffia. The men of the village made canoes, drums and various wooden utensils. . . .

One evening, when the family was at home, having finished working in the fields, and the children were playing, they suddenly heard explosions and shouting. It was a group of white men with guns who were attacking the village, burning the houses and capturing women and men, killing children and old people. It was a terrible massacre. My great-grandmother saw her son and her husband vanish; she tried as hard as she could to defend the girls, but they beat her and took the three oldest. . . .

After such horror came the long march to the steamer — as she used to say — she never managed to figure out how long it lasted. They tied them to each other so they couldn't escape. . . . On the way they'd be beaten if they fell down from exhaustion or thirst.

The ship that took them from Africa was crammed with men, women and even children, though not many. . . . She said they were the ones the whites couldn't wrench out of their mothers' arms. Since it was so full, there was some problem, and although Tatica didn't know precisely what was wrong, they started throwing men overboard — the oldest, the most frail. What an outrage! Just hearing about it made you want to cry, and even now my eyes well up with tears and you feel tremendously indignant because they threw them overboard alive, with no compassion whatsoever.

When they reached land, Tatica and my aunts didn't know where they were, it was much later that they found out this was Cuba. They took them to a big hut where they were fed and had water thrown over them. . . . A person from the Hechavarría family bought all three of them. . . . The Hechavarrías also bought other Africans, there were about fifteen or twenty altogether on the plantation. One of them was young and strong and not from my grandmother's village. His name was Basilio and he and Tatica fell in love.

They lived together secretly so that the masters wouldn't find out. Although my grandmother didn't want to have children — and she took preventative infusions of herbs and roots — she got pregnant and had a daughter they named Socorro, who had to work very hard from a very young age. Later my mother was born, she had to work as a slave doing housework for the masters, even though this was after the law of free wombs.

My mother wasn't Basilio's daughter, but one of my grandmother's masters was her father. The slaves couldn't resist when the masters wanted to take advantage of them. It would have cost them a whipping and the stocks. There was an immoral hypocrisy in those men: on the one hand they looked down on them, but when it came to rape they didn't care what colour their skin was.

After the abolition of slavery in 1886, Tatica went to live in a little hut which Basilio built on a tiny piece of land he was given. . . . When Basilio joined up with the independence forces in the war of 1895, Tatica took to the hills with him. . . .

Tatica didn't like Catholicism, she was very superstitious and believed in life after death. I remember what my grandmother used to say about Africans who lived far away from their countries. She said their spirits returned to their lands when they died. I couldn't go to her funeral because I didn't live in La Maya anymore. . . . I cried so much! But when I calmed down and closed my eyes I seemed to see her rise up to the sky and fly through the clouds, on the way back to her native land, towards her beloved, never forgotten Africa, which I learned to love too from all the stories she told us.

The 1912 Afro-Cuban Revolt

▩ Many people gathered in my uncle's house. They'd get me to stand guard at the door; they'd shut themselves into the little room off the patio where they kept the things for making candies. One day several men came, among them Pedro Ivonet and Evaristo Estenoz. When my aunt Mangá went to greet them, Estenoz put his arm around me and kissed me. Ivonet too; Estenoz was very handsome. There was another one, another handsome black man — I can't remember his name — who made speeches; he spoke beautifully.

Back then I didn't know how important they were in the movement. They were leaders of the Independent Coloured Party; but I had heard that a senator called Morúa Delgado had voted in a law against the creation of political parties for blacks, or rather, for people of only one race. "Coloured" people considered this law unjust, because they realized they needed a political organization that would allow them to look for their own solutions to problems, because the white ones weren't helping at all. . . . Estenoz met with the President of the Republic, who said he'd support them in gaining this right, that they should pretend to take up arms against the government so he could get the Assembly and the Senate to believe there would be war between blacks and whites and to avoid it they must vote down the Morúa law, and thus the Party would be approved.

[President Gómez's] real interest lay in securing the black vote, because he wanted to be re-elected President. When he couldn't achieve anything, he sent a commission into the hills with a message for the blacks: "Don't surrender, I'll keep trying to solve the problem." And to prevent them from finding out what he'd promised the blacks, what he did was send the army under General Monteagudo against them.

Just imagine! How were they to defend themselves? With old shotguns? With machetes? Since they didn't have enough weapons — and moreover they weren't intending to wage war — they were hunted town and captured. Poor souls! I saw them when they brought them down from the hills, tied up. They killed them, threw them in pots and set them on fire. Many of those who surrendered were taken to a place called Arroyo Blanco and there they were murdered.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. How does Reyita Castillo Bueno understand race?
2. How does culture change for the different generations in Castillo Bueno's narrative?
3. How does Castillo Bueno convey the abolition of slavery and the wars of independence to readers?

Source: Maria de los Reyes Castillo Bueno, *Reyita: The Life of a Black Cuban Woman in the Twentieth Century* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2000), pp. 23–26, 49–51. Copyright, Latin American Bureau (Research & Action) Ltd., London. First published in the UK, September 2000. Used by permission of the Latin American Bureau/The Practical Action.

The Panama Canal

U.S. imperialism in the Caribbean extended beyond Cuba and Puerto Rico to the prize the United States had pursued for decades: a canal to connect the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. The canal would transport cargo between the east and west of the United States much less expensively than rail. In the mid-nineteenth century the U.S. railroad tycoon Cornelius Vanderbilt tried but failed to build a canal through Nicaragua. Later in the century, a consortium of French investors pursued the construction of a canal in the Colombian province of Panama, encouraged by the success of the Suez Canal that connected the Mediterranean to the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, completed in 1869. Engineers and laborers completed some excavation before the French company went bankrupt.

After the Spanish-American War gave the U.S. more direct control of the Caribbean, U.S. authorities negotiated with the Colombian government for the right to continue the project started by the French company. When the Colombian congress balked at the U.S. government’s demand that it should have territorial control of the canal, the U.S. government encouraged an insurrection in Panama City and recognized the rebels as leaders of the new country of Panama. The new Panamanian government gave the United States permanent control over the canal in 1904 and the land upon which it was built, which became known as the Canal Zone. The Canal Zone became an unincorporated U.S. territory, similar in status to Puerto Rico and Guam. It housed canal workers as well as U.S. military installations.

Tens of thousands of migrant workers from around the Caribbean provided labor for construction of the canal, which opened in 1914. U.S. authorities instituted the same segregationist policies applied in their other Caribbean territories. Workers were divided into a “gold roll” of highly paid white U.S. workers and a “silver role” of mostly black workers, who came from Barbados, Panama, Nicaragua, Colombia, and other parts of the Caribbean. They were paid lower wages, faced much higher rates of death and injury, and lived in less healthy conditions. The Canal Zone itself functioned as a segregated enclave: U.S. residents could move freely between it and Panamanian territory, but it was closed to Panamanians except those who entered through labor contracts.

Chapter Summary

In the century after independence, political consolidation and economic integration varied across the Americas. The North of the United States became the continent’s main engine of capital accumulation, immigration, and industrialization. In the U.S. South and Brazil reliance on slavery weakened internal markets, inhibited immigration, and slowed industrialization. In Spanish America the lack of a governing consensus until the second half of the nineteenth century resulted in “lost decades” after independence, in which new countries fell behind not only relative to other regions of the world, but even relative to their past colonial experiences.

The cycle of war that began in the 1850s and continued for the next two decades reshaped the Americas politically and economically, consolidating a liberal order that placed great wealth in few hands while dealing misery and dislocation to many others. Liberalism had a modernizing influence on trade and industry, but it further concentrated wealth. Just as the United States waged wars against the Indians and pushed its frontier westward, so Brazil, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia expanded into the Amazonian frontier at the expense of indigenous peoples. Likewise, Mexico, Chile, and Argentina had their own “Indian wars” and frontier expansion. Racial prejudice kept most African Americans at the social and economic margins.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the economies of American nations were tightly integrated into the world economy, and powerful currents of immigration further deepened ties between continents. Industrialization that began in the northeast of the United States developed elsewhere in the continent, but the lead in industrialization held by the United States allowed it to increasingly impose its will over other nations. The economic and social dislocations produced by the liberal model of export-oriented economic growth also awoke growing social demands by the rural and urban poor. These boiled over the most dramatically in Mexico’s 1910 revolution, but in cities to the south such as Buenos Aires, Argentina, and Santiago, Chile, workers’ demands for the right to organize for better wages and for political representation also became too insistent to ignore.

CONNECTIONS

In the Americas the century or so between independence and World War I was a time of nation building. Colonial governments were overthrown, new constitutions were written, settlement was extended, slavery was ended, and immigrants from around the world settled across the continent. Although wealth was very unevenly distributed, in most of these countries it was not hard to find signs of progress: growing cities, expanding opportunities for education, modern conveniences. This progress came with harsh costs for indigenous communities, rural peasants, and the growing ranks of urban industrial workers. The great upheaval of the Mexican Revolution was a reaction against these costs, and resulted in a society that curbed some of the excesses facilitated by liberalism.

World War I, the topic of the next chapter, affected these countries in a variety of ways. Canada followed Britain into the war in 1914 and sent six hundred thousand men to fight, losing many in some of the bloodiest battles of the war. The United States did not join the war until 1917, but quickly mobilized several million men and in 1918 began sending soldiers and materials in huge numbers. Even countries that maintained neutrality, as all the Latin American countries other than Brazil did, felt the economic impact of the war deeply, especially the increased demand for food and manufactured goods. For the working class the global demand for exported foods drove up the cost of living, but the profits that oligarchs accumulated fueled the process of industrialization.

CHAPTER 27 Review and Explore

Identify Key Terms

Identify and explain the significance of each item below.

oligarchs (p. 790)
Circum-Caribbean (p. 790)
caudillismo (p. 790)
manifest destiny (p. 791)
Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (p. 792)
Lerdo Law (p. 793)
neocolonialism (p. 795)
free womb laws (p. 796)
latifundios (p. 799)
Porfiriato (p. 804)
Plan de Ayala (p. 805)
anarcho-syndicalism (p. 806)
Monroe Doctrine (p. 810)
Roosevelt Corollary (p. 810)

Review the Main Ideas

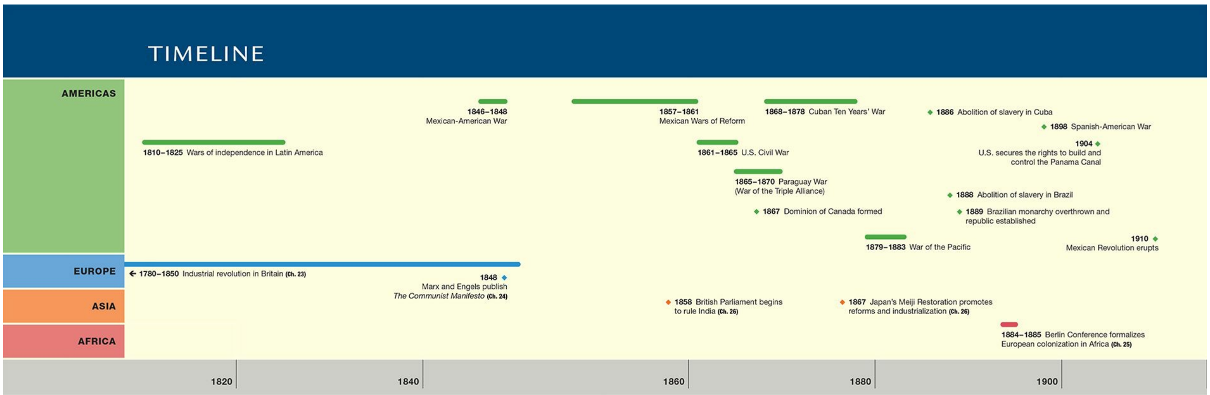
Answer the focus questions from each section of the chapter.

1. How and why did the process of nation-state consolidation vary across the Americas? (p. 790)
2. Why did slavery last longer in the United States, Brazil, and Cuba than in the other republics of the Americas? How did resistance by slaves shape abolition? (p. 795)
3. As Latin America became more integrated into the world economy, how did patterns of economic growth shape political culture and social reactions? (p. 799)
4. What factors shaped patterns of immigration to the Americas? How did immigrants shape — and how were they shaped by — their new settings? (p. 806)
5. In what ways did U.S. policies in the Caribbean and Central America resemble European imperialism? How did U.S. foreign policy depart from European imperialism? (p. 810)

Make Comparisons and Connections

Analyze the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters.

1. How did the embrace of liberalism in Latin America resemble or differ from its expression in other parts of the world?
2. How did factors that influenced the Mexican Revolution express themselves in other parts of the Americas?
3. In what ways did the United States come to resemble European powers in building overseas empires (Chapters 25, 26)? How did U.S. expansionism and the colonialism practiced by Britain and France differ?
4. How did neocolonialism make Latin America after independence resemble regions of Asia and Africa (Chapters 25, 26) that were subjected to direct colonial rule?



Suggested Resources

Books

Baptist, Edward E. *The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism*. 2014. Examines how the development of the United States shaped the experiences of slaves.

Bayly, C. A. *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780–1914*. 2003. Useful for viewing the countries of the Americas in the context of global developments.

Beckert, Sven. *Empire of Cotton: A Global History*. 2014. A history of the commodity that shows the global connections forged around a plantation slave regime.

Beezley, William. *Judas at the Jockey Club and Other Episodes of Porfirian Mexico*, 2d ed. 2004. A provocative study of Mexico under the Porfiriato.

Bender, Thomas. *A Nation Among Nations: America's Place in World History*. 2006. Shows that key events in American history are best seen in global context.

Da Costa, Emilia Viotti. *The Brazilian Empire: Myths and Histories*. 2000. Examines nation building, liberalism, and abolition in the largest slave society of the Americas.

Fernandez-Armesto, Felipe. *The Americas: A Hemispheric History*. 2003. Provocative and engagingly written.

Goldfield, David. *Still Fighting the Civil War: The American South and Southern History*, updated ed. 2013. Examines the Civil War and its

enduring legacies for the U.S. South.

Helg, Aline. *Our Rightful Share: The Afro-Cuban Struggle for Equality, 1886–1912*. 1995. An insightful reading of race relations amid Cuban independence and the abolition of slavery.

Knight, Alan. *The Mexican Revolution: A Very Short Introduction.* 2016. A concise interpretation of the Mexican Revolution by one of its leading scholars.

Lesser, Jeffrey. *Immigration, Ethnicity, and National Identity in Brazil, 1808 to the Present*. 2013. A broad-ranging social history.

Morton, Desmond. *A Short History of Canada*, 6th ed. 2006. A well-written popular history.

Documentaries

The Civil War (PBS, 1990). A documentary by Ken Burns offering a gripping account of the conflict.

The Storm That Swept Mexico (Raymond Telles, 2011). A PBS documentary that explores the Mexican Revolution.

Feature Films

Lincoln (Steven Spielberg, 2012) and *Django Unchained* (Quentin Tarantino, 2012). As a pair, these films reflect stylized visions of ending slavery from above and from below.

El Otro Francisco (Sergio Giral, 1975). Re-examines the Cuban abolitionist novel *Francisco,* by Anselmo Suárez y Romero, from a Marxist viewpoint on slavery and resistance.

Websites

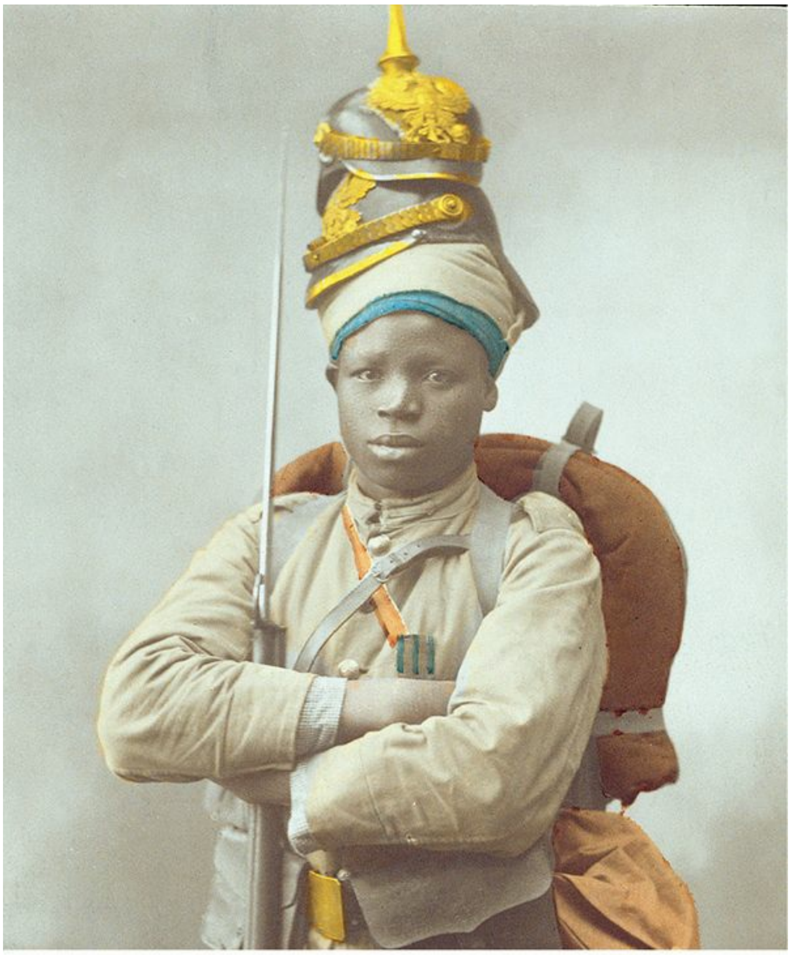
A Guide to the Mexican War. This Library of Congress site compiles documents, maps, and music related to the war. **www.loc.gov/rr/program/bib/mexicanwar/**

Topics in Chronicling America. This Library of Congress project has a wealth of material on the Spanish-American War and the creation of the Panama Canal. **www.loc.gov/rr/news/topics/spanishAmWar.html** **www.loc.gov/rr/news/topics/panama.html**

28

World War and Revolution

1914–1929



Private Collection/Archives Charmet/Bridgeman Images

Senegalese Soldier

A *tirailleur* (literally, "skirmisher") from French West Africa who fought in Europe during the Great War. Across the bottom of this postcard image from the era, the soldier proclaimed his

loyalty with the phrase “Glory to the Greater France,” meaning France and its colonies. Note the two German *pickelhaube* (spike helmets) he wears on his head.

In summer 1914 the nations of Europe went willingly to war. They believed they had no other choice, but everyone confidently expected a short war leading to a decisive victory. Such a war, they believed, would “clear the air.” Then European society could continue as before. They were wrong. The First World War was long, global, indecisive, and tremendously destructive. It quickly degenerated into a senseless military stalemate lasting four years. To the shell-shocked generation of survivors, it became simply the Great War.

In March 1917, as Russia suffered horrendous losses on the eastern front, its war-weary people rebelled against their tsar, Nicholas II, forcing him to abdicate. Moderate reformists established a provisional government but made the fatal decision to continue the war against Germany. In November Vladimir Lenin and his Communist Bolshevik Party staged a second revolution, this time promising an end to the war. The Germans forced a harsh peace on the Russians, but Lenin believed this a small price to pay for the establishment of history’s first Communist state. Few then could have realized how profoundly this event would shape the course of the twentieth century.

When the Great War’s victorious Allies, led by Great Britain, France, and the United States, gathered in Paris in 1919 to write the peace, they were well aware of the importance of their decisions. Some came to Paris seeking revenge, some came looking for the spoils of war, and some promoted nationalist causes, while a few sought an idealistic end to war. The process was massive and complex, but in the end few left Paris satisfied with the results. The peace and prosperity the delegates had so earnestly sought lasted barely a decade.

CHAPTER PREVIEW

THE FIRST WORLD WAR, 1914–1918
What were the long-term and immediate causes of World War I, and how did the conflict become a global war?

THE HOME FRONT
How did total war affect the home fronts of the major combatants?

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION
What factors led to the Russian Revolution, and what was its outcome?

THE WAR’S CONSEQUENCES
What were the global consequences of the First World War?

THE SEARCH FOR PEACE AND POLITICAL STABILITY, 1919–1929

How did leaders deal with the political dimensions of uncertainty and try to re-establish peace and prosperity in the interwar years?

THE AGE OF ANXIETY

In what ways were the anxieties of the postwar world expressed or heightened by revolutionary ideas in modern thought, art, and science and in new forms of communication?

The First World War, 1914–1918

What were the long-term and immediate causes of World War I, and how did the conflict become a global war?

The First World War clearly marked a major break in the course of world history. The maps of Europe and southwest Asia were redrawn, nationalist movements took root and spread across Asia (the subject of the next chapter), America consolidated its position as a global power, and the world experienced, for the first time, industrialized, total war. Europe's Great Powers started the war and suffered the most — in casualties, in costs, in destruction, and in societal and political upheaval. Imperialism also brought the conflict to the Middle East, Africa, and Asia, making this a global war of unprecedented scope. The young soldiers who went to war believed in the pre-1914 world of order, progress, and patriotism. Then, in the words of German soldier and writer Erich Remarque (rih-MAHRK), the "first bombardment showed us our mistake, and under it the world as they had taught it to us broke in pieces."[1]

Origins and Causes of the Great War

Scholars began arguing over the Great War's origins soon after it began, and the debate continues a century after its end. The victorious Allied powers expressed their opinion — that Germany caused the war — in the Versailles treaty. But history seldom offers such simple answers, particularly to questions so complex. The war's origins lie in the nineteenth century, and its immediate causes lie in the few years and months before the war, especially one particular morning in June 1914.

Any study of the Great War's origins must begin with nationalism (see "The Growing Appeal of Nationalism" in Chapter 24), one of the major ideologies of the nineteenth century, and its armed companion, **militarism**, the glorification of the military as the supreme ideal of the state with all other interests subordinate to it. European concerns over national security, economies, welfare, identities, and overseas empires set nation against nation, alliance against alliance, and army against army until they all went to war at once.

militarism The glorification of the military as the supreme ideal of the state with all other interests subordinate to it.

Competition between nations intensified greatly when Germany became a unified nation-state and the most powerful country in Europe in 1871. A new era in international relations began, as Chancellor Bismarck declared Germany a “satisfied” power, having no territorial ambitions within Europe and desiring only peace.

But how to preserve the peace? Bismarck’s first concern was to keep rival France diplomatically isolated and without military allies. His second concern was to prevent Germany from being dragged into a war between the two rival empires, Austria-Hungary and Russia, as they sought to fill the power vacuum created in the Balkans by the Ottoman Empire’s decline (see “Decline and Reform in the Ottoman Empire” in Chapter 25). To these ends, Bismarck brokered a series of treaties and alliances, all meant to ensure the balance of power in Europe and to prevent the outbreak of war.

In 1890 Germany’s new emperor, Wilhelm II, forced Bismarck to resign and then abandoned many of Bismarck’s efforts to ensure German security through promoting European peace and stability. Wilhelm refused to renew a nonaggression pact Bismarck had signed with Russia in 1887, for example, which prompted France to court the tsar, offering loans and arms, and sign a Franco-Russian Alliance in 1892. With France and Russia now allied against Germany, Austria, and Italy, Great Britain’s foreign policy became increasingly crucial. Many Germans and some Britons felt that the ethnically related Germanic and Anglo-Saxon peoples were natural allies. However, the good relations that had prevailed between Prussia and Great Britain since the mid-eighteenth century gave way after 1890 to a bitter Anglo-German rivalry.

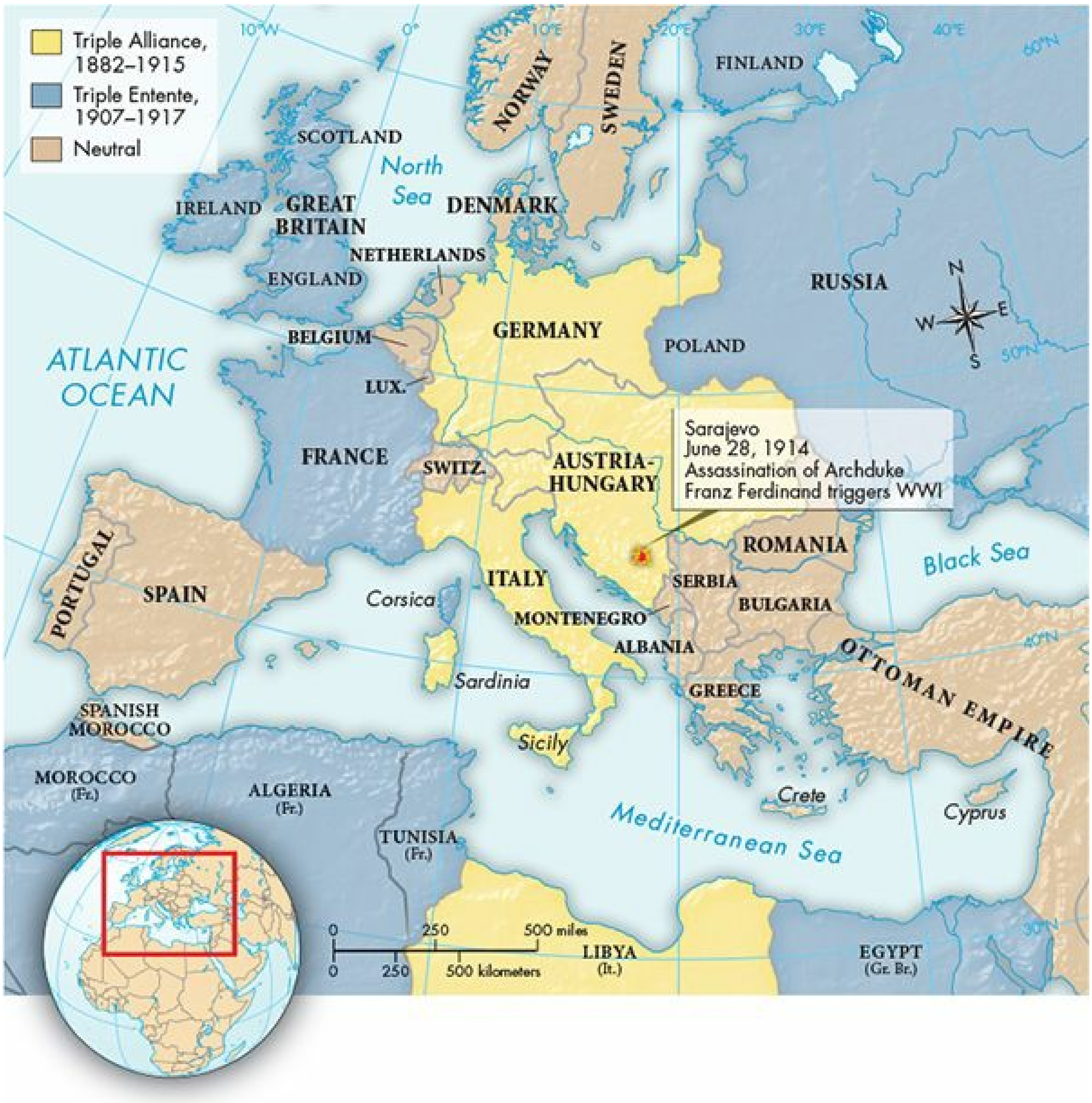
There were several reasons for this development. Germany and Great Britain’s commercial rivalry in world markets and Kaiser Wilhelm’s publicly expressed intention to create a global German empire unsettled the British. German nationalist militarists saw a large navy as the legitimate mark of a great world power, and their decision in 1900 to add a fleet of big-gun battleships to their already expanding navy heightened tensions. British leaders considered this expansion a military challenge to their long-standing naval supremacy.

Thus British leaders set about shoring up their exposed position with their own alliances and agreements. Britain improved its relations with the United States, concluded an alliance with Japan in 1902, and in the Anglo-French Entente (ahn-TAHNT) of 1904 settled all outstanding colonial disputes with France. Frustrated by Britain’s closer relationship with France, Germany’s leaders decided to test the entente’s strength by demanding an international conference to challenge French control over

Morocco. At the Algeciras (al-jih-SIR-uhs) (Spain) Conference in 1906, Germany's crude bullying only forced France and Britain closer together, and Germany left the meeting empty-handed.

The Moroccan crisis was something of a diplomatic revolution. Britain, France, Russia, and even the United States began to view Germany as a potential threat. At the same time, German leaders began to suspect sinister plots to encircle Germany and block its development as a world power. In 1907 Russia and Britain settled their outstanding differences and signed the Anglo-Russian Agreement. This treaty, together with the earlier Franco-Russian Alliance of 1892 and Anglo-French Entente of 1904, served as a catalyst for the **Triple Entente**, the alliance of Great Britain, France, and Russia in the First World War (Map 28.1).

Triple Entente The alliance of Great Britain, France, and Russia in the First World War.


Triple Alliance, 1882–1915
Triple Entente, 1907–1917
Neutral
10°W
0°
10°E
20°E
30°E
40°E
60°N
50°N
40°N
30°N
N
S
E
W
FINLAND
NORWAY
SWEDEN
SCOTLAND
North Sea
IRELAND
GREAT BRITAIN
DENMARK
NETHERLANDS
ENGLAND
RUSSIA
BELGIUM
GERMANY
POLAND
ATLANTIC OCEAN
LUX.
FRANCE
SWITZ.
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
ROMANIA
Black Sea
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
Corsica
ITALY
SERBIA
BULGARIA
MONTENEGRO
ALBANIA
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Sardinia
GREECE
SPANISH MOROCCO
Sicily
MOROCCO (Fr.)
ALGERIA (Fr.)
Crete
Cyprus
TUNISIA (Fr.)
Mediterranean Sea
0
250
500 miles
0
250
500 kilometers
LIBYA (It.)
EGYPT (Gr. Br.)

Sarajevo
June 28, 1914
Assassination of Archduke
Franz Ferdinand triggers WWI

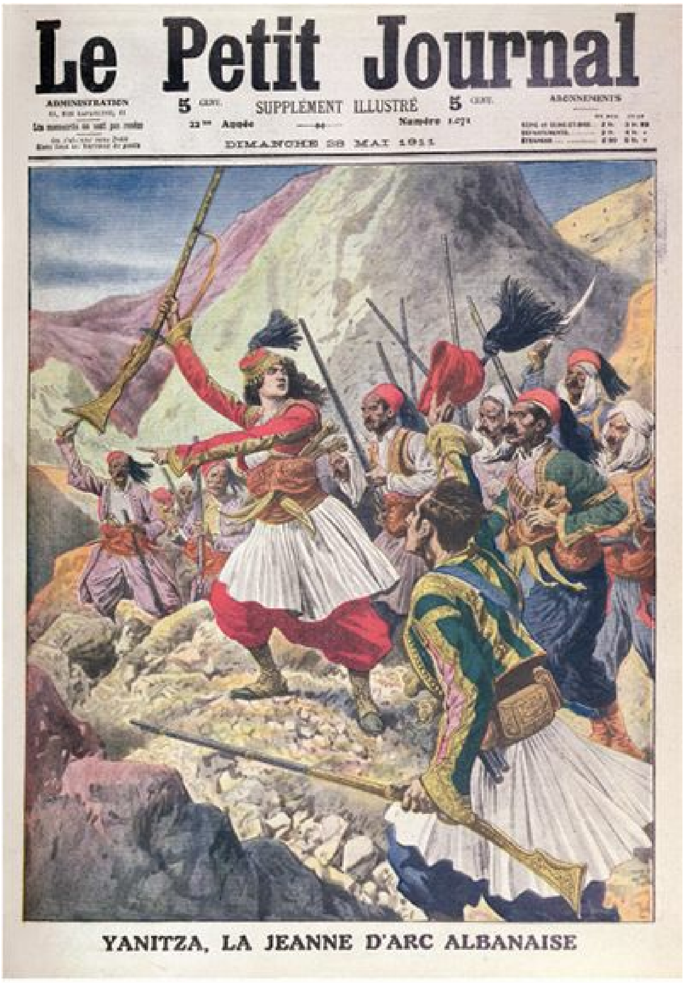
Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 28.1 European Alliances at the Outbreak of World War I, 1914 By the time war broke out, Europe was divided into two opposing alliances: the Triple Entente of Britain, France, and Russia and the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy. Italy switched sides and joined the Entente in 1915.

By 1909 Europe's leading nations were divided into two hostile blocs, both ill-prepared to deal with upheaval in the Balkans.

The Outbreak of War

In 1897, the year before he died, the prescient Bismarck is reported to have remarked, "One day the great European War will come out of some damned foolish thing in the Balkans."[2] By the early twentieth century a Balkans war seemed inevitable. The reason was simple: nationalism was destroying the Ottoman Empire in Europe and threatening to break up the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

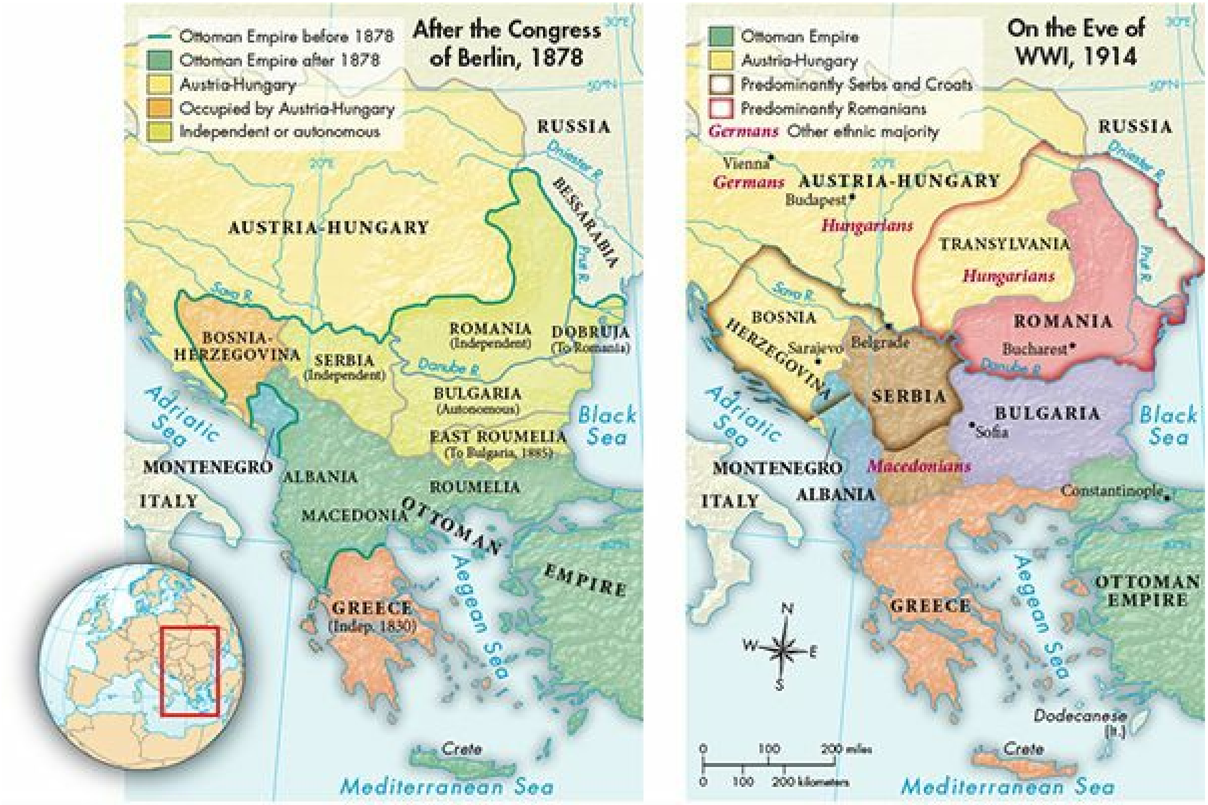


Private Collection/Archives Charmet/Bridgeman Images

Yanitza, the Albanian "Joan of Arc" Tringe Smajli, known as Yanitza, was an Albanian guerrilla fighter who, following the death of her father and two brothers in battle, took a vow of chastity, adopted male clothing, and joined Albanian rebels revolting against the Ottoman Empire in 1911–1912. She is recognized as a People's Hero of Albania. (Private Collection/Archives Charmet/Bridgeman Images)

Serbia led the way, becoming openly hostile to both Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire. The Slavic Serbs looked to Slavic Russia for support of their national aspirations. In 1908, to block Serbian expansion, Austria formally annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, with their large Serbian, Croatian (kroh-AY-shuhn), and Muslim populations. Serbia erupted in rage but could do nothing without Russia's support.

Then two nationalist wars, the first and second Balkan wars in 1912 and 1913, finally destroyed the centuries-long Ottoman presence in Europe (Map 28.2). This sudden but long-expected event elated Balkan nationalists but dismayed Austria-Hungary’s leaders, who feared that Austria-Hungary might next be broken apart.


After the Congress of Berlin, 1878
Ottoman Empire before 1878
Ottoman Empire after 1878
Austria-Hungary
Occupied by Austria-Hungary
Independent or autonomous
RUSSIA
Dniester R.
BESSARABIA
Prut R.
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
Sava R.
BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA
SERBIA (Independent)
ROMANIA (Independent)
DOBRUJA (To Romania)
Danube R.
BULGARIA (Autonomous)
EAST ROUMELIA (To Bulgaria, 1885)
Black Sea
Adriatic Sea
MONTENEGRO
ALBANIA
ROUMELIA
ITALY
MACEDONIA
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
GREECE (Indep. 1830)
Aegean Sea
Crete
Mediterranean Sea
On the Eve of WWI, 1914
Ottoman Empire
Austria-Hungary
Predominantly Serbs and Croats
Predominantly Romanians
Germans Other ethnic majority
Vienna
Germans
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
Budapest
Hungarians
TRANSYLVANIA
Hungarians
RUSSIA
Dniester R.
Prut R.
ROMANIA
Bucharest
Danube R.
BOSNIA
HERZEGOVINA
Sava R.
Sarajevo
Belgrade
SERBIA
BULGARIA
Sofia
Black Sea
Adriatic Sea
MONTENEGRO
Macedonians
ALBANIA
ITALY
Constantinople
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
GREECE
Aegean Sea
Dodecanese (It.)
Crete
Mediterranean Sea
N
E
S
W
0 100 200 miles
0 100 200 kilometers
30°E
50°N
20°E
40°N

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin’s

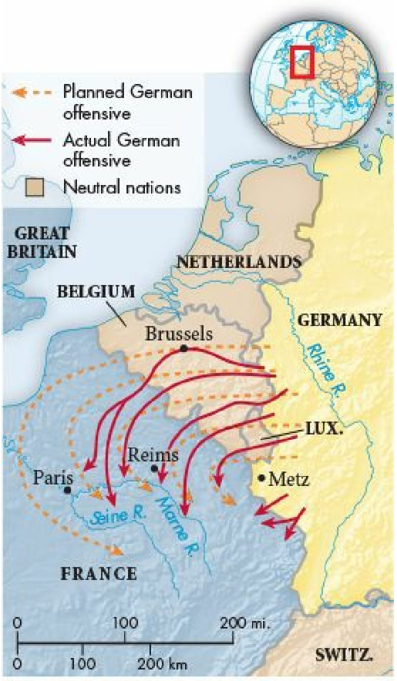
MAP 28.2 The Balkans, 1878–1914 The Ottoman Empire suffered large territorial losses after the Congress of Berlin in 1878 but remained a power in the Balkans. By 1914 ethnic boundaries that did not follow political boundaries had formed, and Serbian national aspirations threatened Austria-Hungary.

Within this tense context, Serbian nationalist Gavrilo Princip (gah-VRIH-loh prin-SIP) assassinated Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, and his wife, Sophie, on June 28, 1914, during a state visit to the Bosnian capital of Sarajevo (sar-uh-YAY-voh). Austria-Hungary’s leaders held Serbia responsible and on July 23 presented Serbia with an unconditional ultimatum that included demands amounting to Austrian control of the Serbian state. When Serbia replied moderately but evasively, Austria declared war on Serbia on July 28 (Map 28.3).

Of prime importance in Austria-Hungary’s fateful decision was Germany’s unconditional support. Kaiser Wilhelm II and his chancellor, Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg (THEE-uh-bawld von BAYT-mahn-hawl-vayk), realized that war between Austria and Russia was likely, for Russia could not stand by and watch the Serbs be crushed. Yet Bethmann-

Hollweg hoped that while Russia (and its ally France) might go to war, Great Britain would remain neutral.

Anticipating a possible conflict, Europe’s military leaders had been drawing up war plans and timetables for years, and now these, rather than diplomacy, began to dictate policy. On July 28, as Austrian armies bombarded Belgrade, Tsar Nicholas II ordered a partial mobilization against Austria-Hungary but almost immediately found this was impossible. Russia had assumed a war with both Austria and Germany, and it could not mobilize against one without mobilizing against the other. Therefore, on July 29 Russia ordered full mobilization and in effect declared general war. The German general staff had also prepared for a two-front war. Its Schlieffen (SHLEE-fuhn) plan, first drafted in 1905, called for first knocking out France with a lightning attack through neutral Belgium to capture Paris before turning on a slower-to-mobilize Russia. On August 3 German armies invaded Belgium. Great Britain declared war on Germany the following day. In each country the great majority of the population rallied to defend its nation and enthusiastically embraced war in August 1914.

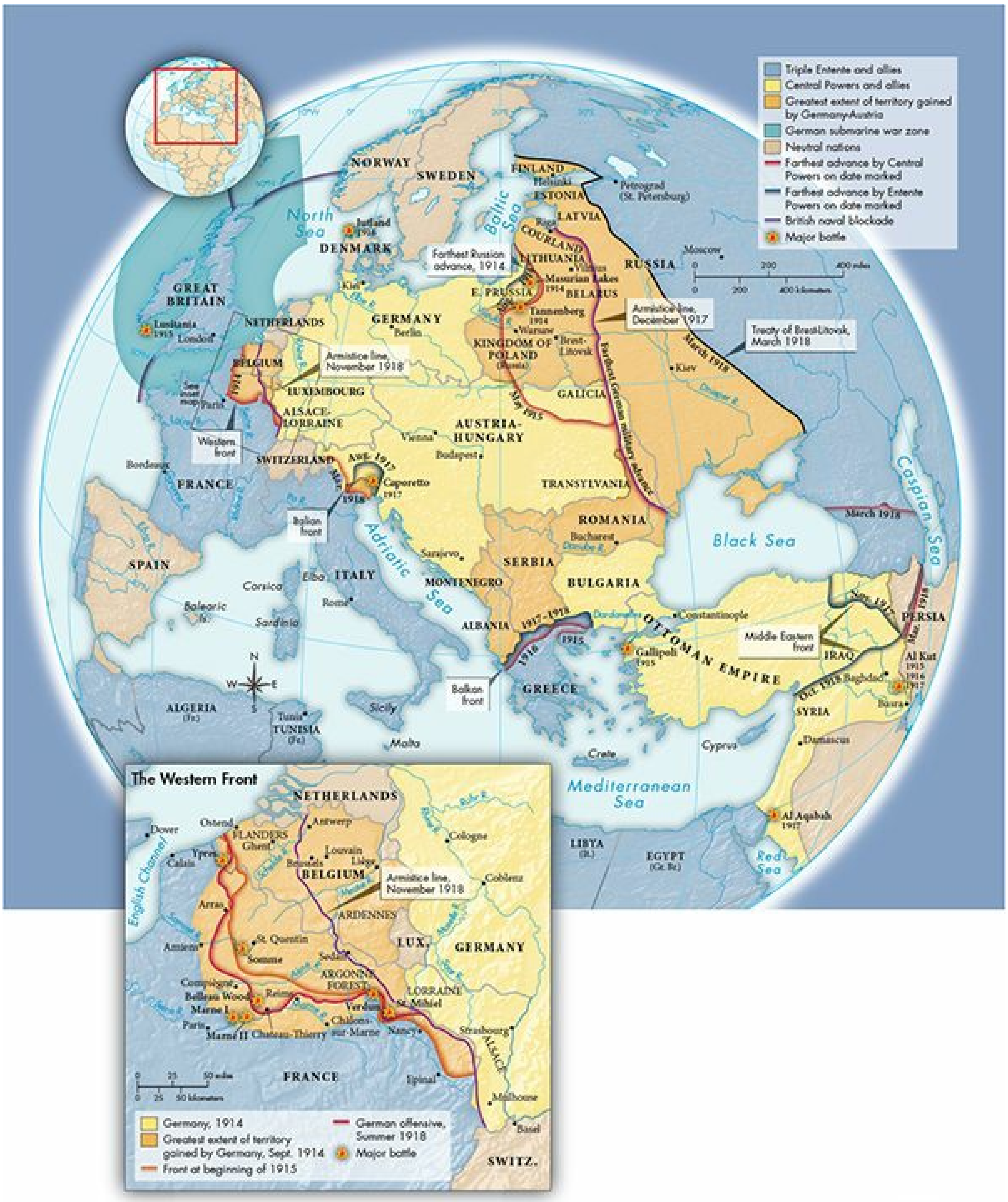

Planned German offensive
Actual German offensive
Neutral nations
GREAT BRITAIN
NETHERLANDS
BELGIUM
Brussels
GERMANY
Rhine R.
LUX.
Reims
Paris
Metz
Seine R.
Marne R.
FRANCE
0
100
200 mi.
0
100
200 km
SWITZ.

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin’s

The Schlieffen Plan

Stalemate and Slaughter

When the Germans invaded Belgium in August 1914, the Belgian army defended its homeland and then fell back to join a rapidly landed British army corps near the Franco-Belgian border. Instead of quickly capturing Paris in a vast encircling movement, German soldiers were advancing slowly along an enormous front. On September 6 the French attacked the German line at the Battle of the Marne (MAHRN). For three days France threw everything into the attack, forcing the Germans to fall back (see Map 28.3).


Triple Entente and allies
Central Powers and allies
Greatest extent of territory gained by Germany-Austria
German submarine war zone
Neutral nations
Farthest advance by Central Powers on date marked
Farthest advance by Entente Powers on date marked
British naval blockade
Major battle
NORWAY
SWEDEN
FINLAND
Helsinki
ESTONIA
Petrograd (St. Petersburg)
LATVIA
COURLAND
LITHUANIA
RUSSIA
Moscow
North Sea
Baltic Sea
Jutland 1916
DENMARK
Farthest Russian advance, 1914
Masurian Lakes 1914
E. PRUSSIA
BELARUS
Tannenberg 1914
GREAT BRITAIN
Lusitania 1915
London
NETHERLANDS
GERMANY
Berlin
Kiel
Armistice line, December 1917
Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, March 1918
KINGDOM OF POLAND (Russia)
Warsaw
Brest-Litovsk
Kiev
BELGIUM
Armistice line, November 1918
LUXEMBOURG
ALSACE-LORRAINE
Paris
GALICIA
Farthest German military advance
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
Vienna
Budapest
Western front
Bordeaux
SWITZERLAND
FRANCE
Caporetto 1917
TRANSYLVANIA
ROMANIA
Bucharest
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
March 1918
Italian front
SPAIN
Corsica
Elba
ITALY
Adriatic Sea
Sarajevo
SERBIA
BULGARIA
MONTENEGRO
Rome
Balearic Is.
Sardinia
ALBANIA
Constantinople
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Dardanelles
Gallipoli 1915
Middle Eastern front
IRAQ
PERSIA
Al Kut 1915 1916 1917
Baghdad
Basra
GREECE
Balkan front
ALGERIA (Fr.)
Tunis
TUNISIA (Fr.)
Sicily
Malta
Crete
Cyprus
SYRIA
Damascus
Mediterranean Sea
Al Aqabah 1917
LIBYA (It.)
EGYPT (Gr. Br.)
Red Sea
The Western Front
NETHERLANDS
Dover
Ostend
Antwerp
FLANDERS
Ghent
Ypres
Calais
Brussels
Louvain
Liège
Cologne
BELGIUM
Coblenz
English Channel
Arras
ARDENNES
Amiens
St. Quentin
Somme
LUX.
GERMANY
Sedan
ARGONNE FOREST
Compiègne
Belleau Wood
Reims
LORRAINE
Verdun
St. Mihiel
Marne I
Paris
Marne II
Château-Thierry
Châlons-sur-Marne
Nancy
Strasbourg
ALSACE
FRANCE
Epinal
Mulhouse
Basel
SWITZ.
Germany, 1914
Greatest extent of territory gained by Germany, Sept. 1914
Front at beginning of 1915
German offensive, Summer 1918
Major battle

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 28.3 The First World War in Europe The trench war on the western front was concentrated in Belgium and northern France (inset), while the war in the east encompassed an enormous territory.

The two stalled armies then dug in behind rows of trenches, mines, and barbed wire. A "no-man's land" of one hundred to three hundred yards lay between the two combatants. Eventually an unbroken line of parallel zigzag trenches stretched over four hundred miles from the Belgian coast to the Swiss frontier. By November 1914 the slaughter on the western front had begun in earnest. For four years battles followed the same plan: after ceaseless heavy artillery shelling to "soften up" the enemy, young soldiers went "over the top" of the trenches in frontal attacks on the enemy's line.

German writer Erich Remarque described a typical attack in his celebrated novel *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1929):

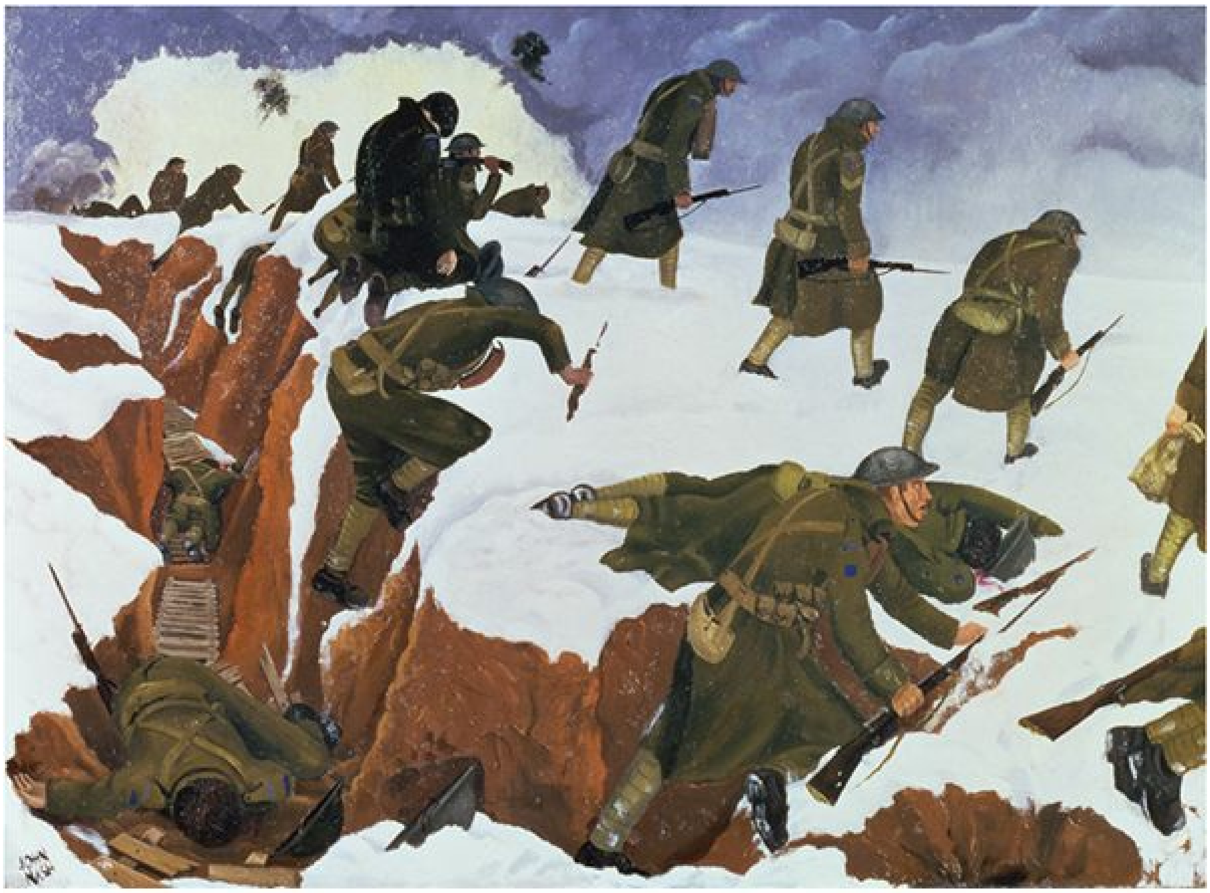
> We see men living with their skulls blown open; we see soldiers run with their two feet cut off. . . . Still the little piece of convulsed earth in which we lie is held. We have yielded no more than a few hundred yards of it as a prize to the enemy. But on every yard there lies a dead man.[3]

The human cost of **trench warfare** was staggering, while territorial gains were minuscule. In the Battle of the Somme (SAWM) in summer 1916, the British and French gained an insignificant 125 square miles at a cost of 600,000 dead or wounded. The Germans lost 500,000 men. That same year the unsuccessful German attack on Verdun (vehr-DUHN) cost 700,000 lives on both sides. The slaughter was made even greater by new weapons of war — including chemical gases, tanks, airplanes, flamethrowers, and the machine gun. British poet Siegfried Sassoon (1886–1967) wrote of the Somme offensive, "I am staring at a sunlit picture of Hell."[4] (See "Global Viewpoints: British and Canadian Poetry of the Great War," at right.) The year 1917 was equally terrible.

trench warfare Fighting behind rows of trenches, mines, and barbed wire; used in World War I with a staggering cost in lives and minimal gains in territory.

On the eastern front, the Russians moved into eastern Germany but suffered appalling losses against the Germans at the Battles of Tannenberg and the Masurian Lakes in August and September 1914 (see Map 28.3). German and Austrian forces then reversed the Russian advances of 1914 and forced the Russians to retreat deep into their own territory in the 1915 eastern campaign. A staggering 2.5 million Russians were killed, wounded, or taken prisoner.

These changing tides of victory and hopes of territorial gains brought neutral countries into the war. Italy, a member of the Triple Alliance since 1882, declared its neutrality in 1914. Then, in May 1915, Italy joined the Triple Entente of Great Britain, France, and Russia in return for promises of Austrian territory. In September Bulgaria joined the Triple Alliance in order to settle old scores with Serbia.



Over the Top, 1st Artists' Rifles at Marcoing, 30th December 1917, 1918, by John Nash [1893–1977] [oil on canvas]/Imperial War Museum, London, UK/© IWM [Art.IWM. ART 1656]/Bridgeman Images

John Nash, *Over the Top* John Nash was an English artist who served as a soldier with the First Battalion Artists' Rifles from 1916 to 1918 and then served as an official war artist in 1918. This painting depicts the Artists' Rifles leaving their trench to attack at Welsh Ridge in France on December 30, 1917. In a unit of eighty men, Nash was one of only twelve soldiers not wounded or killed by German shelling and gunfire; many of the casualties occurred during the first few minutes of the advance.

GLOBAL VIEWPOINTS

British and Canadian Poetry of the Great War

Some of the finest and most memorable literature and poetry of the twentieth century came from the generation who experienced the Great War. These are three of the most famous poems of the Great War, all written by soldiers during the war. Rupert Brooks's "The Soldier" is the most famous of a series of sonnets he wrote in 1914. Brooks died on April 23, 1915, at the age of twenty-seven while traveling with the British Mediterranean Expeditionary Force to Gallipoli. John McCrae, a Canadian doctor, published "In Flanders Fields" in December 1915. He died of pneumonia while serving at a Canadian field hospital in northern France on January 28, 1918. British poet Wilfred Owen wrote "Dulce et Decorum Est" in 1917. He was killed in battle a week before the armistice on November 4, 1918.

Rupert Brooks, "The Soldier," 1914

If I should die, think only this of me:
That there's some corner of a foreign field
That is for ever England. There shall be
In that rich earth a richer dust concealed;
A dust whom England bore, shaped, made aware,
Gave, once, her flowers to love, her ways to roam,
A body of England's, breathing English air,
Washed by the rivers, blest by suns of home.

And think this heart, all evil shed away,
A pulse in the eternal mind, no less
Gives somewhere back the thoughts by England given;
Her sights and sounds; dreams happy as her day;
And laughter, learnt of friends; and gentleness,
In hearts at peace, under an English heaven.

John McCrae, "In Flanders Fields," 1915

In Flanders fields the poppies blow
Between the crosses, row on row,
That mark our place; and in the sky
The larks, still bravely singing, fly
Scarce heard amid the guns below.

We are the Dead. Short days ago
We lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow,
Loved and were loved, and now we lie
In Flanders fields.

Take up our quarrel with the foe:
To you from falling hands we throw

The torch; be yours to hold it high.
If ye break faith, with us who die
We shall not sleep, though poppies grow
In Flanders fields.

Wilfred Owen, "Dulce et Decorum Est," 1917

Bent double, like old beggars under sacks,
Knock-kneed, coughing like hags, we cursed through sludge,
Till on the haunting flares we turned our backs
And towards our distant rest began to trudge.
Men marched asleep. Many had lost their boots
But limped on, blood-shod. All went lame; all blind;
Drunk with fatigue, deaf even to the hoots
Of gas shells dropping softly behind.

Gas! Gas! Quick, boys! — An ecstasy of fumbling,
Fitting the clumsy helmets just in time;
But someone still was yelling out and stumbling,
And floundering like a man in fire or lime . . .
Dim, through the misty panes and thick green light,
As under a green sea, I saw him drowning.

In all my dreams, before my helpless sight,
He plunges at me, guttering, choking, drowning.

If in some smothering dreams you too could pace
Behind the wagon that we flung him in,
And watch the white eyes writhing in his face,
His hanging face, like a devil's sick of sin;
If you could hear, at every jolt, the blood
Come gargling from the froth-corrupted lungs,
Obscene as cancer, bitter as the cud
Of vile, incurable sores on innocent tongues —
My friend, you would not tell with such high zest
To children ardent for some desperate glory,
The old Lie: *Dulce et decorum est* [It is sweet and fitting]
Pro patria mori. [To die for one's country.]

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Which of these poems would you describe as the most idealistic and patriotic? Why?
2. What do you think explains the obvious antiwar nature of Owen's poem compared to the poems of Brooks and McCrae?

Source: Jon Silkin, ed., *The Penguin Book of First World War Poetry*, 2d ed. rev. (New York: Penguin Putnam, 1996), pp. 81–82, 85, 192–193.

The War Becomes Global

In October 1914 the Ottoman Empire joined with Austria and Germany, by then known as the Central Powers. A German alliance permitted the Turks to renounce the limitations on Ottoman sovereignty imposed by Europeans in the nineteenth century and also to settle old grievances with Russia, the Turks' historic enemy.

The entry of the Ottoman Turks pulled the entire Middle East into the war and made it truly a global conflict. While Russia attacked the Ottomans in the Caucasus, the British protected their rule in Egypt. In 1915, at the Battle of Gallipoli (guh-LIP-uh-lee), British forces tried to take the Dardanelles (dahr-duh-NELZ) and Constantinople from the Ottoman Turks but were badly defeated. Casualties were high on both sides and included thousands of Australians and New Zealanders. Deeply loyal to the mother country, Australia sent 329,000 men and vast economic aid to Britain during the war. Over 100,000 New Zealanders also served in the war, almost a tenth of New Zealand's entire population, and they suffered a 58 percent casualty rate — one of the highest of any country. Nearly 4,000 native New Zealand Maori soldiers also fought at Gallipoli and on the western front. Ormond Burton, a New Zealand infantryman, later observed that "somewhere between the landing at Anzac [a cove on the Gallipolian peninsula] and the end of the battle of the Somme, New Zealand very definitely became a nation."[5] The British had more success inciting Arabs to revolt against their Turkish overlords. The foremost Arab leader was Hussein ibn-Ali (1856–1931), who governed much of the Ottoman Empire's territory along the Red Sea (see Map 29.1, page 858). In 1915 Hussein won vague British commitments for an independent Arab kingdom, with himself as king of the Arabs. In return, he joined forces with the British under T. E. Lawrence, who in 1917 led Arab tribesmen and Indian soldiers in a successful guerrilla war against the Turks on the Arabian peninsula. In the Ottoman province of Iraq, Britain occupied Basra (BAHS-rah) in 1914 and captured Baghdad in 1917. In 1918 British armies, aided by imperial forces from Egypt, India, Australia, and New Zealand, smashed the old Ottoman state. Thus war brought revolutionary change to the Middle East.

Japan, allied with the British since 1902, joined the Triple Entente on August 23, 1914, and began attacking German-controlled colonies and territories in the Pacific. Later that year Japan seized Germany's holdings on the Shandong (shan-dawng) Peninsula in China.

War also spread to colonies in Africa and East Asia. Colonized peoples provided critical supplies and fought in Europe, Africa, and the Ottoman Empire. More than a million Africans and Asians served in the various armies of the warring powers, with more than double that number serving as porters to carry equipment. Drawn primarily from Senegal, French West Africa, and British South Africa, over 140,000 Africans fought on the western front, and 31,000 of them died there.

Many of these men joined up to get clothes (uniforms), food, and money for enlisting. Others did so because colonial recruiters promised them better lives when they returned home. Most were illiterate and had no idea of why they were going or what they would experience. One West African infantryman, Kande Kamara, later wrote:

> We black African soldiers were very sorrowful about the white man's war. . . . I didn't really care who was right — whether it was the French or the Germans — I went to fight with the French army and that was all I knew. The reason for war was never disclosed to any soldier. . . . We just fought and fought until we got exhausted and died.[6]

© Mary Evans Picture Library/The Image Works

Indian Soldiers Convalescing in England Over 130,000 Indian soldiers served on the western front during the Great War, mostly during the first year of battle before being transferred to the Middle East to fight at Gallipoli and in the Mesopotamian campaign. Wounded Indian troops convalesced at the Royal Pavilion at Brighton, a former royal residence built in a faux-Oriental style that drew on several elements of Indian and Islamic architecture. In this posed piece, one of a series of photos of the Indian “martial races” distributed as postcards and used for slide-show lectures, some men sit playing cards, while others watch. Such photos reassured British and Indians alike that Britain took good care of its loyal imperial soldiers.

The war had a profound impact on these colonial troops. Fighting against and killing Europeans destroyed the impression that the Europeans were superhuman. New concepts like nationalism and individual freedoms — ideals for which the Europeans were supposedly fighting — were carried home to become rallying cries for future liberation struggles.

A crucial turning point in the expanding conflict came in April 1917 when the United States declared war on Germany. American intervention grew out of the war at sea and sympathy for the Triple Entente. At the beginning of the war Britain and France established a naval blockade to strangle the Central Powers. In early 1915 Germany launched a counter-blockade using the new and deadly effective submarine. In May a German submarine sank the British passenger liner *Lusitania* (loo-sih-TAY-nee-uh) (which, besides regular passengers, was secretly and illegally carrying war materials to Britain). More than a thousand people died, including 139 U.S. citizens. President Woodrow Wilson protested vigorously. Germany was forced to restrict its submarine warfare for almost two years or face almost certain war with the United States.

Early in 1917 the German military command — confident that improved submarines could starve Britain into submission before the United States could come to its rescue — resumed unrestricted submarine warfare. This was a reckless gamble. The United States declared war on Germany and eventually tipped the balance in favor of the Triple Entente.

The Home Front

How did total war affect the home fronts of the major combatants?

The war's impact on civilians was no less massive than on the men crouched in trenches. Total war mobilized entire populations, led to increased state power, and promoted social equality. It also led to dissent and a growing antiwar movement.

Mobilizing for Total War

Within months of the outbreak of the First World War, national unity governments began to plan and control economic and social life in order to wage **total war**. Governments imposed rationing, price and wage controls, and even restrictions on workers' freedom of movement. These total-war economies blurred the old distinction between soldiers on battlefields and civilians at home. (See "Analyzing the Evidence: The Experience of War," page 830.) The ability of central governments to manage and control highly complicated economies increased and strengthened their powers, often along socialist lines.

total war Practiced by countries fighting in World War I, a war in which the government plans and controls all aspects of economic and social life in order to make the greatest possible military effort.

Germany went furthest in developing a planned economy to wage total war. Soon after war began, the Jewish industrialist Walter Rathenau (RAHT-uh-now) convinced the German government to set up the War Raw Materials Board to ration and distribute raw materials. Food was also rationed, and the board successfully produced substitutes, such as synthetic rubber and synthetic nitrates, for scarce war supplies. Following the terrible Battles of Verdun and the Somme in 1916, military leaders forced the Reichstag (RIGHKS-tahg) to accept the Auxiliary Service Law, which required all males between seventeen and sixty to work only at jobs considered critical to the war effort. Women also worked in war factories, mines, and steel mills.

As mature liberal democracies, France and Great Britain mobilized economically for total war less rapidly and less completely than autocratic Germany, aided by the fact that they could import materials from their colonies and from the United States. When it became apparent that the war was not going to end quickly, however, the Western Allies all passed laws giving their governments sweeping powers over all areas of the nation’s daily life — including industrial and agricultural production, censorship, education, health and welfare, the curtailment of civil liberties, labor, and foreign aliens.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

The Experience of War

World War I was a total war: it enlisted the efforts of male and female adults and children, both at home and on the battlefield. It was a terrifying and painful experience for all those involved, not the romantic endeavor it was purported to be. The documents below offer two different wartime experiences. The first is from a letter written by a German soldier fighting in the trenches. The second is from the diary of a Viennese woman. As you read both passages, think about the different ways war and its consequences were made real for these two people.

A German Soldier Writes from the Trenches, March 1915

■ *Souchez, March 11th, 1915*

"So fare you well, for we must now be parting," so run the first lines of a soldier-song which we often sang through the streets of the capital. These words are truer than ever now, and these lines are to bid farewell to you, to all my nearest and dearest, to all who wish me well or ill, and to all that I value and prize.

Our regiment has been transferred to this dangerous spot, Souchez. No end of blood has already flowed down this hill. A week ago the 142nd attacked and took four trenches from the French. It is to hold these trenches that we have been brought here. There is something uncanny about this hill-position. Already, times without number, other battalions of our regiment have been ordered here in support, and each time the company came back with a loss of twenty, thirty or more men. In the days when we had to stick it out here before, we had 22 killed and 27 wounded. Shells roar, bullets whistle; no dugouts, or very bad ones; mud, clay, filth, shell-holes so deep that one could bathe in them.

This letter has been interrupted no end of times. Shells began to pitch close to us — great English 12-inch ones — and we had to take refuge in a cellar. One such shell struck the next house and buried four men, who were got out from the ruins horribly mutilated. I saw them and it was ghastly!

Everybody must be prepared now for death in some form or other. Two cemeteries have been made up here, the losses have been so great. I ought not to write that to you, but I do so all the same, because the newspapers have probably given you quite a different impression. They tell only of our gains and say nothing about the blood that has been shed, of the cries of agony that never cease. The newspaper doesn't give any description either of *how* the "heroes" are laid to rest, though it talks about “heroes’ graves” and writes poems and such-like about them. Certainly in Lens I have attended funeral-parades where a number of dead were buried in one large grave with pomp and circumstance. But up here it is pitiful the way one throws the dead bodies out of the trench and lets them lie there, or scatters dirt over the remains of those which have been torn to pieces by shells.

I look upon death and call upon life. I have not accomplished much in my short life, which has been chiefly occupied with study. I have commended my soul to the Lord God. It bears His seal and is altogether His. Now I am free to dare anything. My future life belongs to God, my present one to the Fatherland, and I myself still possess happiness and strength.

A Viennese Woman Remembers Home-Front Life

Ten dekagrammes [3½ ounces] of horse-flesh per head are to be given out to-day for the week. The cavalry horses held in reserve by the military authorities are being slaughtered for lack of fodder, and the people of Vienna are for a change to get a few mouthfuls of meat of which they have so long been deprived. Horse-flesh! I should like to know whether my instinctive repugnance to horse-flesh as food is personal, or whether my dislike is shared by many other housewives. My loathing of it is based, I believe, not on a physical but on a psychological prejudice.

I overcame my repugnance, rebuked myself for being sentimental, and left the house. A soft, steady rain was falling, from which I tried to protect myself with galoshes, waterproof, and umbrella. As I left the house before seven o’clock and the meat distribution did not begin until nine o’clock, I hoped to get well to the front of the queue.

No sooner had I reached the neighbourhood of the big market hall than I was instructed by the police to take a certain direction. I estimated the crowd waiting here for a meagre midday meal at two thousand at least. Hundreds of women had spent the night here in order to be among the first and make sure of getting their bit of meat. Many had brought with them improvised seats — a little box or a bucket turned upside down. No one seemed to mind the rain, although many were already wet through. They passed the time chattering, and the theme was the familiar one: What have you had to eat? What are you going to eat? One could scent an atmosphere of mistrust in these conversations: they were all careful not to say too much or to betray anything that might get them into trouble.

At length the sale began. Slowly, infinitely slowly, we moved forward. The most determined, who had spent the night outside the gates of the hall, displayed their booty to the waiting crowd: a ragged, quite freshly slaughtered piece of meat with the characteristic yellow fat. [Others] alarmed those standing at the back by telling them that there was only a very small supply of meat and that not half the people waiting would get a share of it. The crowd became very uneasy and impatient, and before the police on guard could prevent it, those standing in front organized an attack on the hall which the salesmen inside were powerless to repel. Everyone seized whatever he could lay his hands on, and in a few moments all the eatables had vanished. In the confusion stands were overturned, and the police forced back the aggressors and closed the gates. The crowds waiting outside, many of whom had been there all night and were soaked through, angrily demanded their due, whereupon the mounted police made a little charge, provoking a wild panic and much screaming and cursing. At length I reached home, depressed and disgusted, with a broken umbrella and only one galosh.

We housewives have during the last four years grown accustomed to standing in queues; we have also grown accustomed to being obliged to go home with empty hands and still emptier stomachs. Only very rarely do those who are sent away disappointed give cause for police intervention. On the other hand, it happens more and more frequently that one of the pale, tired women who have been waiting for hours collapses from exhaustion. The turbulent scenes which occurred to-day inside and outside the large market hall seemed to me perfectly natural. In my dejected mood the patient apathy with which we housewives endure seemed to me blameworthy and incomprehensible.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What is the soldier's view of the war? Would you characterize the letter as optimistic or pessimistic? Why?
2. What similarities and differences do you see in the experiences of the soldier and the Viennese woman?
3. Why does the Viennese woman describe the housewives as "blameworthy" and "incomprehensible"?

Sources: Alfons Ankenbrand, in *German Students' War Letters*, ed. A. F. Wedd (London: Methuen, 1929), pp. 72–73; *Blockade: The Diary of an Austrian Middle-Class Woman, 1914–1924*, trans. Winifred Ray (New York: Ray Long & Richard Smith, 1932), pp. 63–68.

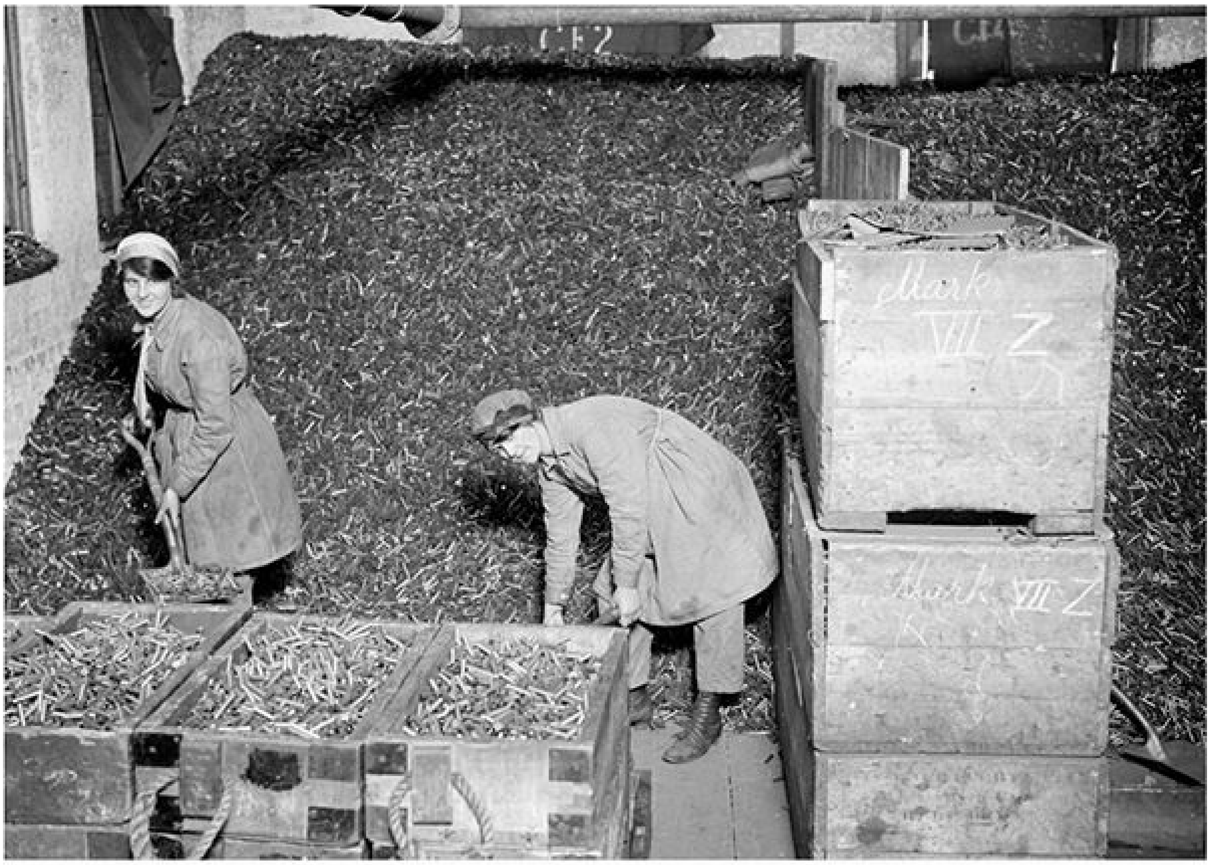
The Social Impact of War

The social impact of total war was no less profound than the economic impact, though again there were important national variations. The military's insatiable needs — nearly every belligerent power resorted to conscription to put soldiers in the field — created a tremendous demand for workers at home. This situation brought about momentous changes.

One such change was increased power and prestige for labor unions. Unions cooperated with war governments in return for real participation in important decisions. This entry of labor leaders into policymaking councils paralleled the entry of socialist leaders into the war governments.

Women's roles also changed dramatically. In every belligerent country, large numbers of women went to work in industry, transportation, and offices. A former parlor maid reportedly told her boyfriend as he prepared to leave for France:

> While you are at the front firing shells, I am going into a munitions factory to make shells. The job will not be as well paid as domestic service, it will not be as comfortable as domestic service; it will be much harder work, but it will be my bit, and every time you fire your gun you can remember I am helping to make the shells.[7]


© TopFoto/The Image Works

Women Working at a Munitions Factory These women, working at the Woolwich munitions factory in southeast London, are shoveling thousands of cartridge shells into wooden boxes to be shipped to the front in France. Women worked in munitions factories in all the warring nations, handling highly explosive materials and toxic chemicals and operating dangerous machines. Women's war efforts were rewarded in some countries after the war when they received the right to vote.

Moreover, women became highly visible — not only as munitions workers but as bank tellers, mail carriers, and even police officers. Women also served as nurses and doctors at the front. (See "Individuals in Society: Vera Brittain," page 832.) In general, the war greatly expanded the range of women's activities and changed attitudes toward women. Although at war's end most women were quickly let go and their jobs were given back to the returning soldiers, their many-sided war effort caused Britain, Germany, the United States, and Austria to grant them the right to vote after the war.

Recent scholarship has shown, however, that traditional views of gender — of male roles and female roles — remained remarkably resilient and that there was a significant conservative backlash in the postwar years. Even as the war progressed, many men, particularly soldiers, grew increasingly hostile toward women. Some were angry at mothers, wives, and girlfriends for urging them to enlist and fight in the horrible war.

Soldiers with wives and girlfriends back home grew increasingly convinced that they were cheating on them. Others worried that factory or farm jobs had been taken by women and there would be no work when they returned home. Men were also concerned that if women received the vote at war's end, they would vote themselves into power. These concerns, as well as the fear that women would lose their femininity, are reflected in a letter from Private G. F. Wilby, serving in East Africa, to his fiancée in London, Ethel Baxter, in August 1918:

> Whatever you do, don't go in Munitions or anything in that line — just fill a Woman's position and remain a woman. . . . I want to return and find the same loveable little woman that I left behind — not a coarse thing more of a man than a woman.[8]

War also promoted social equality, blurring class distinctions and lessening the gap between rich and poor. Greater equality was reflected in full employment, rationing according to physical needs, and a sharing of hardships. Society became more uniform and more egalitarian.

INDIVIDUALS IN SOCIETY

Vera Brittain

Hulton Archive/Getty Images

Vera Brittain was marked forever by her wartime experiences.

ALTHOUGH THE GREAT WAR UPENDED millions of lives, it struck Europe’s young people with the greatest force. For Vera Brittain (1893–1970), as for so many in her generation, the war became life’s defining experience, which she captured forever in her famous autobiography, *Testament of Youth* (1933).

Raised in a wealthy business family in northern England, Brittain bristled at small-town conventions and discrimination against women. She read voraciously and dreamed of being a successful writer. After finishing boarding school and against her father’s objections, Brittain passed Oxford’s rigorous entry exams and won a scholarship to its women’s college. She also fell in love with Roland Leighton, an equally brilliant student from a literary family and the best friend of her younger brother, Edward. All three, along with two more close friends, Victor Richardson and Geoffrey Thurlow, confidently prepared to enter Oxford in late 1914.

But war intervened and Brittain shared with millions of Europeans a thrilling surge of patriotic support for her government. She wrote in her diary that her "great fear" was that England would declare its neutrality and commit the "grossest treachery" toward France.* She supported Roland's decision to enlist, agreeing with her sweetheart's romantic view of war as "very ennobling and very beautiful." Later, exchanging anxious letters with Roland in France in 1915, Brittain began to see the conflict in more personal, human terms, and wondered if any victory or defeat could be worth Roland's life.

Struggling to quell her doubts, Brittain redoubled her commitment to England's cause and volunteered as an army nurse. For the next three years she served with distinction in military hospitals in London, Malta, and northern France, repeatedly torn between the vision of noble sacrifice and the reality of human tragedy. She lost her sexual inhibitions caring for mangled male bodies, and she longed to consummate her love with Roland. Awaiting his return on leave on Christmas Day, 1915, she was greeted instead with a telegram: Roland had been killed two days before.

Roland's death was the first of several devastating blows that eventually overwhelmed Brittain's idealistic patriotism. In 1917 first Geoffrey and then Victor died from gruesome wounds. In early 1918, as the last great German offensive filled her war-zone hospital with maimed and dying German prisoners, the bone-weary Vera felt a common humanity and saw only more victims. Weeks later, her brother Edward died in action. When the war ended, she was, she said, a "complete automaton," with her "deepest emotions paralyzed if not dead."

Returning to Oxford and finishing her studies, Brittain gradually recovered. She formed a deep, restorative friendship with another talented woman writer, Winifred Holtby; published novels and articles; and became a leader in the feminist campaign for gender equality. She also married and had children. But her wartime memories remained. Finally, Brittain succeeded in coming to grips with them in *Testament of Youth*, her powerful antiwar autobiography. The unflinching narrative spoke to the experiences of an entire generation and became a runaway bestseller. Above all, perhaps, Brittain captured the ambivalent, contradictory character of the war, in which millions of young people found excitement, courage, and common purpose but succeeded only in destroying their lives with their superhuman efforts and futile sacrifices. Becoming ever more committed to pacifism, Brittain opposed England's entry into World War II.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What were Brittain’s initial feelings toward the war? How and why did they change as the conflict continued?
2. Why did Brittain volunteer as a nurse, as many women did? How might wartime nursing have influenced women of her generation?
3. In portraying the ambivalent, contradictory character of World War I for Europe’s youth, was Brittain describing the contradictory character of all modern warfare? Explain your answer.

*Quoted in the excellent study by P. Berry and M. Bostridge, *Vera Brittain: A Life* (London: Virago Press, 2001), p. 59; additional quotations are from pp. 80 and 136.

Growing Political Tensions

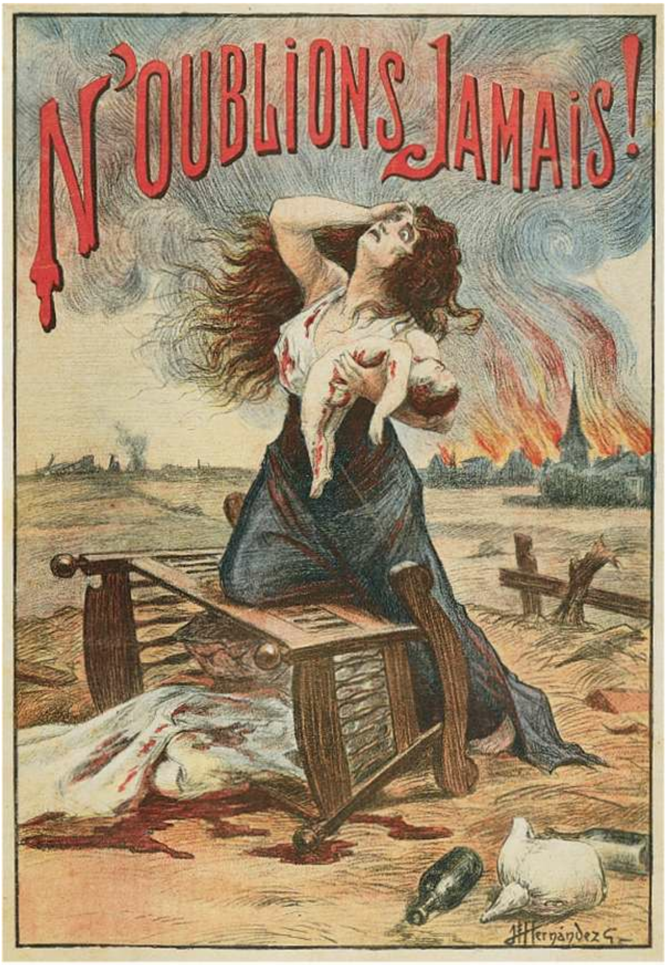
During the war's first two years, belief in a just cause and patriotic nationalism united soldiers and civilians behind their various national leaders. Each government employed censorship and propaganda to maintain popular support. (See "Analyzing the Evidence: "Never Forget!" page 833.)

By spring 1916, however, cracks were appearing under the strain of total war. In April Irish nationalists in Dublin unsuccessfully rose up against British rule in the Easter Rebellion. Strikes and protest marches over inadequate food flared up on every home front. In April 1917 nearly half the French infantry divisions mutinied for two months after suffering enormous losses in the Second Battle of the Aisne. Later that year there was a massive mutiny of Russian soldiers supporting the revolution.

The Central Powers experienced the most strain. In October 1916 a young socialist assassinated Austria's chief minister. By 1917 German political unity was also collapsing, and prewar social conflicts were re-emerging. A coalition of Socialists and Catholics in the Reichstag called for a compromise "peace without annexations or reparations." Thus Germany, like its ally Austria-Hungary and its enemy France, began to crack in 1917. But it was Russia that collapsed first and saved the Central Powers — for a time.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

“Never Forget!”


N'OUBLIONS JAMAIS!
JHFernández G.

© Mary Evans Picture Library/The Image Works

Belgium’s neutrality had been guaranteed in the Treaty of London (1839), but when the Schlieffen plan called for Germany to violate this neutrality, the German chancellor famously referred to the treaty as just a “scrap of paper.” This 1915 French poster with a passionate headline (meaning “Never Forget!”) dramatizes Germany’s brutal invasion of Belgium in 1914 and its treatment of civilians. The “Rape of Belgium” featured prominently — and effectively — in anti-German propaganda.

Many historians on both sides at the time and for some time after dismissed the more extreme accounts of the horrors of the invasion as exagerated Allied propaganda. It is true that British and American propaganda publicists at the time did dwell on gruesome reports of child abuse and the rape and perverse mutilation of women perpetuated by German soldiers more than on accounts of their deliberate acts of arson and destruction of priceless archives, homes, buildings, and factories. Recent scholarship, however, has confirmed that the Germans did commit large-scale atrocities, which would now be considered war crimes, including the extensive abuse and rape of women. It is estimated that in Belgium the Germans were responsible for killing 23,700 civilians, injuring more than 30,000 civilians, and making more than 18,000 children orphans. The Germans also carried out the wanton mass destruction of civilian property, and much of Belgium’s industrial infrastucture was either destroyed or looted and taken back to Germany. The “Rape of Belgium,” in the opinion of scholars today, was very real.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. How is neutral Belgium personified? What do you think the artist’s purpose was?
2. How did governments use propaganda and other means to unite people for the war effort?

The Russian Revolution

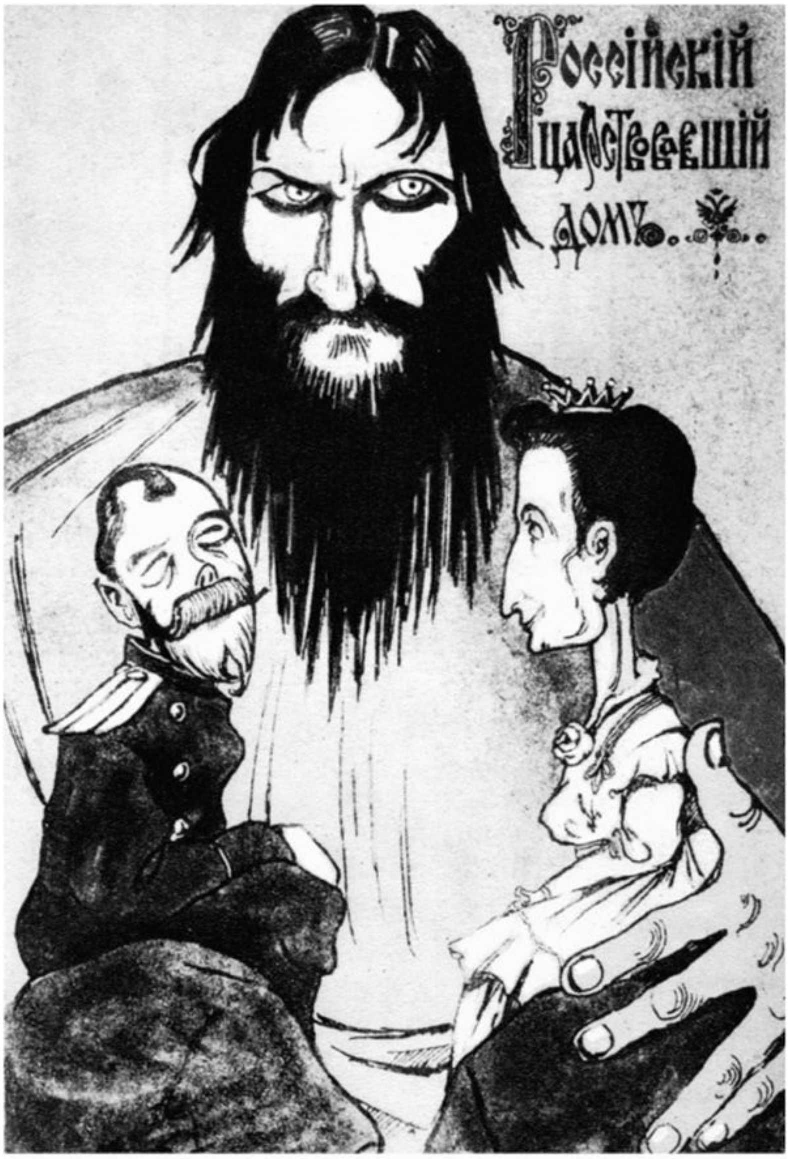
What factors led to the Russian Revolution, and what was its outcome?

The 1917 Russian Revolution, directly related to the Great War, opened a new era with a radically new prototype of state and society that changed the course of the twentieth century.

The Fall of Imperial Russia

Imperial Russia in 1914 was still predominantly a rural and nonurbanized society. Industrialization came late to Russia and, although rapidly expanding, was still in its early stages. Peasants still made up perhaps 80 percent of the population. Besides the royal family and the nobility, the rest of Russian society consisted of the bourgeoisie (the elite, educated upper and middle classes, such as liberal politicians, propertied and professional classes, military officer corps, and landowners) and the proletariat (the urban working class, which remained small, and rank-and-file soldiers and sailors). These two factions contended for power when the tsar abdicated in 1917.

Like their allies and their enemies, Russians embraced war with patriotic enthusiasm in 1914. For a moment Russia was united, but soon the war began to take its toll. Russia quickly exhausted its supplies of shells and ammunition, and better-equipped German armies inflicted terrible losses — 1.5 million casualties and nearly 1 million captured in 1915 alone. Russian soldiers were sent to the front without rifles; they were told to find their arms among the dead. The Duma (DOO-muh), Russia's lower house of parliament, and *zemstvos* (ZEMST-vohs), local governments, led the effort toward full mobilization on the home front. These efforts improved the military situation, but overall Russia mobilized less effectively for total war than did the other warring nations.



© INTERFOTO/Alamy Stock Photo

“The Russian Ruling House” This wartime cartoon captures the ominous, spellbinding power of Rasputin over Tsar Nicholas II and his wife, Alexandra. Rasputin’s manipulations disgusted the Russian public and contributed to the monarchy’s collapse.

Although limited industrial capacity was a serious handicap in a war against highly industrialized Germany, Russia’s real problem was leadership. A kindly, slightly dull-witted man, Tsar Nicholas II (r. 1894–1917) distrusted the moderate Duma and rejected any democratic sharing of power. As a result, the Duma, whose members came from the elite classes, and the popular masses became increasingly critical of the tsar’s leadership and the appalling direction of the war. In response, Nicholas (who had no military background) traveled to the front in September 1915 to lead Russia’s armies — and thereafter received all the blame for Russian losses.

His departure was a fatal turning point. His German-born wife, Tsarina Alexandra, took control of the government and the home front. She tried to rule absolutely in her husband's absence with an uneducated Siberian preacher, Rasputin (ra-SPOO-tin), as her most trusted adviser. In a desperate attempt to right the situation, three members of the high aristocracy murdered Rasputin in December 1916. In this convulsive atmosphere, the government slid steadily toward revolution.

Large-scale strikes, demonstrations, and protest marches were now commonplace, as were bread shortages. On March 8, 1917, a women's bread march in Petrograd (formerly St. Petersburg) started riots, which spread throughout the city. While his ministers fled the city, the tsar ordered that peace be restored, but discipline broke down, and the soldiers and police joined the revolutionary crowd. The Duma declared a provisional government on March 12, 1917. Three days later, Nicholas abdicated.

The Provisional Government

The **March Revolution** was joyfully accepted throughout the country. A new government formed in May 1917, with the understanding that an elected democratic government, ruling under a new constitution drafted by a future Constituent Assembly, would replace it when circumstances permitted. The provisional government established equality before the law; freedom of religion, speech, and assembly; the right of unions to organize and strike; and other classic liberal measures.

March Revolution The first phase of the Russian Revolution of 1917, in which unplanned uprisings led to the abdication of the tsar and the establishment of a provisional democratic government that was then overthrown in November by Lenin and the Bolsheviks.

The provisional government soon made two fatal decisions, however, that turned the people against it. First, it refused to confiscate large landholdings and give them to peasants, fearing that such drastic action in the countryside would only complete the disintegration of Russia's peasant army. Second, the government decided that the continuation of war was still the all-important national duty and that international alliances had to be honored. Neither decision was popular. The peasants believed that when the tsar's autocratic rule ended, so too did the nobles' title to the land, which was now theirs for the taking. The army believed that the

March Revolution meant the end of the war.

From its first day, the provisional government had to share power (dual power) with a formidable rival that represented the popular masses — the **Petrograd Soviet** (or council) of Workers’ and Soldiers’ Deputies, a huge, fluctuating mass organization composed of two to three thousand workers, soldiers, and socialist intellectuals. This counter-government, or half government, issued its own radical orders, further weakening the provisional government. Most famous of these was Army Order No. 1, issued in March 1917, which stripped officers of their authority and gave power to elected committees of common soldiers. (See “Thinking Like a Historian: Russian Views of War and Revolution,” page 836.)

Petrograd Soviet A counter-government to the 1917 Russian provisional government, this organization was a huge, fluctuating mass meeting of two to three thousand workers, soldiers, and socialist intellectuals.

Order No. 1 led to a total collapse of army discipline. Peasant soldiers began “voting with their feet,” to use Lenin’s graphic phrase, returning to their villages to get a share of the land that peasants were seizing from landowners, either through peasant soviets (councils) or by force, in a great agrarian upheaval. Through the summer of 1917, the provisional government, led from July by the socialist Alexander Kerensky, became increasingly more conservative and authoritarian as it tried to maintain law and order and protect property (such as nobles’ land and factories). The government was being threatened from one side by an advancing German army and from the other by proletarian forces, urban and rural alike, shouting “All power to the soviets!” and calling for an even more radical revolution.

THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN

Russian Views of War and Revolution

The provisional government's fatal decision to continue the war to protect Mother Russia after Tsar Nicholas's abdication was initially greeted with some enthusiasm. As casualties continued to mount, however, the Russian army turned against Alexander Kerensky and his government. By the summer of 1917 women and children were being recruited as soldiers, the countryside was in turmoil, and the army was in open rebellion.

1 **U.S. Army, intelligence report on conditions of the troops at the front, October 2–13, 1917.** After America entered the war in April 1917, intelligence reports about the war were more important than ever. In late summer to early fall of 1917 the U.S. Army intelligence service reported that the majority of Russian soldiers had abandoned all loyalty to the provisional government and had lost all respect for its authority.

■ *Northern Front.* The situation in the army has not changed and may be described as a complete lack of confidence in the officers and the higher commanding personnel. The belief is growing among the soldiers that they cannot be punished for what they do. . . . The influence of Bolshevik ideas is spreading very rapidly. To this must be added a general weariness, an irritability, and a desire for peace at any price. . . .

12th Army. The press of the political parties is no longer influencing the soldier masses. Again and again one hears the orders of the Provisional Government severely criticized. The committee of the 95th Regiment . . . declared Kerensky a traitor. . . .

Apart from the Bolshevik not a single [political] movement has any popularity. Those who read moderate newspapers are looked upon as [followers of the] "bourgeoisie" and "counter-revolutionists." An intensive agitation is being conducted in favor of an immediate cessation of military operations on all fronts. Whenever a whole regiment or battalion refuses to carry out a military order, the fact is immediately made known to other parts of the army through special agitators. . . .

Western Front. . . . Because of general war weariness, bad nourishment, mistrust of officers, etc., there has developed an intense defeatist agitation accompanied by refusals to carry out orders, threats to the commanding personnel, and attempts to fraternize with Germans. Everywhere one hears voices calling for immediate peace, because, they say, no one will stay in the trenches during the winter. . . . [The rank and file hold] a deep-rooted conviction . . . that fraternization with the enemy is a sure way of attaining peace. . . .

The following general conclusions may be drawn from the reports of the commissars: The approaching winter campaign has accelerated the disintegration of the army and increased the longing for peace. It is necessary to leave nothing undone which might supply the soldiers with food, shoes, and winter clothing; to see that the army is reduced in numbers; to improve the discipline in the reserve regiments. Otherwise the ranks will be filled with such material as will lead to the complete demoralization and destruction of the army.

2 **Rural landowners, letter on revolt in the Russian countryside, June 1917.** In June 1917, following the March Revolution and the abdication of the tsar, landowners in a rural county in the Russian countryside sent this memorandum on the current situation to the Chief Land Committee in Petrograd. It reports that the peasants are taking the issue of land and agricultural reform into their own hands, rather than waiting for action by the provisional government.

■ The old men, the sick, and the women remaining in the countryside have accepted the overthrow calmly, and consider it to be the result of the Tsar's foolish management of the country. It might have been expected that the demand for a social revolution would not penetrate into the countryside soon and would at first remain only the demand of the army and the workers. But the replacement of the entire local administration, the elimination of the police and the usual authorities in the villages, and the amnesty granted criminals hastened the advent of the revolution. . . .

The county committee destroyed the right to property, the right to the management and use of one's belongings, contractual rights, without first consulting the landowners. Thus the county committee lowered rental prices on land by 25 per cent. . . . The district committee went even further and lowered prices by 60 per cent. In some localities the peasants seized the land free.

3 **Resolutions of the Petrograd Garrison, November 1917.** On November 3, at a meeting of the Petrograd Soviet, which Trotsky attended, the Petrograd military garrison passed resolutions that sound like a Bolshevik revolutionary manifesto.

■ Welcoming all the decisions of the Petrograd Soviet the Petrograd Garrison hereby declares:

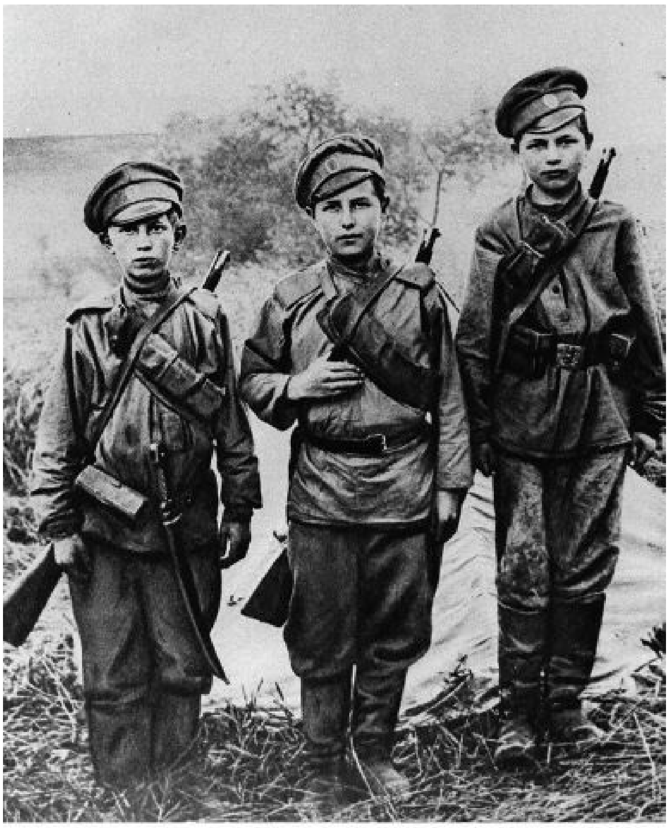
The time for words is past. The country is on the verge of ruin. The army demands peace, the peasants land, and the workers bread and work. The Coalition Government is against the people. It became the tool of the enemies of the people. The time for words is past. The All-Russian Congress of Soviets must take the power into its own hands in order to give to the people peace, land, and bread. Only thus can the safety of the revolution and of the people be insured.

All power to the Soviets!
An immediate armistice on all fronts!
The land to the peasants!
An honest and prompt convocation of the Constituent Assembly!

The Petrograd Garrison gives its solemn promise to place at the disposal of the All-Russian Congress its entire strength even to the last man.

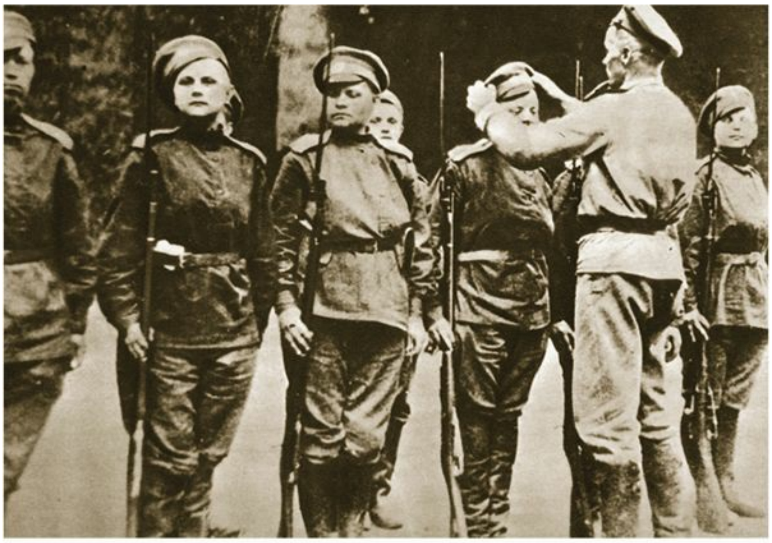
You may count on us — you who are the legitimate representatives of the soldiers, workers, and peasants. We are all at our posts ready *to conquer or to die!*

4 **Boy soldiers of the Russian army, ca. 1917.** Eager young boys have always lied about their age to serve in wars, and boy soldiers fought for all the opposing forces in the Great War. Usually, however, they were sent home when discovered. Toward the end of the war, Russia sent young boys off to fight in their exhausted and depleted armies.



Private Collection/Peter Newark Military Pictures/Bridgeman Images

5 **First Russian Women's Battalion of Death, 1917** After the March Revolution overthrew Tsar Nicholas, the provisional government tried to rally the exhausted Russian soldiers by creating all-female combat units. They were known as the Battalions of Death because they were expected to lead the way into battle.



Private Collection/The Stapleton Collection/Bridgeman Images

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. According to the U.S. Army's report in Source 1, what problems did the Russian military leadership face in early October 1917? How were these problems related to political events in Russia at the time?
2. What was the peasants' main concern in the countryside, as described in the landowners' letter in Source 2? How did the peasants handle this issue?
3. What were the Petrograd Garrison's major demands, as outlined in the resolutions in Source 3? How did these reflect Lenin and the Bolsheviks' revolutionary principles?
4. How might the recruitment of child soldiers, like those shown in Source 4, have affected the morale of the Russian people and their support for the war at home and at the front?
5. Why would the provisional government specifically recruit all-female combat units, as in Source 5? What effect might their presence on the battlefield have had on the male troops?

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

Using the sources above, along with what you have learned in class and in this chapter, write a short essay about the state of Russian society in late summer to early fall of 1917. Why might the majority of Russians have been ready for another revolution? What major issues — economic, social, the war, government — were the people most upset about?

Sources: (1) James Bunyan and H. H. Fisher, *The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917–1918: Documents and Materials* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1934), pp. 24–25; (2) Thomas Riha, ed., *Readings in Russian Civilization,* 2d ed. Vol. 3: *Soviet Russia, 1917–1963* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969): pp. 507, 509. (3) Bunyan and Fisher, *The Bolshevik Revolution,* p. 79.

Lenin and the Bolshevik Revolution

According to most traditional twentieth-century accounts of the two Russian revolutions in 1917 written by both anti-Soviet Russian and Western scholars, in March Russia successfully overthrew the tsar’s autocratic rule and replaced it with a liberal, Western-style democracy. Then in November a small group of hard-core radicals, led by Vladimir Lenin, somehow staged a second revolution and installed an atheistic Communist government. More recently, however, and especially since the Soviet archives were opened in the 1990s following the dissolution of the Soviet Union, a different picture has emerged. Scholars are recognizing that the second revolution had widespread popular support and that Lenin was often following events as much as leading them.

Born into the middle class, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin (1870–1924) became an enemy of imperial Russia when his older brother was executed for plotting to kill the tsar in 1887. As a law student Lenin studied Marxist doctrines with religious ferocity. Exiled to Siberia for three years because of socialist agitation, Lenin lived in western Europe after his release for seventeen years and developed his own revolutionary interpretations of Marxist thought (see “The Birth of Socialism” in Chapter 24).

Three interrelated ideas were central for Lenin. First, he stressed that only violent revolution could destroy capitalism. Second, Lenin believed that a socialist revolution was possible even in an agrarian country like Russia. According to classical Marxist theory, a society must reach the capitalist, industrial stage of development before its urban workers, the proletariat, can rise up and create a Communist society. Lenin thought that although Russia’s industrial working class was small, the peasants, who made up the bulk of the army and navy, were also potential revolutionaries. Third, Lenin believed that at a given moment revolution was determined more by human leadership than by vast historical laws. He called for a highly disciplined workers’ party, strictly controlled by a dedicated elite of intellectuals and full-time revolutionaries like him. This “vanguard of the proletariat” would not stop until revolution brought it to power.

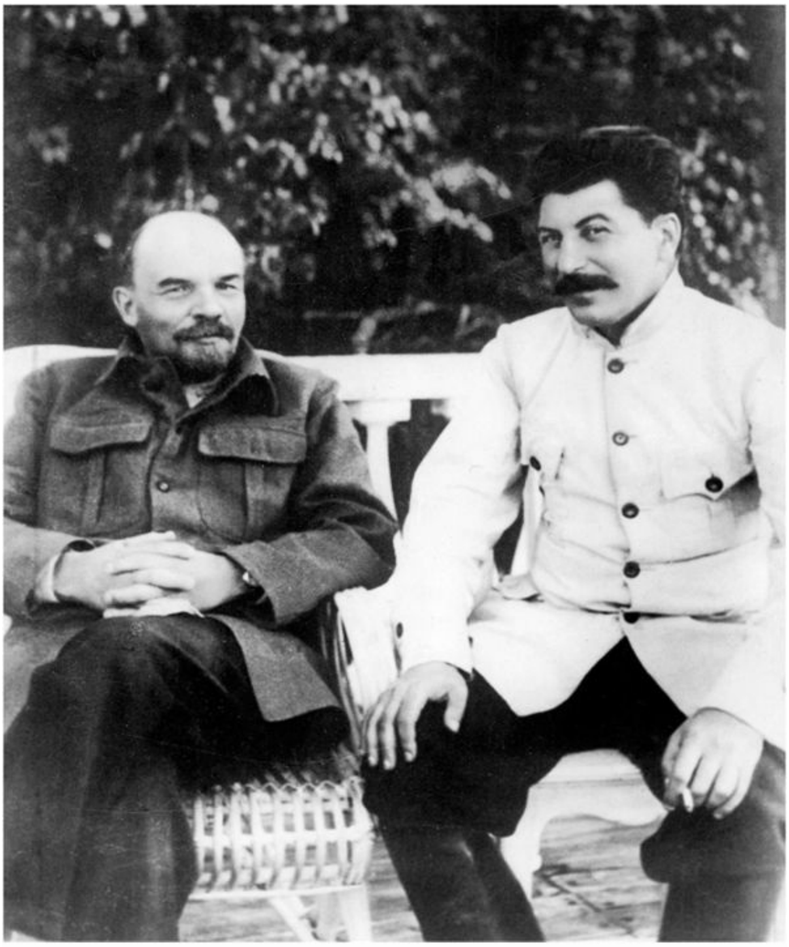
Lenin’s ideas did not go unchallenged by other Russian Marxists. At a Social Democratic Labor Party congress in London in 1903, Lenin demanded a small, disciplined, elitist party; his opponents wanted a more democratic party with mass membership. The Russian Marxists split into two rival factions. Because his side won one crucial vote at the congress, Lenin’s camp became known as **Bolsheviks**, or “majority group”; his opponents were Mensheviks, or “minority group.”

Bolsheviks The “majority group”; this was Lenin’s camp of the Russian party of Marxist socialism.

In March 1917 Lenin and nearly all the other leading Bolsheviks were living in exile abroad or in Russia’s remotest corners. After the March Revolution, the German government provided safe passage for Lenin from his exile in Switzerland across Germany and back into Russia, hoping he would undermine Russia’s sagging war effort. They were not disappointed. Arriving in Petrograd on April 16, Lenin attacked at once, issuing his famous April Theses. To the Petrograd Bolsheviks’ great astonishment, he rejected all cooperation with what he called the “bourgeois” provisional government and instead called for exactly what the popular masses themselves were demanding: “All power to the soviets!” and “Peace, Land, Bread!” Bolshevik support increased through the summer, culminating in mass demonstrations in Petrograd on July 16–20 by soldiers, sailors, and workers. Lenin and the Bolshevik Central Committee had not planned these demonstrations and were completely unprepared to support them. Nonetheless, the provisional government labeled Lenin and other leading Bolsheviks traitors and ordered them arrested. Lenin had to flee to Finland.

Meanwhile, however, the provisional government itself was collapsing. The coalition between liberals and socialists was breaking apart as their respective power bases — bourgeoisie and proletariat — demanded they move further to the right or left. Prime Minister Kerensky’s unwavering support for the war lost him all credit with the army, the only force that might have saved him and democratic government in Russia. In early September an attempted right-wing military coup failed as Petrograd workers organized themselves as Red Guards to defend the city and then convinced the coup’s soldiers to join them. Lenin, from his exile in Finland, now called for an armed Bolshevik insurrection before the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets met in early November.

In October the Bolsheviks gained a fragile majority in the Petrograd Soviet. Lenin did not return to Russia until mid-October and even then remained in hiding. It was Lenin’s supporter Leon Trotsky (1879–1940) who brilliantly executed the Bolshevik seizure of power. On November 6 militant Trotsky followers joined with trusted Bolshevik soldiers to seize government buildings and arrest provisional government members. That evening Lenin came out of hiding and took control of the revolution. The following day revolutionary forces seized the Winter Palace, and Kerensky capitulated. At the Congress of Soviets, a Bolshevik majority declared that all power had passed to the soviets and named Lenin head of the new government.



Gorki Haynes Archive/Popperfoto/Getty Images

Lenin and Stalin at Lenin’s Country House at Gorki This controversial photo, supposedly taken by Lenin’s sister in 1922, two years before Lenin’s death, has stirred much scholarly debate. Some argue that Stalin had himself airbrushed into the photo later to support his claim as Lenin’s legitimate successor. Even if the photo is authentic, it appears to have been retouched later, on Stalin’s orders, to clear his severely pockmarked face; to make his shorter and stiffer left arm, injured in a childhood accident, appear normal; and to make him taller (he was only 5 feet 4 inches tall) and larger than the smaller and more passive-looking Lenin.

The Bolsheviks came to power for three key reasons. First, by late 1917 democracy had given way to anarchy as the popular masses no longer supported the provisional government. Second, in Lenin and Trotsky the Bolsheviks had truly superior leaders who were utterly determined to provoke a Marxist revolution. Third, the Bolsheviks appealed to soldiers, urban workers, and peasants who were exhausted by war and eager for socialism.

Dictatorship and Civil War

The Bolsheviks' true accomplishment was not taking power but keeping it and conquering the chaos they had helped create. Once again, Lenin was able to profit from developments over which he and the Bolsheviks had no control. Since summer 1917 an unstoppable peasant revolution had swept across Russia, as peasants divided among themselves the estates of the landlords and the church. Thus Lenin's first law, which supposedly gave land to the peasants, actually merely approved what peasants were already doing. Lenin then met urban workers' greatest demand with a decree giving local workers' committees direct control of individual factories.

The Bolsheviks proclaimed their regime a "provisional workers' and peasants' government," promising that a freely elected Constituent Assembly would draw up a new constitution. However, when Bolshevik delegates won fewer than one-fourth of the seats in free elections in November, the Constituent Assembly was permanently disbanded by Bolshevik soldiers acting under Lenin's orders.

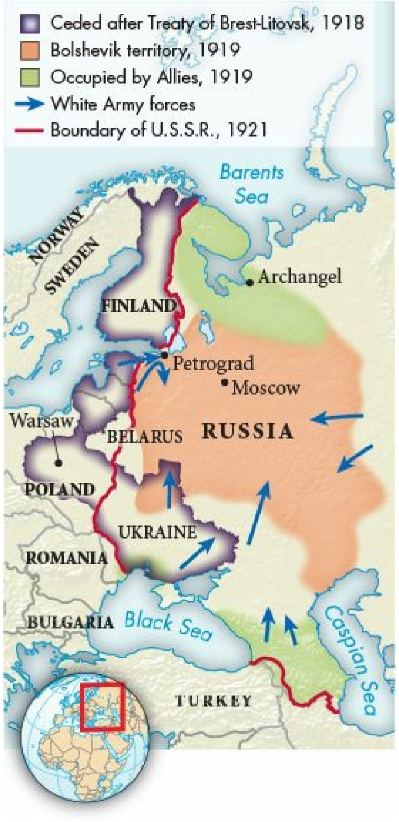
Lenin then moved to make peace with Germany, at any price. That price was very high. Germany demanded the Soviet government surrender all its western territories in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (BREHST lih-TAWFSK) in March 1918. With Germany's defeat eight months later, the treaty was nullified, but it allowed Lenin time to escape the disaster of continued war and pursue his goal of absolute political power for the Bolsheviks — now renamed Communists — within Russia.

KEY EVENTS OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

1914	Russia enters World War I
1916–1917	Tsarist government in crisis
March 1917	March Revolution; Duma declares a provisional government; tsar abdicates; Petrograd Soviet issues Army Order No. 1
April 1917	Lenin returns from exile
October 1917	Bolsheviks gain a majority in the Petrograd Soviet
November 7, 1917	Bolsheviks seize power; Lenin named head of new Bolshevik government
1917–1922	Civil war

March 1918	Treaty of Brest-Litovsk; Trotsky becomes head of the Red Army
1922	Civil war ends; Lenin and the Bolshevik Communists take control of Russia

The war’s end and the demise of the democratically elected Constituent Assembly revealed Bolshevik rule as a dictatorship. “Long live the [democratic] soviets; down with the Bolsheviks” became a popular slogan. Officers of the old army organized so-called White opposition to the Bolsheviks in southern Russia, Ukraine, Siberia, and west of Petrograd and plunged the country into civil war from November 1917 to October 1922. The Whites came from many political factions and were united only by their hatred of the Bolsheviks — the Reds. In almost five years of fighting, 125,000 Reds and 175,000 Whites and Poles were killed before the Red Army, formed in March 1918 under Trotsky’s command, claimed final victory.


Ceded after Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, 1918
Bolshevik territory, 1919
Occupied by Allies, 1919
White Army forces
Boundary of U.S.S.R., 1921
Barents Sea
NORWAY
SWEDEN
FINLAND
Archangel
Petrograd
Moscow
Warsaw
BELARUS
RUSSIA
POLAND
UKRAINE
ROMANIA
BULGARIA
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
TURKEY

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin’s

The Russian Civil War, 1917–1922

The Bolsheviks' Red Army won for several reasons. Strategically, they controlled the center, while the disunited Whites attacked from the fringes. Moreover, the Whites' poorly defined political program failed to unite all of the Bolsheviks' foes under a progressive democratic banner. Most important, the Communists developed a better army, against which the divided Whites were no match.

The Bolsheviks also mobilized the home front. Establishing **War Communism** — the application of the total-war concept to a civil conflict — they seized grain from peasants, introduced rationing, nationalized all banks and industry, and required everyone to work. Although these measures contributed to a breakdown of normal economic activity, they also served to maintain labor discipline and to keep the Red Army supplied.

War Communism The application of the total-war concept to a civil conflict; the Bolsheviks seized grain from peasants, introduced rationing, nationalized all banks and industry, and required everyone to work.

Revolutionary terror also contributed to the Communist victory. The old tsarist secret police was re-established as the Cheka (CHEHK-kah), which hunted down and executed thousands of real or supposed foes, including the tsar and his family. During the so-called Red Terror of 1918–1920, the Cheka sowed fear, silenced opposition, and executed an estimated 250,000 "class enemies."

Finally, foreign military intervention in the civil war ended up helping the Communists. The Allies sent troops to prevent war materiel that they had sent to the provisional government from being captured by the Germans. After the Soviet government nationalized all foreign-owned factories without compensation and refused to pay foreign debts, Western governments began to support White armies. While these efforts did little to help the Whites' cause, they did permit the Communists to appeal to the ethnic Russians' patriotic nationalism.

The War’s Consequences

What were the global consequences of the First World War?

In spring 1918 the Germans launched their last major attack against France and failed. A defeated Germany finally ageed to an armistice on November 11, following ones already signed by the Austrian-Hungarian (November 3) and Ottoman (October 30) leaders. All three monarchies fell and their empires broke apart. In January 1919 the victorious Western Allies came together in Paris hoping to establish a lasting peace.

Laboring intensively, the Allies soon worked out peace terms with Germany, created the peacekeeping League of Nations, and reorganized eastern Europe and southwest Asia. The 1919 peace settlement, however, failed to establish a lasting peace or to resolve the issues that had brought the world to war. World War I and the treaties that ended it shaped the course of the twentieth century, often in horrible ways. Surely this was the ultimate tragedy of the Great War that cost $332 billion and left 10 million people dead and another 20 million wounded.

The End of the War

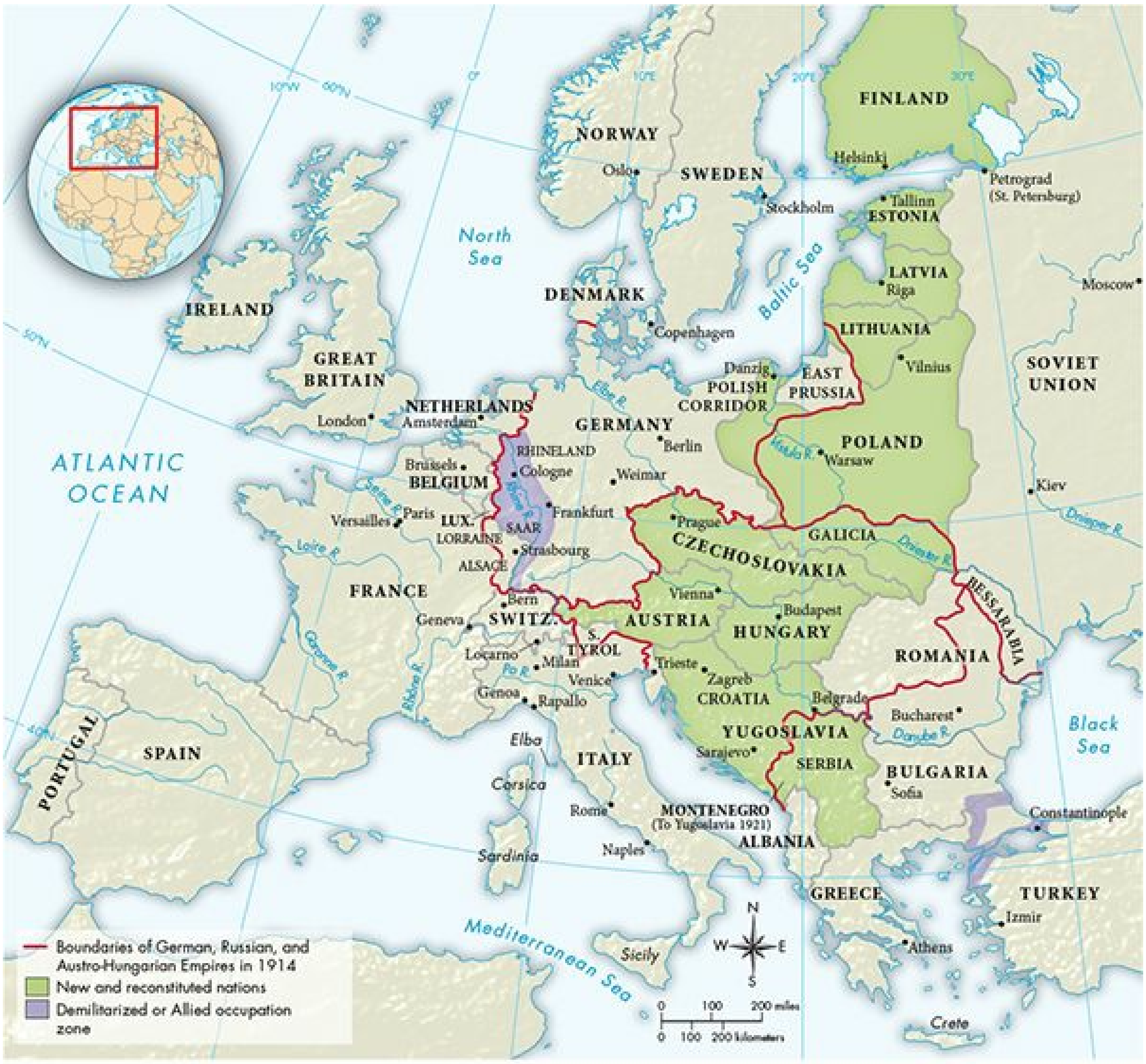
Peace and an end to the war did not come easily. Victory over revolutionary Russia had temporarily boosted sagging German morale, and in spring 1918 the German army attacked France once more. The German offensive was turned back in July at the Second Battle of the Marne, where 140,000 fresh American soldiers saw action. Adding 2 million men in arms to the war effort by August, the late but massive American intervention decisively tipped the scales in favor of Allied victory.

By September British, French, and American armies were advancing steadily on all fronts. On October 4 the German emperor formed a new, more liberal German government to sue for peace. As negotiations over an armistice dragged on, the frustrated German people rose up. On November 3 sailors in Kiel (KEEL) mutinied, and throughout northern Germany soldiers and workers established revolutionary councils on the Russian soviet model. With army discipline collapsing, Kaiser Wilhelm abdicated and fled to Holland. Socialist leaders in Berlin proclaimed a German republic on November 9 and agreed to tough Allied terms of surrender. The armistice went into effect at 11 o’clock on November 11, 1918.

The Paris Peace Treaties

Seventy delegates from twenty-seven nations attended the opening of the

Paris Peace Conference at the Versailles (vayr-SIGH) Palace on January 18, 1919. By August 1920 five major treaties with the defeated powers had been agreed upon. The most well-known, the Treaty of Versailles, laid out peace terms with Germany and also included the Covenant of the League of Nations and an article establishing the International Labour Organization. The conference also yielded a number of minor treaties, unilateral declarations, bilateral treaties, and League of Nations mandates (Map 28.4). The delegates had met with great expectations. A young British diplomat later wrote that the victors "were journeying to Paris . . . to found a new order in Europe. We were preparing not Peace only, but Eternal Peace."[9]


FINLAND
NORWAY
SWEDEN
Helsinki
Petrograd (St. Petersburg)
Oslo
Stockholm
Tallinn
ESTONIA
North Sea
LATVIA
Riga
Moscow
DENMARK
Baltic Sea
IRELAND
Copenhagen
LITHUANIA
GREAT BRITAIN
Danzig
POLISH CORRIDOR
EAST PRUSSIA
Vilnius
SOVIET UNION
NETHERLANDS
Amsterdam
London
GERMANY
Elbe R.
Berlin
POLAND
Warsaw
Vistula R.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
RHINELAND
Cologne
Brussels
BELGIUM
Weimar
Kiev
Rhine R.
Seine R.
Paris
Versailles
LUX.
Frankfurt
Prague
Dnieper R.
SAAR
LORRAINE
Strasbourg
GALICIA
Loire R.
ALSACE
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
Dniester R.
FRANCE
Bern
Vienna
BESSARABIA
Geneva
SWITZ.
AUSTRIA
Budapest
HUNGARY
S. TYROL
Locarno
Milan
Trieste
ROMANIA
Po R.
Venice
Zagreb
Garonne R.
Rhône R.
Genoa
Rapallo
CROATIA
Belgrade
Bucharest
YUGOSLAVIA
Danube R.
Black Sea
Elba
Sarajevo
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
ITALY
SERBIA
BULGARIA
Corsica
Sofia
Rome
MONTENEGRO (To Yugoslavia 1921)
Constantinople
ALBANIA
Sardinia
Naples
GREECE
TURKEY
Izmir
Mediterranean Sea
Sicily
Athens
N
W
E
S
0 100 200 miles
0 100 200 kilometers
Crete
10°W
60°N
0°
10°E
20°E
30°E
50°N
40°N
Boundaries of German, Russian, and Austro-Hungarian Empires in 1914
New and reconstituted nations
Demilitarized or Allied occupation zone

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Mapping the Past

MAP 28.4 Territorial Changes in Europe After World War I The Great War brought tremendous changes to eastern Europe. Empires were shattered, new nations were established, and a dangerous power vacuum was created by the relatively weak states established between Germany and Soviet Russia.

ANALYZING THE MAP What territory did Germany lose, and to whom? What new independent states were formed from the old Russian Empire?

CONNECTIONS How were the principles of national self-determination applied to the redrawing of Europe after the war? Did this theory work out?

This idealism was strengthened by President Wilson's January 1918 peace proposal, his Fourteen Points. Wilson stressed national self-determination and the rights of small countries and called for the creation of a **League of Nations**, a permanent international organization designed to protect member states from aggression and avert future wars.

League of Nations A permanent international organization established during the 1919 Paris Peace Conference to protect member states from aggression and avert future wars.

The real powers at the conference were the "Big Three": the United States, Great Britain, and France. Germany and Russia were excluded, and Italy's role was limited. President Wilson wanted to immediately deal with the establishment of a League of Nations, while Prime Ministers Lloyd George of Great Britain and, especially, Georges Clemenceau (klem-uhn-soh) of France were primarily concerned with punishing Germany.

Although personally inclined to make a somewhat moderate peace with Germany, Lloyd George felt pressured for a victory worthy of the sacrifices of total war. As Rudyard Kipling summed up the general British feeling at war's end, the Germans were "a people with the heart of beasts."[10] For his part, Clemenceau wanted revenge and lasting security for France, which, he believed, required the creation of a buffer state between France and Germany, Germany's permanent demilitarization, and vast German reparations. Wilson, supported by Lloyd George, would hear none of this. In the end, Clemenceau agreed to a compromise, abandoning the French demand for a Rhineland buffer state in return for a formal defensive alliance with the United States and Great Britain.

On June 28, 1919, in the great Hall of Mirrors at Versailles (where Germany had forced France to sign the armistice ending the Franco-Prussian War), German representatives of the ruling moderate Social Democrats and the Catholic Party reluctantly signed the treaty.

Germany's African colonies were mandated to Great Britain, France, South Africa, and Belgium. Germany's hold over the Shandong Peninsula in China passed to Japan, provoking an eruption of outrage among Chinese nationalists (see "The Rise of Nationalist China" in Chapter 29). Germany's territorial losses within Europe were minor: Alsace-Lorraine was returned to France, and parts of Germany were ceded to the new Polish state (see Map 28.4). The treaty limited Germany's army to one hundred thousand men and allowed no new military fortifications in the Rhineland.

More harshly, the Allies demanded that Germany (with Austria) accept responsibility for the war and pay reparations equal to all civilian damages caused by the war, although the Allies left the actual reparations figure to be set at a later date when tempers had cooled. These much-criticized "war-guilt" and "reparations" clauses reflected British and French popular demands for revenge, but were bitterly resented by the German people.

The **Treaty of Versailles** and the other agreements reached in Paris were seen as the first steps toward re-establishing international order, albeit ones that favored the victorious Allies, and they would have far-reaching consequences for the remainder of the twentieth century and beyond.

Treaty of Versailles The 1919 peace settlement that ended World War I; it declared Germany responsible for the war, limited Germany's army to one hundred thousand men, and forced Germany to pay huge reparations.

In eastern Europe, Poland regained its independence (see Map 19.1), and the independent states of Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and a larger Romania were created out of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (see Map 28.4). A greatly expanded Serbian monarchy united Slavs in the western Balkans and took the name Yugoslavia.

Promises of independence made to Arab leaders were largely brushed aside, and Britain and France extended their power in the Middle East, taking advantage of the breakup of the Ottoman Empire. As League of Nations mandates, the French received Lebanon and Syria, and Britain took Iraq and Palestine. Palestine was to include a Jewish national homeland first promised by Britain in 1917 in the Balfour Declaration (see "Nationalist Movements in the Middle East" in Chapter 29). Only Hussein's Arab kingdom of Hejaz (hee-JAZ) received independence. These Allied acquisitions, although officially League of Nations mandates, were simply colonialism under another name. They left colonized peoples in the Middle East, Asia (see Chapter 29), and Africa bitterly disappointed and demonstrated that the age of Western and Eastern imperialism lived on.

American Rejection of the Versailles Treaty

The 1919 peace settlement was not perfect, but for war-shattered Europe it was an acceptable beginning. Moreover, Allied leaders wanted a quick settlement for another reason: they detested Lenin and feared his Bolshevik Revolution might spread. The remaining problems could be worked out in the future.

Such hopes were dashed, however, when the United States quickly reverted to its prewar preferences for isolationism and the U.S. Senate, led by Republican Henry Cabot Lodge, rejected the Versailles treaty on November 19, 1919. Wilson obstinately rejected all attempts at compromise on the treaty, ensuring that it would never be ratified in any form and that the United States would never join the League of Nations. Moreover, the Senate refused to ratify Wilson’s defensive alliance with France and Great Britain. Using U.S. action as an excuse, Great Britain also refused to ratify its defensive alliance with France. Betrayed by its allies, France stood alone, and the great hopes of early 1919 had turned to ashes by year’s end.

The Search for Peace and Political Stability, 1919–1929

How did leaders deal with the political dimensions of uncertainty and try to re-establish peace and prosperity in the interwar years?

The pursuit of real and lasting peace in the first half of the interwar years proved difficult for many reasons. Germany hated the Treaty of Versailles. France was fearful and isolated. Britain was undependable, and the United States had turned its back on Europe's problems. Eastern Europe was in ferment, and no one could predict Communist Russia's future. Moreover, the international economic situation was poor and was greatly complicated by war debts and disrupted patterns of trade. Yet for a time, from 1925 to late 1929, it appeared that peace and stability were within reach.

Germany and the Western Powers

Nearly all Germans and many other observers immediately and for decades after believed the Versailles treaty represented a harsh dictated peace and should be revised or repudiated as soon as possible. Many right-wing Germans, including Adolf Hitler, believed there had been no defeat; instead they believed German soldiers had been betrayed (*Dolchstoss* — "stabbed in the back") by liberals, Marxists, Jews, and other "November criminals" who had surrendered in order to seize power.

Historians have recently begun to reassess the treaty's terms, however, and many scholars currently view them as relatively reasonable. They argue that much of the German anger toward the Allies was based more on perception than reality. With the collapse of Austria-Hungary, the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, and the revolution in Russia, Germany emerged from the war an even stronger power in eastern Europe than before, and an economically stronger and more populated nation than France or Great Britain. Moreover, when contrasted with the extremely harsh Treaty of Brest-Litovsk that Germany had forced on Lenin's Russia, and the peace terms Germany had intended to impose on the Allies if it won the war, the Versailles treaty was far from being a vindictive and crippling peace. Had it been, Germany could hardly have become the economic and military juggernaut that it was only twenty years later.

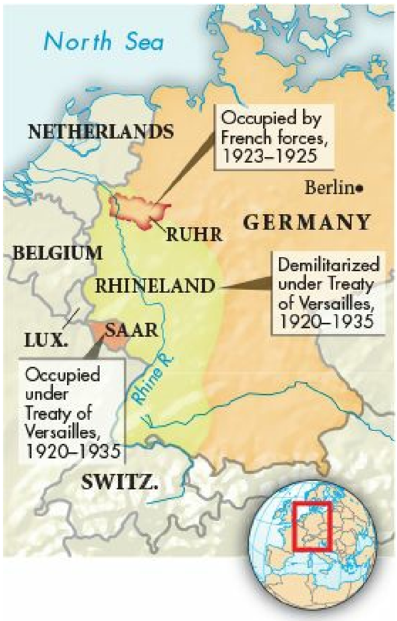
This is not to say, however, that France did not seek some degree of revenge on Germany for both the Franco-Prussian War (see "Bismarck and German Unification" and Map 24.3 in Chapter 24) and the Great War. Most of the war on the western front had been fought on French soil. The expected reconstruction costs and the amount of war debts France owed to the United States were staggering. Thus the French believed that heavy German reparations were an economic necessity that could hold Germany down indefinitely and would enable France to realize its goal of security.

The British felt differently. Prewar Germany had been Great Britain's second-best market, and after the war a healthy, prosperous Germany appeared to be essential to the British economy. In addition, the British were suspicious of France's army — the largest in Europe — and the British and French were at odds over their League of Nations mandates in the Middle East.

While France and Britain drifted in different directions, the Allied reparations commission completed its work and announced in April 1921 that Germany had to pay the enormous sum of 132 billion gold marks ($33 billion) in annual installments of 2.5 billion gold marks. The young German republic — known as the Weimar Republic — made its first reparations payment in that year. Then in 1922, wracked by rapid inflation and political assassinations, and motivated by hostility and arrogance as well, the Weimar Republic announced its inability to pay more and proposed a reparations moratorium for three years.

The British were willing to accept a moratorium, but the French were not. Led by their prime minister, Raymond Poincaré (pwan-kah-RAY) (1860–1934), the French decided they had to either call Germany's bluff or see the entire peace settlement dissolve to their great disadvantage. In January 1923 French and Belgian armies occupied the Ruhr (ROO-uhr) district, industrial Germany's heartland, creating the most serious international crisis of the 1920s.

Strengthened by a wave of patriotism, the German government ordered the people of the Ruhr to stop working and to resist French occupation nonviolently. The French responded by sealing off not only the Ruhr but also the entire Rhineland from the rest of Germany, letting in only enough food to prevent starvation.


North Sea
NETHERLANDS
Occupied by French forces, 1923–1925
Berlin
GERMANY
RUHR
BELGIUM
RHINELAND
Demilitarized under Treaty of Versailles, 1920–1935
LUX.
SAAR
Occupied under Treaty of Versailles, 1920–1935
Rhine R.
SWITZ.

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

French Occupation of the Ruhr, 1923–1925

By summer 1923 France and Germany were engaged in a great test of wills. French armies could not collect reparations from striking workers at gunpoint. But French occupation was paralyzing Germany and its economy, and the German government was soon forced to print money to pay its bills. Prices soared, and German money rapidly lost all value. In 1919 one American dollar equaled nine German marks; by November 1923 it took over 4.2 trillion German marks to purchase one American dollar. As retired and middle-class people saw their savings wiped out, many Germans felt betrayed. They hated and blamed for their misfortune the Western governments, their own government, big business, the Jews, the workers, and the Communists. The crisis left them psychologically prepared to follow radical right-wing leaders.

In August 1923, as the mark's value fell and political unrest grew throughout Germany, Gustav Stresemann (GOOS-tahf SHTRAY-zuh-mahn) (1878–1929) became German chancellor. Stresemann adopted a compromising attitude. He called off the peaceful resistance campaign in the Ruhr and in October agreed in principle to pay reparations but asked first for a re-examination of Germany's ability to pay. Poincaré accepted. Thus, after five years of hostility and tension, Germany and France, with British and American help, decided to try compromise and cooperation.

Hope in Foreign Affairs

In 1924 an international committee of financial experts headed by American banker Charles G. Dawes met to re-examine reparations. Under the terms of the resulting **Dawes Plan** (1924), Germany's yearly reparations were reduced and linked to the level of German economic prosperity. Germany would also receive large loans from the United States to promote German recovery, as well as to pay reparations to France and Britain, thus enabling those countries to repay the large sums they owed the United States. This circular flow of international payments was complicated and risky, but it worked for a while, facilitating a worldwide economic recovery in the late 1920s.

Dawes Plan The product of the 1924 World War I reparations commission, accepted by Germany, France, and Britain, that reduced Germany's yearly reparations, made payment dependent on German economic prosperity, and granted Germany large loans from the United States to promote recovery.

This economic settlement was matched by a political settlement. In 1925 European leaders met in Locarno, Switzerland. Germany and France solemnly pledged to accept their common border, and both Britain and Italy agreed to fight either France or Germany if one invaded the other. Stresemann also agreed to settle boundary disputes with Poland and Czechoslovakia by peaceful means, and France promised those countries military aid if Germany attacked them. Other developments also strengthened hopes for international peace. In 1926 Germany joined the League of Nations, and in 1928 fifteen countries signed the Kellogg-Briand Pact. The signing nations "condemned and renounced war as an instrument of national policy."

The pact fostered the cautious optimism of the late 1920s and also encouraged the hope that the United States would accept its international responsibilities.

Hope in Democratic Government

European domestic politics also offered reason for hope. During the Ruhr occupation and the great inflation, Germany's republican government appeared ready to collapse. But the moderate businessmen who tended to dominate the various German coalition governments believed that economic prosperity demanded good relations with the Western powers, and they supported parliamentary government at home. Elections were held regularly, and as the economy boomed in the aftermath of the Dawes

Plan, republican democracy appeared to have growing support among a majority of Germans.

There were, however, sharp political divisions in the country. Many unrepentant nationalists and monarchists populated the right and the army. In November 1923 an obscure politician named Adolf Hitler, who had become leader of an obscure workers party, the National Socialist German Workers Party, in July 1921, proclaimed a “national socialist revolution” in a Munich beer hall. Hitler’s plot to seize government control was poorly organized and easily crushed. Hitler was sentenced to prison, where he outlined his theories and program in his book ***Mein Kampf*** (*My Struggle*, 1925). Members of Germany’s Communist Party received directions from Moscow, and they accused the Social Democrats of betraying the revolution. The working classes were divided politically, but a majority supported the socialist, but nonrevolutionary, Social Democrats.

Mein Kampf Adolf Hitler’s autobiography, published in 1925, which also contains Hitler’s political ideology.

France’s situation was similar to Germany’s. Communists and socialists battled for the workers’ support. After 1924 the democratically elected government rested mainly in the hands of moderate coalitions, and business interests were well represented. France’s great accomplishment was the rapid rebuilding of its war-torn northern region, and good times prevailed until 1930.

Britain, too, faced challenges after 1920. The great problem was unemployment, which hovered around 12 percent throughout the 1920s. The state provided unemployment benefits and a range of additional social services. These and other measures kept living standards from seriously declining, defused class tensions, and pointed the way to the welfare state Britain established after World War II.

The wartime trend toward greater social equality also continued, helping to maintain social harmony. Relative social harmony was accompanied by the rise of the Labour Party, which, under Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald (1866–1937), governed the country in 1924 and 1929–1935. The Labour Party sought a gradual and democratic move toward socialism, so that the middle classes were not overly frightened as the working classes won new benefits.

The British Conservatives under Stanley Baldwin (1867–1947) showed the same compromising spirit on social issues, and Britain experienced only limited social unrest in the 1920s and 1930s. In 1922 Britain granted southern, Catholic Ireland full autonomy after a bitter guerrilla war, thereby removing another source of prewar friction. Thus developments in both international relations and domestic politics gave the leading democracies cause for cautious optimism in the late 1920s.

The Age of Anxiety

In what ways were the anxieties of the postwar world expressed or heightened by revolutionary ideas in modern thought, art, and science and in new forms of communication?

Many people hoped that happier times would return after the war, along with the familiar prewar ideals of peace, prosperity, and progress. The war had caused such social, economic, and psychological upheaval, however, that great numbers of men and women felt themselves increasingly adrift in an age of anxiety and continual crisis.

Uncertainty in Philosophy and Religion

Before 1914 most people in the West still believed in Enlightenment philosophies of progress, reason, and individual rights. As the century began, progress was a daily reality, apparent in the rising living standard, the taming of the city, the spread of political rights to women and workers, and the growth of state-supported social programs. Just as there were laws of science, many thinkers felt, there were laws of society that rational human beings could discover and wisely act on. Even before the war, however, some philosophers, such as the German Friedrich Nietzsche (NEE-chuh) (1844–1900), called such faith in reason into question. The First World War accelerated the revolt against established philosophical certainties. Logical positivism, often associated with Austrian philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein (VIHT-guhn-shtighn) (1889–1951), rejected most concerns of traditional philosophy — from God's existence to the meaning of happiness — as nonsense and argued that life must be based on facts and observation. Others looked to **existentialism** for answers. Highly diverse and even contradictory, existential thinkers were loosely united in a search for moral values in a terrifying and uncertain world. They did not believe that a supreme being had established humanity's fundamental nature and given life its meaning. In the words of the French existentialist Jean-Paul Sartre (1905–1980), "Man's existence precedes his essence. . . . To begin with he is nothing. He will not be anything until later, and then he will be what he makes of himself."[11]

existentialism The name given to a highly diverse and even contradictory philosophy that stresses the meaninglessness of existence and the search for moral values in a world of terror and uncertainty.

In contrast, the loss of faith in human reason and in continual progress led to a renewed interest in Christianity. After World War I several thinkers and theologians began to revitalize Christian fundamentals, and intellectuals increasingly turned to religion between about 1920 and 1950. Sometimes described as Christian existentialists because they shared the loneliness and despair of atheistic existentialists, these believers felt that religion was one meaningful answer to terror and anxiety. In the words of a famous Roman Catholic convert, English novelist Graham Greene, "One began to believe in heaven because one believed in hell."[12]

The New Physics

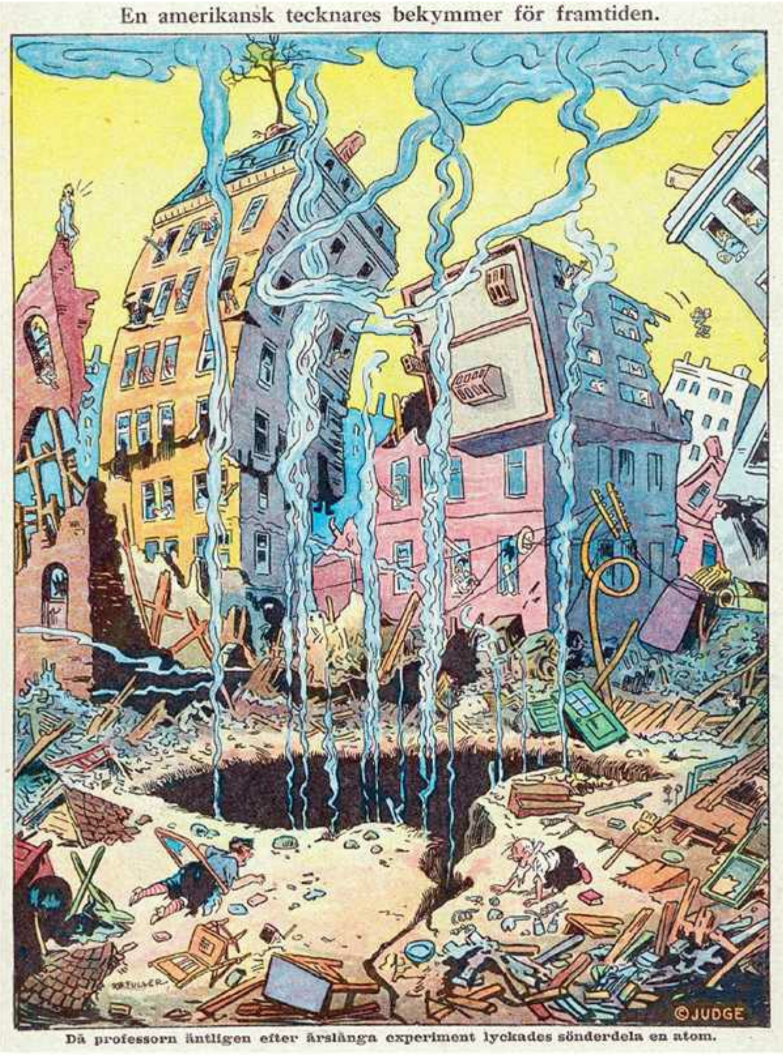
For people no longer committed to traditional religious beliefs, a belief in unchanging natural laws offered some comfort. These laws seemed to determine physical processes and permit useful solutions to more and more problems. A series of discoveries beginning around the turn of the century, however, challenged the established certainties of Newtonian physics (see "Newton's Synthesis" in Chapter 19).

An important first step toward the new physics was the British physicist J. J. Thomson's 1897 discovery of subatomic particles, which proved that atoms were not stable and unbreakable. The following year Polish-born physicist Marie Curie (1867–1934) and her French husband, Pierre (1859–1906), discovered radium and demonstrated that it constantly emits subatomic particles and thus does not have a constant atomic weight. Building on this, German physicist Max Planck (1858–1947) showed in 1900 that subatomic energy is emitted in uneven little spurts, which he called "quanta," and not in a steady stream, as previously believed.

In 1905 the German-Jewish genius Albert Einstein (1879–1955) further undermined Newtonian physics. His theory of special relativity postulated that time and space are relative to the observer's viewpoint and that only the speed of light is constant for all frames of reference in the universe. In addition, Einstein's theory that matter and energy are interchangeable and that even a particle of matter contains enormous levels of potential energy, would later become the scientific basis for the atomic bomb.

The 1920s opened the "heroic age of physics," in the apt words of one of its leading pioneers, Ernest Rutherford (1871–1937). In 1919 Rutherford first split the atom. Breakthrough followed breakthrough, but some discoveries raised new doubts about reality. In 1927 German physicist Werner Heisenberg (VEHR-nuhr HIGH-zuhn-burg) theorized his "uncertainty principle," whereby any act of measurement in quantum physics is affected by, and blurred by, the experimenter. Thus, if experiments in an exact science like physics can be distorted by human observation, what other areas of human knowledge are similarly affected? Is ultimate truth unknowable?

The implications of the new theories and discoveries were disturbing to millions of people in the 1920s and 1930s. The new universe was strange and troubling, and, moreover, science appeared distant from human experience and human problems.


En amerikansk tecknares bekymmer för framtiden.
©JUDGE
Då professorn äntligen efter årslånga experiment lyckades sönderdela en atom.

© Mary Evans Picture Library/The Image Works

Unlocking the Power of the Atom Many of the fanciful visions of science fiction came true in the twentieth century, although not exactly as first imagined. This 1927 cartoon satirizes a professor who has split the atom and has unwittingly destroyed his building and neighborhood in the process. In the Second World War scientists harnessed the atom in bombs and decimated faraway cities and their inhabitants.

Freudian Psychology

With physics presenting an uncertain universe so unrelated to ordinary human experience, questions about the power and potential of the human mind assumed special significance. The findings and speculations of psychologist Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) were particularly disturbing.

Before Freud, most psychologists assumed that human behavior resulted from rational thinking by the conscious mind. By analyzing dreams and hysteria, Freud developed a very different view of the human psyche. Freud concluded that human behavior was governed by three parts of the self: the **id, ego, and superego**. The primitive, irrational unconscious, which he called the id, was driven by sexual, aggressive, and pleasure-seeking desires and was locked in constant battle with the mind's two other parts: the rationalizing conscious — the ego — which mediates what a person can do, and ingrained moral values — the superego — which specify what a person should do. Thus, for Freud, human behavior was a product of a fragile compromise between instinctual drives and the controls of rational thinking and moral values.

id, ego, superego Freudian terms for the primitive, irrational unconscious (id), the rationalizing conscious that mediates what a person can do (ego), and the ingrained moral values that specify what a person should do (superego).

Twentieth-Century Literature

Western literature was also influenced by the general intellectual climate of pessimism, relativism, and alienation. In the twentieth century many writers adopted the limited, often confused viewpoint of a single individual. Like Freud, these novelists focused on the complexity and irrationality of the human mind.

Some novelists used the stream-of-consciousness technique with its reliance on internal monologues to explore the psyche. The most famous stream-of-consciousness novel is *Ulysses*, published by Irish novelist James Joyce (1882–1941) in 1922. Abandoning conventional grammar and blending foreign words, puns, bits of knowledge, and scraps of memory together in bewildering confusion, the language of *Ulysses* was intended to mirror modern life itself.

Creative writers rejected the idea of progress; some even described "anti-utopias," nightmare visions of things to come. In 1918 Oswald Spengler (1880–1936) published *The Decline of the West*, in which he argued that Western civilization was in its old age and would soon be conquered by East Asia. Likewise, T. S. Eliot (1888–1965) depicted a world of growing desolation in his famous poem *The Waste Land* (1922). Franz Kafka's (1883–1924) novels *The Trial* (1925) and *The Castle* (1926) portrayed helpless individuals crushed by inexplicably hostile forces.

Modern Architecture, Art, and Music

Like scientists and intellectuals, creative artists rebelled against traditional forms and conventions at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth. This **modernism** in architecture, art, and music, which grew more influential after the war, meant constant experimentation and a search for new kinds of expression.

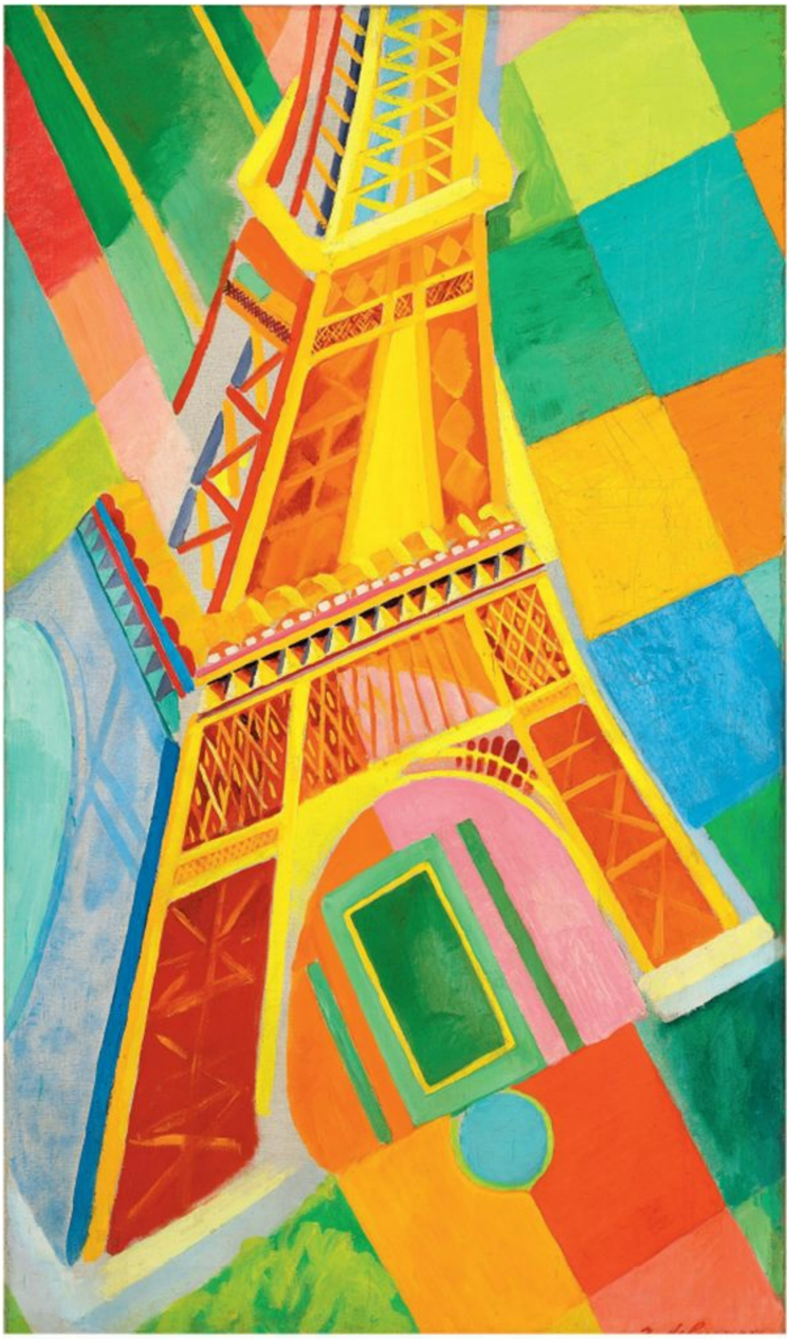
The United States pioneered in the new architecture. In the 1890s the Chicago School of architects, led by Louis H. Sullivan (1856–1924), used cheap steel, reinforced concrete, and electric elevators to build skyscrapers and office buildings lacking almost any exterior ornamentation. The buildings of Frank Lloyd Wright (1867–1959) were renowned for their sometimes-radical design, their creative use of wide varieties of materials, and their appearance of being part of the landscape.

modernism A variety of cultural movements at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth that rebelled against traditional forms and conventions of the past.

In Europe architectural leadership centered in German-speaking countries. In 1919 Walter Gropius (1883–1969) merged the schools of fine and applied arts at Weimar into a single interdisciplinary school, the Bauhaus. Throughout the 1920s the Bauhaus movement stressed good design for everyday life and **functionalism** — that is, a building should serve the purpose for which it is designed. The movement attracted enthusiastic students from all over the world.

functionalism The principle that buildings, like industrial products, should serve the purpose for which they were made as well as possible.

Art increasingly took on a nonrepresentational, abstract character. In 1907 in Paris the famous Spanish painter Pablo Picasso (1881–1973), along with Georges Braque (BRAHK), Marcel Duchamp, and other artists, established Cubism — an artistic approach concentrated on a complex geometry of zigzagging lines and sharply angled overlapping planes. Since the Renaissance, artists had represented objects from a single viewpoint and had created unified human forms. In his first great Cubist work, *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* (lay dehm-wuh-ZEHL da-vee-NYAWN) (1907), Picasso's figures present a radical new view of reality with a strikingly non-Western depiction of the human form. Their faces resemble carved African masks, reflecting the growing importance of non-Western artistic traditions in Europe in the early twentieth century.



Private Collection/Photo © Christie's Images/Bridgeman Images

Eiffel Tower, 1926 The works of the French artist Robert

Delaunay (1885–1941) represent most of the major art styles of the early twentieth century, including modernism, abstraction, Futurism, Fauvism, Cubism, and Orphism. His early renderings of the Eiffel Tower (1909–1912), the iconic symbol of urbanization, the machine age, and, as a radio tower, limitless communication, possess features drawn from several of these styles. His later paintings of the Eiffel Tower, such as the one shown here, draw on a much wider palette of brilliant colors, reflecting aspects of a style known as Orphism, with which he is most closely identified.

The ultimate stage in the development of abstract, nonrepresentational art occurred around 1910. Artists such as the Russian-born Wassily Kandinsky (1866–1944) turned away from nature completely. "The observer," said Kandinsky, "must learn to look at [my] pictures . . . as form and color combinations . . . as a representation of mood and not as a representation of *objects*."[13]

Radicalization accelerated after World War I. The most notable new developments were New Objectivity (*Sachlichkeit* [SAHK-leech-kight] in German), Dadaism (DAH-dah-ihz-uhm), and Surrealism. New Objectivity emerged from German artists' experiences in the Great War and the Weimar Republic. Paintings by artists like George Grosz (GRAWSH) and Otto Dix were provocative, emotionally disturbing, and harshly satirical. Dadaism attacked all accepted standards of art and behavior, delighting in outrageous conduct. After 1924 many Dadaists were attracted to Surrealism. Surrealists, such as Salvador Dalí (1904–1989), painted fantastic worlds of wild dreams and complex symbols.

Developments in modern music were strikingly parallel to those in painting. Attracted by the emotional intensity of expressionism, composers depicted unseen inner worlds of emotion and imagination. Just as abstract painters arranged lines and color but did not draw identifiable objects, so modern composers arranged sounds atonally without creating recognizable harmonies. Led by composers such as the Austrian Arnold Schönberg (SHUHN-buhrg) (1874–1951) and the Russian Igor Stravinsky (1882–1971), modern composers turned their backs on long-established musical conventions. The pulsating, dissonant rhythms and the dancers' earthy representation of lovemaking in Stravinsky's ballet *The Rite of Spring* nearly caused a riot when first performed in Paris in 1913.

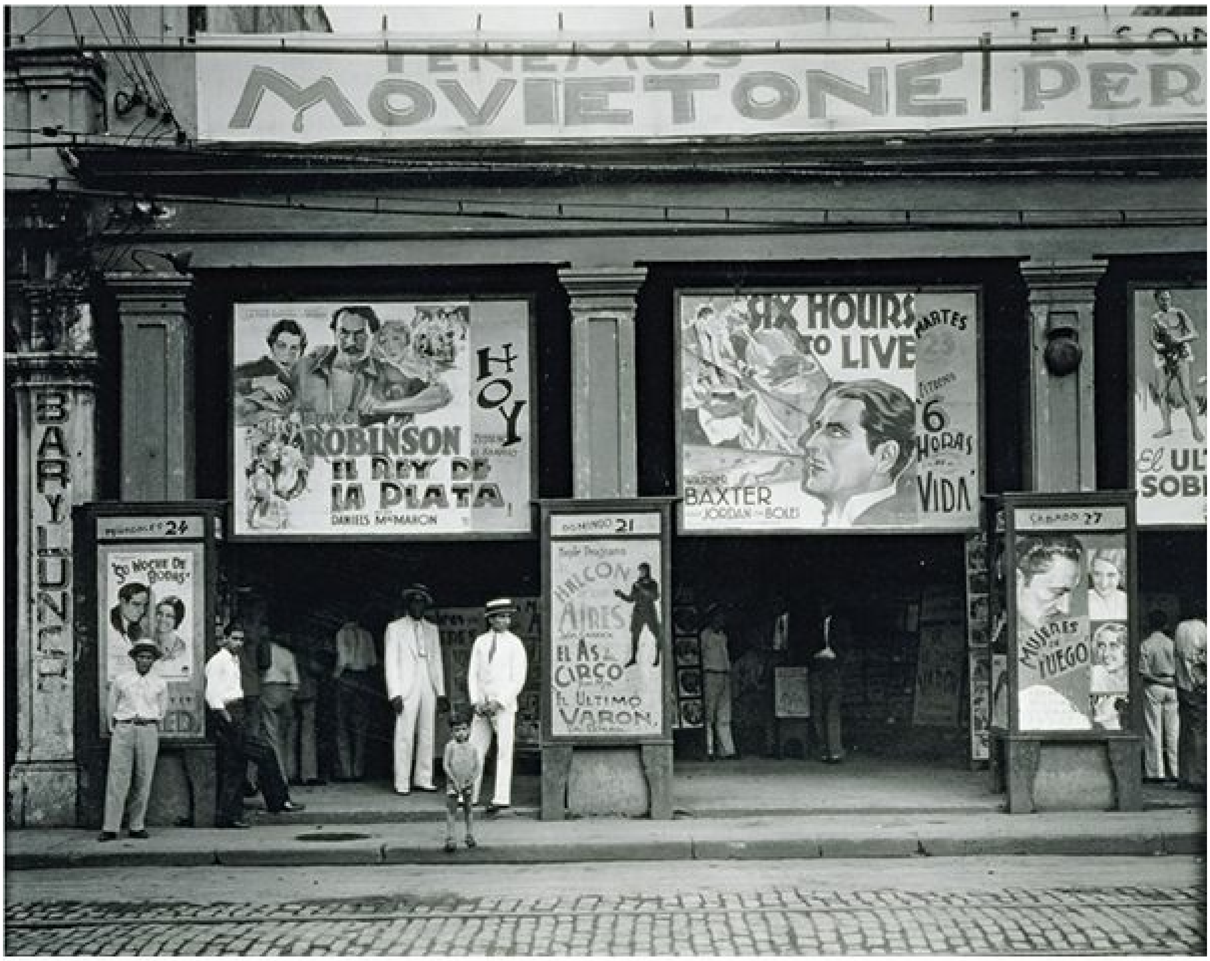
Movies and Radio

In the decades following the First World War, motion pictures became the main entertainment of the masses worldwide. During the First World War the United States became the dominant force in the rapidly expanding silent-film industry, and Charlie Chaplin (1889–1978), an Englishman working in Hollywood, demonstrated that in the hands of a genius the new medium could combine mass entertainment and artistic accomplishment.

Motion pictures also became powerful tools of indoctrination, especially in countries with dictatorial regimes. Lenin encouraged the development of Soviet film making, and Sergei Eisenstein (1898–1948), the most famous of his film makers, and others dramatized the Communist view of Russian history. In Germany Hitler, who rose to power in 1933, turned to a talented woman film maker, Leni Riefenstahl (REE-fuhn-shtahl) (1902–2003), for a masterpiece of documentary propaganda, *Triumph of the Will,* based on the 1934 Nazi Party rally at Nuremberg. Her film was a brilliant and all-too-powerful depiction of Germany's rebirth as a great power under Nazi leadership.

Whether foreign or domestic, motion pictures became the main entertainment of the masses worldwide until after the Second World War. Motion pictures offered ordinary people a temporary escape from the hard realities of international tensions, uncertainty, unemployment, and personal frustrations.

Radio also dominated popular culture after the war. In 1920 the first major public broadcasts were made in Great Britain and the United States. Every major country quickly established national broadcasting networks. LOR, Radio Argentina, became the first formal radio station in the world when it made its first broadcast in August 1920. Radios were revolutionary in that they were capable of reaching all of a nation's citizens at once, offering them a single perspective on current events and teaching them a single national language and pronunciation.


TENEMOS
MOVIETONE
PER
HOY
ROBINSON
EL REY DE LA PLATA
SIX HOURS TO LIVE
MARTES
6 HORAS VIDA
BAXTER
BAR Y LUNCH
EL ÚLTIMO VARON

Walker Evans [1903–1975]/*Cinema*, 1933, printed ca. 1970. Gelatin silver print, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Gift of Arnold H. Crane, 1971 [1971.646.12]/ © Walker Evans Archive, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York/ Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Image source: Art Resource, NY

The International Appeal of Cinema A movie house in Havana, Cuba, in 1933 showing two American films made in 1932: *El Rey de la Plata* (*Silver Dollar*), starring Edward G. Robinson, and *6 horas de Vida* (*Six Hours to Live*), featuring Warner Baxter. The partially visible poster in the upper right is advertising *El último varon sobre la Tierra* (*The Last Man on Earth*), an American-produced Spanish-language movie starring Raul Roulien, first released in Spain in January 1933.

Chapter Summary

Nationalism, militarism, imperialism, and the alliance system increased political tensions across Europe at the end of the nineteenth century. Franz Ferdinand’s assassination in 1914 sparked a regional war that soon became global. Four years of stalemate and slaughter followed. Entire societies mobilized for total war, and government powers greatly increased. Women earned greater social equality, and labor unions grew. Many European countries adopted socialism as a realistic economic blueprint.

Horrible losses on the eastern front led to Russian tsar Nicholas II’s abdication in March 1917. A provisional government controlled by moderate social democrats replaced him but refused to withdraw Russia from the war. A second Russian revolution followed in November 1917, led by Lenin and his Bolshevik Party. The Bolsheviks established a radical Communist regime, smashed existing capitalist institutions, and posed an ongoing challenge to Europe and its colonial empires.

The “war to end all wars” brought only a fragile truce. The Versailles treaty took away Germany’s colonies, limited its military, and demanded admittance of war guilt and exorbitant war reparations. Separate treaties redrew the maps of Europe and the Middle East. Allied wartime solidarity faded, and Germany remained unrepentant, setting the stage for World War II. Globally, the European powers refused to extend self-determination to their colonies, instead creating a mandate system that sowed further discontent among colonized peoples.

In the 1920s moderate political leaders sought to create an enduring peace and rebuild prewar prosperity through compromise. By decade’s end they seemed to have succeeded: Germany experienced an economic recovery, France rebuilt its war-torn regions, and Britain’s Labour Party expanded social services. Ultimately, however, these measures were short-lived.

The war’s horrors, particularly the industrialization of war that slaughtered millions, shattered Enlightenment ideals and caused widespread anxiety. In the interwar years philosophers, artists, and writers portrayed these anxieties in their work. Movies and the radio initially offered escape but soon became powerful tools of indoctrination and propaganda.

CONNECTIONS

The Great War continues to influence global politics and societies, nearly a century after the guns went silent in November 1918. To understand the origins of many modern world conflicts, one must study first the intrigues and treaties and the revolutions and upheavals that were associated with this first truly world war.

In Chapter 30 we will see how the conflict contributed to a worldwide depression, the rise of totalitarian dictatorships, and a Second World War more global and destructive than the first. In the Middle East the Ottoman Empire came to an end, allowing France and England to carve out mandated territories — including modern Iraq, Palestine/Israel, and Lebanon — that remain flash points for violence and political instability in the twenty-first century. Nationalism, the nineteenth-century European ideology of change, took root in Asia, partly driven by Wilson's promise of self-determination. In Chapter 29 the efforts of various nationalist leaders — Atatürk in Turkey, Gandhi in India, Mao Zedong in China, Ho Chi Minh in Vietnam, and others — to throw off colonial domination will be examined, as well as the rise of ultranationalism in Japan, which led it into World War II and to ultimate defeat.

America's entry into the Great War placed it on the world stage, a place it has not relinquished as a superpower in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Russia, too, eventually became a superpower, but this outcome was not so clear in 1919 as its leaders fought for survival in a vicious civil war. By the outbreak of World War II Joseph Stalin had solidified Communist power, and the Soviet Union and the United States would play leading roles in defeating totalitarianism in Germany and Japan. But at war's end, as explained in Chapter 31, the two superpowers found themselves opponents in a Cold War that lasted for much of the rest of the twentieth century.

CHAPTER 28 Review and Explore

Identify Key Terms

Identify and explain the significance of each item below.

militarism (p. 820)
Triple Entente (p. 821)
trench warfare (p. 824)
total war (p. 828)
March Revolution (p. 834)
Petrograd Soviet (p. 835)
Bolsheviks (p. 835)
War Communism (p. 839)
League of Nations (p. 840)
Treaty of Versailles (p. 842)
Dawes Plan (p. 844)
Mein Kampf (p. 844)
existentialism (p. 845)
id, ego, superego (p. 846)
modernism (p. 847)
functionalism (p. 848)

Review the Main Ideas

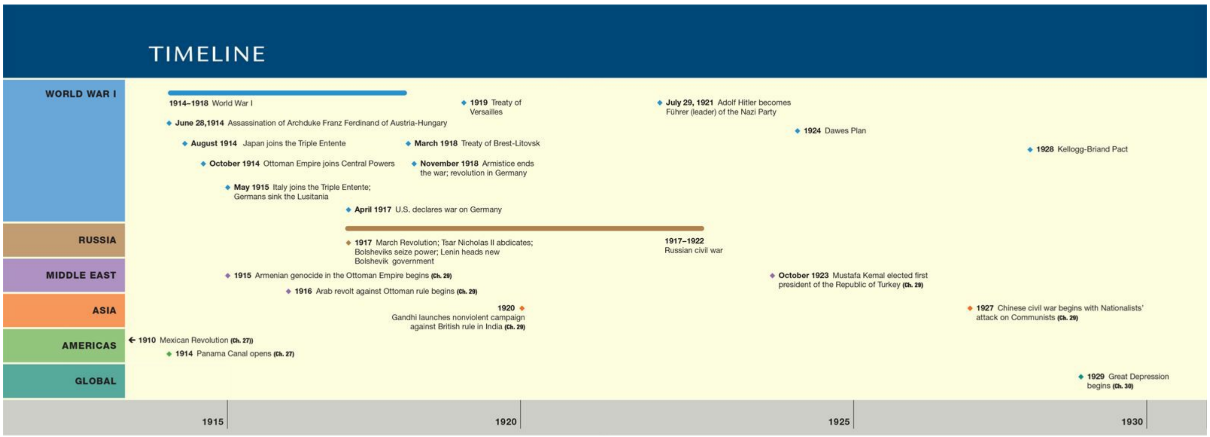
Answer the focus questions from each section of the chapter.

1. What were the long-term and immediate causes of World War I, and how did the conflict become a global war? (p. 820)
2. How did total war affect the home fronts of the major combatants? (p. 828)
3. What factors led to the Russian Revolution, and what was its outcome? (p. 831)
4. What were the global consequences of the First World War? (p. 840)
5. How did leaders deal with the political dimensions of uncertainty and try to re-establish peace and prosperity in the interwar years? (p. 842)
6. In what ways were the anxieties of the postwar world expressed or heightened by revolutionary ideas in modern thought, art, and science and in new forms of communication? (p. 845)

Make Comparisons and Connections

Analyze the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters.

1. The war between Austria and Serbia should have been a small regional conflict in one corner of Europe. How did nationalism, militarism, and the New Imperialism contribute to its expansion into a global conflict?
2. In what ways would someone transported in time from 1900 to 1925 have been shocked and surprised at the changes that had occurred in that short time?
3. How did the mandate system established by the League of Nations reflect the Social Darwinian ideas of the late nineteenth century (Chapter 24)?



Suggested Resources

Books

Andelman, David A. *A Shattered Peace: Versailles 1919 and the Price We Pay Today*. 2007. A clearly written study of the Paris Peace Conference and how it has shaped world history to the present day.

Camus, Albert. *The Stranger* and *The Plague*. 1942 and 1947. The greatest existential novelist at his unforgettable best.

Eksteins, Modris. *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age*. 1989. An imaginative cultural investigation that has won critical acclaim.

Figes, Orlando. *A People's Tragedy: The Russian Revolution, 1891–1924.* 1996. Massive but accessible, this masterful synthesis traces the revolution from its origins to Lenin's death in 1924.

Fitzpatrick, Sheila. *The Russian Revolution*, 3d ed. 2008. A concise history that incorporates previously inaccessible Russian archives and the latest research. Fitzpatrick argues that the revolution ended only with the Stalinist purges in the late 1930s.

Fromkin, David. *Europe's Last Summer: Who Started the Great War?* 2004. A well-argued, compulsively readable discussion of responsibility for the war by a master historian.

Fromkin, David. *A Peace to End All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East*, 2d ed. 2009. A brilliant account of the Middle East in the critical years between 1914 and 1922.

Gay, Peter. *Modernism: The Lure of Heresy*. 2007. A personal perspective on twentieth-century high culture by a leading intellectual and cultural historian.

Gilbert, Martin. *The First World War: A Complete History*. 1994. A comprehensive study in one volume by a major military historian.

Isaacson, Walter. *Einstein: His Life and Universe*. 2007. A well-received introduction to Einstein's life and work.

Macmillan, Margaret. *Paris, 1919: Six Months That Changed the World*. 2001. A masterful account of the negotiations and issues at the Paris Peace Conference.

Reed, John. *Ten Days That Shook the World*. 1919. The classic eyewitness account of the Russian Revolution by a young, pro-Bolshevik American.

Young, Louise. *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism*. 1998. A fascinating pioneering work on Japanese imperialism.

Documentaries

The First World War (Channel Four, 2003). Based on the book by the distinguished Great War historian Hew Strachan, this ten-episode series is a powerful and comprehensive account of all aspects of the Great War.

The Great War and the Shaping of the 20th Century. (BBC, PBS, 1996) A well-organized and comprehensive introduction to the Great War. An eight-part series on each stage of the war, how the war shaped the twentieth century, and historians' views of the war, as well as a timeline and maps.

Feature Films and Television Dramas

All Quiet on the Western Front (Lewis Milestone, 1930). Based on the famous novel by Erich Maria Remarque, this cinematic masterpiece portraying the horrors of World War I trench warfare is one of the most powerful war, and antiwar, films of all time. It won the Academy Award for Best Picture in 1930 and was restored and rereleased in 2011.

Paths of Glory (Stanley Kubrick, 1957). Considered one of the best war movies of all time, this story of the trial of three French soldiers accused of cowardice on the battlefield is based on a real-life event during the Great War.

Suffragette (Sarah Gavron, 2015). Set in the years just before the Great War, this film is a powerful portrayal of the efforts by militant suffragettes in England to gain the vote for women.

Websites

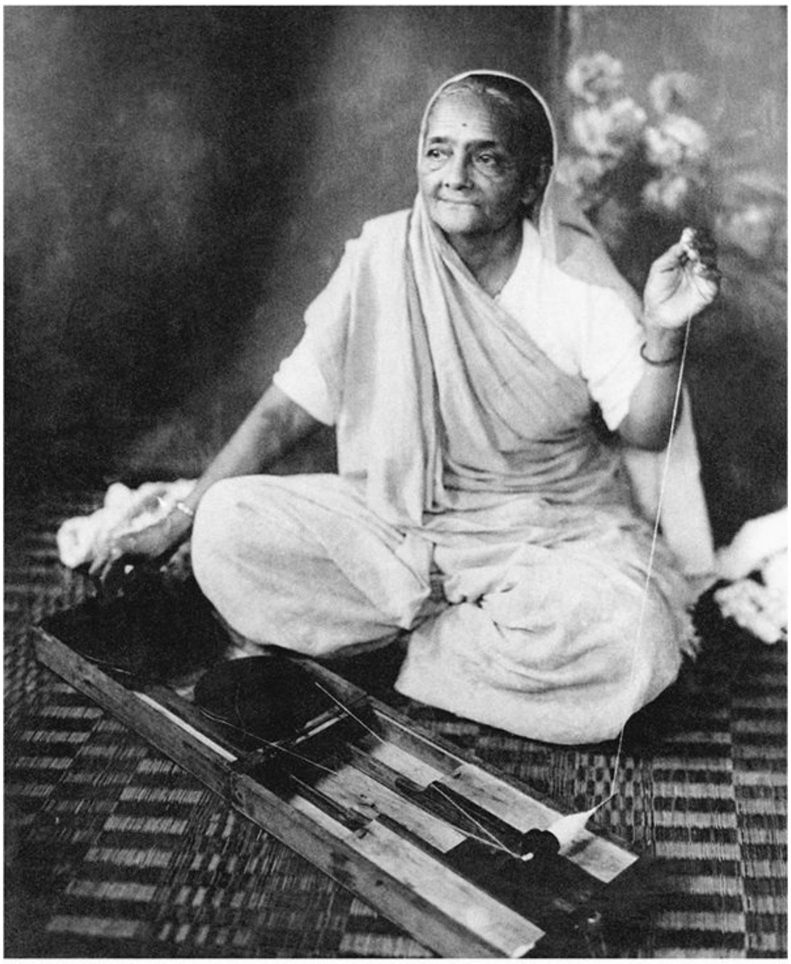
"Russian Revolution" in the *Internet Modern History Sourcebook.* An excellent reference site for the Russian Revolution, with many primary documents and several links to other related websites. **sourcebooks.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/modsbook39.asp**

Spartacus Educational: Causes and Events of WW I. A comprehensive introduction to the Great War, including a glossary, statistics, and a bibliography. **spartacus-educational.com/FWW.htm**

29

Nationalism in Asia

1914–1939



© Dinodia Photo Library/The Image Works

Kasturba Gandhi

Wife of Indian political leader Mohandas Gandhi, Kasturba was barely fourteen years old and he thirteen when their marriage took place. Kasturba (1869–1944) supported Gandhi through decades of struggle for Indian independence. Here she spins cotton on a *charkha*, or spinning wheel, part of Gandhi's campaign for Indians to become self-

sufficient by making their own cloth and freeing themselves from imported British goods.

From Asia’s perspective, the First World War was largely a European civil war that shattered Western imperialism’s united front, underscored the West’s moral bankruptcy, and convulsed prewar relationships throughout Asia. Most crucially, the war sped the development of modern Asian nationalism. Before 1914 the nationalist gospel of anti-imperialist political freedom and racial equality had already won converts among Asia’s westernized, educated elites. In the 1920s and 1930s it increasingly won the allegiance of the masses. Nationalism in Asia between 1914 and 1939 became a mass movement with potentially awesome power.

The modern nationalism movement was never monolithic. In Asia especially, where the new and often narrow ideology of nationalism was grafted onto old, rich, and complex civilizations, the shape and eventual outcome of nationalist movements varied enormously. Between the outbreaks of the First and Second World Wars, each Asian country developed a distinctive national movement rooted in its own unique culture and history. Each nation’s people created their own national reawakening, which reinvigorated thought and culture as well as politics and economics. Nationalist movements gave rise in Asia to conflict both within large, multiethnic states and between independent states.

The Asian nationalist movement witnessed the emergence of two of the true giants of the twentieth century. Mohandas Gandhi in India and Mao Zedong in China both drew their support from the peasant masses in the world’s two most populous countries. Gandhi successfully used campaigns of peaceful nonviolent resistance to British colonial rule to gain Indian independence. Mao, on the other hand, used weapons of war and socialist promises of equality to defeat his westernized nationalist opponents and establish a modern Communist state.

CHAPTER PREVIEW

HE FIRST WORLD WAR’S IMPACT ON NATIONALIST TRENDS
Why did modern nationalism develop in Asia between the First and Second World Wars, and what was its appeal?

NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST
How did the Ottoman Empire’s collapse in World War I shape nationalist movements in the Middle East?

TOWARD SELF-RULE IN INDIA
What role did Gandhi and his campaign of militant nonviolence play in

leading India to independence from the British?

NATIONALIST STRUGGLES IN EAST AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

How did nationalism shape political developments in East and Southeast Asia?

The First World War's Impact on Nationalist Trends

Why did modern nationalism develop in Asia between the First and Second World Wars, and what was its appeal?

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the peoples of Asia adapted the European ideology of nationalism to their own situations. The First World War profoundly affected Asian nationalist aspirations by altering relations between Asia and Europe. For four years Asians watched Kipling's haughty bearers of "the white man's burden" (see "A 'Civilizing Mission' " in Chapter 25) vilify and destroy each other. Japan's defeat of imperial Russia in 1905 (see "Japan as an Imperial Power" in Chapter 26) had shown that an Asian power could beat a European Great Power; Asians now saw the entire West as divided and vulnerable.

Asian Reaction to the War in Europe

The Great War was a global conflict, but some peoples were affected more significantly than others. The Japanese and Ottoman Turks were directly involved, fighting with the Allies and Central Powers, respectively. The Chinese, who overthrew their emperor in 1911, were more concerned with internal events and the threat from Japan than with the war in Europe. In British India and French Indochina the war's impact was unavoidably greater. Total war required the British and the French to draft their colonial subjects into the conflict. An Indian or Vietnamese soldier who fought in France and came in contact there with democratic and republican ideas, however, was less likely to accept foreign rule when he returned home. The British and the French therefore had to make rash promises to gain the support of these colonial peoples and other allies during the war. After the war the nationalist genie the colonial powers had called on refused to slip meekly back into the bottle.

U.S. president Wilson's war aims also raised the hopes of peoples under imperial rule. In January 1918 Wilson proposed his Fourteen Points (see "The Paris Peace Treaties" in Chapter 28), whose key idea was national self-determination for the peoples of Europe and the Ottoman Empire. Wilson recommended in Point 5 that in all colonial questions "the interests of native populations be given equal weight with the desires of European governments," and he seemed to call for national self-rule. This message had enormous appeal for educated Asians, fueling their hopes of freedom.

The Mandates System

After winning the war, the Allies tried to re-establish or increase their political and economic domination of their Asian and African colonies. Although fatally weakened, Western imperialism remained very much alive in 1918, partly because President Wilson was no revolutionary. At the Paris Peace Conference Wilson compromised on colonial questions in order to achieve some of his European goals and create the League of Nations.

The compromise at the Paris Peace Conference between Wilson's vague, moralistic idealism and the European determination to maintain control over colonial empires was a system of League of Nations mandates over Germany's former colonies and the old Ottoman Empire. Article 22 of the League of Nations Covenant, which was part of the Treaty of Versailles, assigned territories "inhabited by peoples incapable of governing themselves" to various "developed nations." "The well-being and development of such peoples" was declared "a sacred trust of civilization." The **Permanent Mandates Commission**, whose members came from European countries with colonies, was created to oversee the developed nations' fulfillment of their international responsibility. Thus the League elaborated a new principle — development toward the eventual goal of self-government — but left its implementation to the colonial powers themselves. Industrialized Japan was the only Asian state to obtain mandates.

Permanent Mandates Commission A commission created by the League of Nations to oversee the developed nations' fulfillment of their international responsibility toward their mandates.

The mandates system demonstrated that Europe was determined to maintain its imperial power and influence. Bitterly disappointed patriots throughout Asia saw the system as an expansion of the imperial order. Yet they did not give up. They preached national self-determination and struggled to build mass movements capable of achieving freedom and independence.

In this struggle Asian nationalists were encouraged by Soviet communism. After seizing power in 1917, Lenin declared that the Asian inhabitants of the new Soviet Union were complete equals of the Russians with a right to their own development. The Communists also denounced European and American imperialism and pledged to support revolutionary movements in colonial countries. The example, ideology, and support of

Soviet communism exerted a powerful influence in the 1920s and 1930s, particularly in China and French Indochina (see “China’s Intellectual Revolution” and “Striving for Independence in Southeast Asia”).

Nationalism’s Appeal

There were at least three reasons for the upsurge of nationalism in Asia. First and foremost, nationalism provided the most effective means of organizing anti-imperialist resistance both to direct foreign rule and to indirect Western domination. Second, nationalism called for fundamental changes and challenged old political and social practices and beliefs. As in Russia after the Crimean War, in Turkey after the Ottoman Empire’s collapse, and in Japan after the Meiji Restoration, the nationalist creed after World War I went hand in hand with acceptance of modernization by the educated elites, who used modernization to contest the influence and power of conservative traditionalists. Third, nationalism offered a vision of a free and prosperous future and provided an ideology to ennoble the sacrifices the struggle would require.

Nationalism also had a dark side. As in Europe (see “The Growing Appeal of Nationalism” in Chapter 24), Asian nationalists developed a strong sense of “we” and “they.” “They” were often the enemy. European imperialists were just such a “they,” and nationalist feelings generated the will to challenge European domination. But, as in Europe, Asian nationalism also stimulated bitter conflicts and wars between peoples, in three different ways.

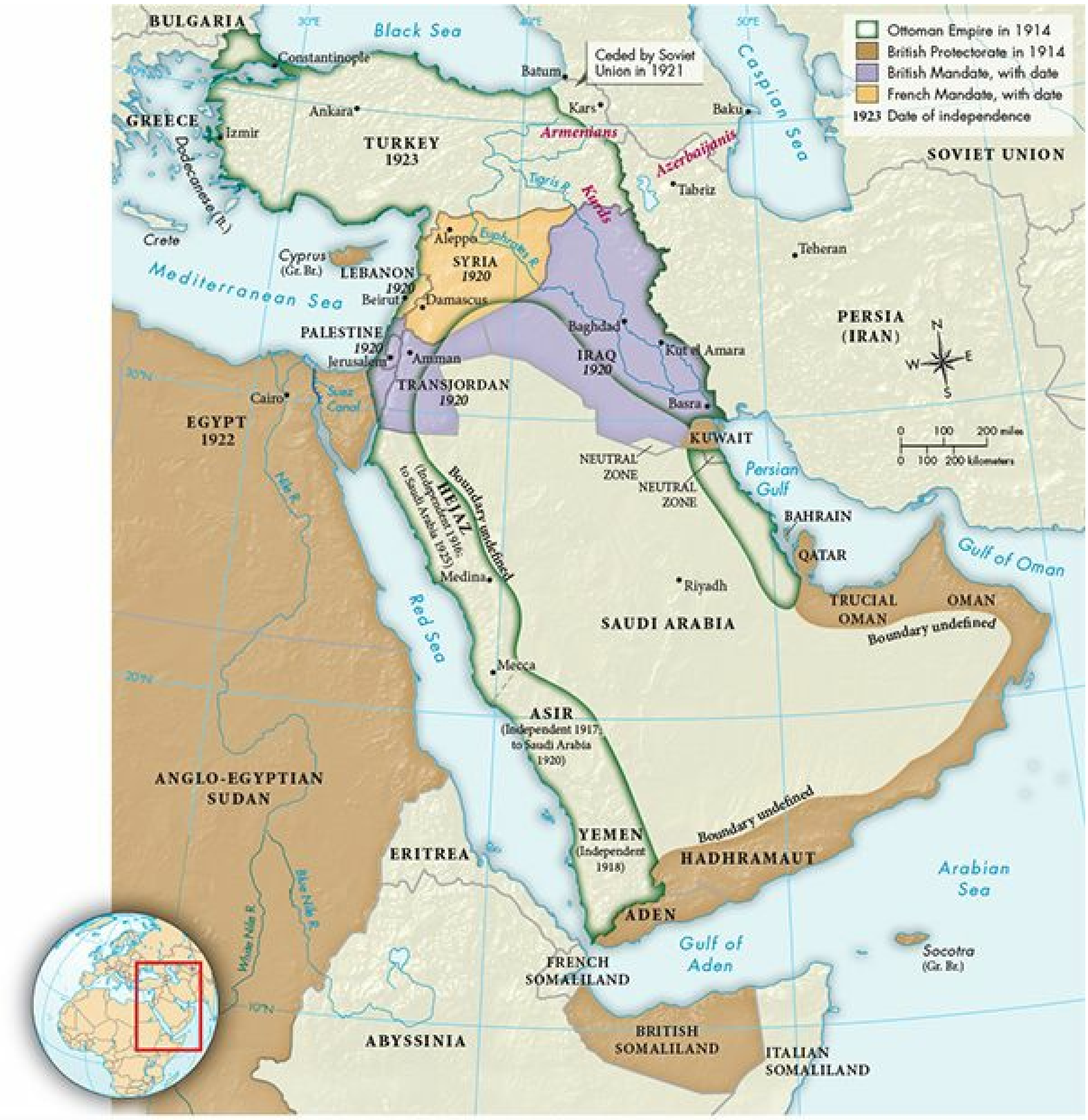
First, as when the ideology of nationalism first developed in Europe in the early 1800s, Asian (and African) elites were often forced to create a national identity in colonies that Europeans had artificially created, or in multiethnic countries held together by authoritarian leaders but without national identities based on shared ethnicities or histories. Second, nationalism stimulated conflicts between relatively homogeneous peoples in large states, rallying, for example, Chinese against Japanese and vice versa. Third, nationalism often heightened tensions between ethnic or religious groups within states. In nearly all countries there were ancient ethnic and religious differences and rivalries. Imperial rulers of colonial powers (like the British and French) and local authoritarian rulers (like the Chinese emperor) exploited these ethnic and religious differences to “divide and conquer” the peoples in their empires. When the rigid imperial rule ended, the different national, religious, or even ideological (communists versus capitalists) factions turned against each other, each seeking to either seize control of or divide the existing state, and to dominate the enemy “they” within its borders. This habit of thinking in terms of “we” versus “they” was, and still is, a difficult frame of mind to abandon, and these divisions made it difficult for nationalist leaders to unite people under a common national identity.

Nationalism’s appeal in Asia was not confined to territories under direct European rule. Europe and the United States had forced even the most solid Asian states, China and Japan, to accept humiliating limitations on their sovereignty. Thus the nationalist promise of genuine economic independence and true political equality with the West appealed as powerfully in old but weak states like China as in colonial territories like British India.

Nationalist Movements in the Middle East

How did the Ottoman Empire’s collapse in World War I shape nationalist movements in the Middle East?

The most flagrant attempt to expand Western imperialism occurred in southwest Asia (Map 29.1). There the British and the French successfully encouraged an Arab revolt in 1916 and destroyed the Ottoman Empire. Europeans then sought to replace Turks as principal rulers throughout the region. Turkish, Arab, and Persian nationalists, as well as Jewish nationalists arriving from Europe, reacted violently. They struggled to win nationhood, and as the Europeans were forced to make concessions, they sometimes came into sharp conflict with each other, most notably in Palestine.


Ottoman Empire in 1914
British Protectorate in 1914
British Mandate, with date
French Mandate, with date
1923 Date of independence
BULGARIA
Black Sea
Constantinople
Batum
Ceded by Soviet Union in 1921
Caspian Sea
Kars
Baku
SOVIET UNION
GREECE
Izmir
Ankara
TURKEY 1923
Armenians
Azerbaijanis
Tabriz
Dodecanese (It.)
Tigris R.
Kurds
Crete
Aleppo
Euphrates R.
SYRIA 1920
Teheran
Cyprus (Gr. Br.)
LEBANON 1920
Beirut
Damascus
Mediterranean Sea
PALESTINE 1920
Jerusalem
Amman
Baghdad
IRAQ 1920
Kut al Amara
PERSIA (IRAN)
TRANSJORDAN 1920
Cairo
Suez Canal
Basra
EGYPT 1922
KUWAIT
NEUTRAL ZONE
NEUTRAL ZONE
Persian Gulf
Nile R.
HEJAZ (Independent 1916; to Saudi Arabia 1925)
Boundary undefined
BAHRAIN
QATAR
Gulf of Oman
Medina
Riyadh
TRUCIAL OMAN
OMAN
Boundary undefined
Red Sea
SAUDI ARABIA
Mecca
ASIR (Independent 1917; to Saudi Arabia 1920)
ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN
Boundary undefined
YEMEN (Independent 1918)
ERITREA
HADHRAMAUT
Arabian Sea
ADEN
Gulf of Aden
White Nile R.
Blue Nile R.
FRENCH SOMALILAND
Socotra (Gr. Br.)
BRITISH SOMALILAND
ABYSSINIA
ITALIAN SOMALILAND
30°E
40°E
50°E
30°N
20°N
10°N
N
E
S
W
0 100 200 miles
0 100 200 kilometers

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Mapping the Past

MAP 29.1 **The Partition of the Ottoman Empire, 1914–1923** By 1914 the Ottoman Turks had been pushed out of the Balkans, and their Arab provinces were on the edge of revolt. That revolt erupted in the First World War and contributed greatly to the Ottomans' defeat. When the Allies then attempted to implement their plans, including independence for the Armenian people, Mustafa Kemal arose to forge in battle the modern Turkish state.

ANALYZING THE MAP What new countries were established as a result of the partition of the Ottoman Empire? Where were mandates established? What might you conclude about European views of the Middle East based on how Europe divided up the region?

CONNECTIONS How might the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in World War I have contributed to the current situation in the Middle East?

The Arab Revolt

Long subject to European pressure, the Ottoman Empire failed to reform and modernize in the late nineteenth century (see “The Islamic Heartland Under Pressure” in Chapter 25). Declining international stature and domestic tyranny led idealistic exiles to engage in revolutionary activity and motivated army officers to seize power and save the Ottoman state. These patriots, the so-called Young Turks, succeeded in the 1908 revolution, and subsequently they were determined to hold together the remnants of the vast multiethnic empire. Defeated in the Balkan war of 1912 and stripped of practically all territory in Europe, the Young Turks redoubled their efforts in southwest Asia. The most important of their possessions were Syria — consisting of modern-day Lebanon, Syria, Israel, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and Jordan — and Iraq. The Ottoman Turks also claimed the Arabian peninsula but exercised only loose control there.

For centuries the largely Arab populations of Syria and Iraq had been tied to their Ottoman rulers by their common faith in Islam (though there were Christian Arabs as well). Yet beneath the surface, ethnic and linguistic tensions simmered between Turks and Arabs.

Pictures from History/Bridgeman Images

Refugees from the Armenian Genocide An estimated 1.5 million Armenians were killed, or died from hunger and exhaustion, during forced deportation marches carried out by the

Ottoman Turks in 1915–1917. This photo shows some of the 100,000 to 200,000 Armenians who survived. They had been driven into the Syrian Desert and were later discovered at As-Salt in northern Jordan. The refugees were later taken by the British to Jerusalem, and some of their descendants still live in the Armenian Quarter there.

Young Turk actions after 1908 made the embryonic "Arab movement" a reality. The majority of Young Turks promoted a narrow Turkish nationalism. They further centralized the Ottoman Empire and extended the sway of Turkish language and culture. In 1909 the Turkish government brutally slaughtered thousands of Armenian Christians, a prelude to the wholesale massacre of more than a million Armenians during the First World War. Meanwhile, Arab discontent grew.

During World War I the Turks aligned themselves with Germany and Austria-Hungary (see "The War Becomes Global" in Chapter 28). As a result, the Young Turks drew all of the Middle East into what had been up to that point a European war. Arabs opposed to Ottoman rule found themselves allied with the British, who encouraged the alliance with vague promises of an independent Arab kingdom. After British victories on the Arab peninsula in 1917 and 1918, many Arab patriots expected a large, unified Arab state to rise from the dust of the Ottoman collapse. Within two years, however, Arab nationalists felt bitterly betrayed by Great Britain and its allies.

Arab bitterness was partly directed at secret wartime treaties between Britain and France to divide and rule the old Ottoman Empire. In the 1916 **Sykes-Picot Agreement**, Britain and France secretly agreed that France would receive modern-day Lebanon, Syria, and much of southern Turkey, and Britain would receive Palestine, Jordan, and Iraq. The Sykes-Picot Agreement contradicted British promises concerning Arab independence after the war and left Arab nationalists feeling cheated and betrayed.

Sykes-Picot Agreement The 1916 secret agreement between Britain and France that divided up the Arab lands of Lebanon, Syria, southern Turkey, Palestine, Jordan, and Iraq.

A related source of Arab frustration was Britain's wartime commitment to a Jewish homeland in Palestine. The **Balfour Declaration** of November 1917, made by the British foreign secretary Arthur Balfour, declared:

Balfour Declaration A 1917 statement by British foreign secretary Arthur Balfour that supported the idea of a Jewish homeland in Palestine.

> His Majesty's Government views with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish People, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine.[1]

As a careful reading reveals, the Balfour Declaration made contradictory promises to European Jews and Middle Eastern Arabs.

Some British Cabinet members believed the Balfour Declaration would appeal to German, Austrian, and American Jews and thus help the British war effort. Others sincerely supported the Zionist vision of a Jewish homeland (see "Jewish Emancipation and Modern Anti-Semitism" in Chapter 24), but also believed that Jews living in this homeland would be grateful to Britain and thus help maintain British control of the Suez Canal.

In 1914 Jews made up about 11 percent of the predominantly Arab population in the Ottoman territory that became, under British control, Palestine. The "national home for the Jewish People" mentioned in the Balfour Declaration implied to the Arabs — and to the Zionist Jews as well — some kind of Jewish state that would be incompatible with majority rule.

After Faisal bin Hussein's failed efforts at the Paris Peace Conference to secure Arab independence, Arab nationalists met in Damascus at the General Syrian Congress in 1919 and unsuccessfully called again for political independence. (See "Analyzing the Evidence: Resolution of the General Syrian Congress at Damascus," above.) Ignoring Arab opposition, the British mandate in Palestine formally incorporated the Balfour Declaration and its commitment to a Jewish national home. In March 1920 the Syrian National Congress proclaimed Syria independent, with Faisal bin Hussein as king. A similar congress declared Iraq an independent kingdom.

Western reaction to events in Syria and Iraq was swift and decisive. A French army stationed in Lebanon attacked Syria, taking Damascus in July 1920. Faisal fled, and the French took over. Meanwhile, the British put down an uprising in Iraq and established effective control there. Western imperialism appeared to have replaced Turkish rule in the Middle East (see Map 29.1).

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

Resolution of the General Syrian Congress at Damascus

Great Britain and France had agreed to divide up the Arab lands, and the British had also made conflicting promises to Arab and Jewish nationalists. However, President Wilson insisted at the Paris Peace Conference that the right of self-determination should be applied to the conquered Ottoman territories, and he sent an American commission of inquiry to Syria, even though the British and French refused to participate. The commission canvassed political views throughout greater Syria, and its long report with many documents reflected public opinion in the region in 1919.

To present their view to the Americans, Arab nationalists from present-day Syria, Lebanon, Israel, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and Jordan came together in Damascus as the General Syrian Congress, and they passed the following resolution on July 2, 1919. In addition to the Arab call for political independence, the delegates addressed the possibility of French rule under a League of Nations mandate and the establishment of a Jewish national home.

■ We the undersigned members of the General Syrian Congress, meeting in Damascus on Wednesday, July 2nd, 1919, . . . provided with credentials and authorizations by the inhabitants of our various districts, Moslems, Christians, and Jews, have agreed upon the following statement of the desires of the people of the country who have elected us to present them to the American Section of the International Commission; the fifth article was passed by a very large majority; all the other articles were accepted unanimously.

1. We ask absolutely complete political independence for Syria within these boundaries. [Describes the area including the present-day states of Syria, Lebanon, Israel, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and Jordan.]

2. We ask that the Government of this Syrian country should be a democratic civil constitutional Monarchy on broad decentralization principles, safeguarding the rights of minorities, and that the King be the Emir Faisal, who carried on a glorious struggle in the cause of our liberation and merited our full confidence and entire reliance.

3. Considering the fact that the Arabs inhabiting the Syrian area are not naturally less gifted than other more advanced races and that they are by no means less developed than the Bulgarians, Serbians, Greeks, and Roumanians at the beginning of their independence, we protest against Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, placing us among the nations in their middle stage of development which stand in need of a mandatory power.

4. In the event of the rejection by the Peace Conference of this just

protest for certain considerations that we may not understand, we, relying on the declarations of President Wilson that his object in waging war was to put an end to the ambition of conquest and colonization, can only regard the mandate mentioned in the Covenant of the League of Nations as equivalent to the rendering of economical and technical assistance that does not prejudice our complete independence. And desiring that our country should not fall a prey to colonization and believing that the American Nation is farthest from any thought of colonization and has no political ambition in our country, we will seek the technical and economical assistance from the United States of America, provided that such assistance does not exceed 20 years.

5. In the event of America not finding herself in a position to accept our desire for assistance, we will seek this assistance from Great Britain, also provided that such assistance does not infringe the complete independence and unity of our country and that the duration of such assistance does not exceed that mentioned in the previous article.

6. We do not acknowledge any right claimed by the French Government in any part whatever of our Syrian country and refuse that she should assist us or have a hand in our country under any circumstances and in any place.

7. We oppose the pretensions of the Zionists to create a Jewish commonwealth in the southern part of Syria, known as Palestine, and oppose Zionist migration to any part of our country; for we do not acknowledge their title but consider them a grave peril to our people from the national, economical, and political points of view. Our Jewish compatriots shall enjoy our common rights and assume the common responsibilities.

8. We ask that there should be no separation of the southern part of Syria, known as Palestine, nor of the littoral western zone, which includes Lebanon, from the Syrian country. We desire that the unity of the country should be guaranteed against partition under whatever circumstances.

9. We ask complete independence for emancipated Mesopotamia [today’s Iraq] and that there should be no economical barriers between the two countries.

10. The fundamental principles laid down by President Wilson in condemnation of secret treaties impel us to protest most emphatically against any treaty that stipulates the partition of our Syrian country and against any private engagement aiming at the establishment of Zionism in the southern part of Syria; therefore we ask the complete annulment of these conventions and agreements.

The noble principles enunciated by President Wilson strengthen our confidence that our desires emanating from the depths of our hearts, shall be the decisive factor in determining our future; and that President Wilson and the free American people will be our supporters for the realization of our hopes, thereby proving their sincerity and noble sympathy with the aspiration of the weaker nations in general and our Arab people in particular.

We also have the fullest confidence that the Peace Conference will realize that we would not have risen against the Turks, with whom we had participated in all civil, political, and representative privileges, but for their violation of our national rights, and so will grant us our desires in full in order that our political rights may not be less after the war than they were before, since we have shed so much blood in the cause of our liberty and independence.

We request to be allowed to send a delegation to represent us at the Peace Conference to defend our rights and secure the realization of our aspirations.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What kind of state did the delegates want?
2. How did the delegates want to modify an unwanted League of Nations mandate to make it less objectionable?
3. Did the delegates view their “Jewish compatriots” and the Zionists in different ways? Why?

Source: “Resolution of the General Syrian Congress at Damascus, 2 July 1919,” from the *King-Crane Commission Report, in Foreign Relations of the United States: Paris Peace Conference, 1919,* 12: 780–781.

The Turkish Revolution

Days after the end of the First World War, French and then British troops entered Constantinople to begin a five-year occupation of the Ottoman capital. A young English official wrote that he found the Ottoman Empire “utterly smashed.” The Turks were “worn out” from the war, and without bitterness they awaited the construction of a “new system.”[2] The Allies’ new system was blatant imperialism, which proved harsher for the defeated Turks than for the Arabs now free from Turkish rule. A treaty forced on the helpless sultan dismembered Turkey and reduced it to a puppet state. Great Britain and France occupied parts of Turkey, and Italy and Greece claimed shares as well. There was a sizable Greek minority in western Turkey, and Greek nationalists cherished the “Great Idea” of a modern Greek empire modeled on long-dead Christian Byzantium. In 1919 Greek armies carried by British ships landed on the Turkish coast at Smyrna and advanced into the interior. Turkey seemed finished.

Hulton Archive/Getty Images

Mustafa Kemal Surnamed Atatürk, meaning “father of the Turks,” Mustafa Kemal and his supporters imposed revolutionary changes aimed at modernizing and westernizing Turkish society and the new Turkish government. Dancing here with his adopted daughter at her high-society wedding, Atatürk often appeared in public in elegant European dress — a vivid symbol for the Turkish people of his radical break with traditional Islamic teaching and custom.

But Turkey produced a great leader and revived to become an inspiration to the entire Middle East. Mustafa Kemal (moo-STAH-fah kuh-MAHL) (1881–1938), considered the father of modern Turkey, was a military man sympathetic to the Young Turk movement. After the armistice, he watched with anguish the Allies’ aggression and the sultan’s cowardice. In early 1919 he began working to unify Turkish resistance.

The sultan, bowing to Allied pressure, initially denounced Kemal, but the cause of national liberation proved more powerful. The catalyst was the Greek invasion and attempted annexation of much of western Turkey. A young Turkish woman described feelings she shared with countless others:

> After I learned about the details of the Smyrna occupation by Greek armies, I hardly opened my mouth on any subject except when it concerned the sacred struggle. . . . I suddenly ceased to exist as an individual. I worked, wrote and lived as a unit of that magnificent national madness.[3]

Refusing to acknowledge the Allied dismemberment of their country, the Turks battled on through 1920 despite staggering defeats. The next year the Greeks advanced almost to Ankara, the nationalist stronghold in central Turkey. There Mustafa Kemal’s forces took the offensive and won a great victory. The Greeks and their British allies sued for peace. The resulting **Treaty of Lausanne** (1923) recognized a truly independent Turkey, and Turkey lost only its former Arab provinces (see Map 29.1).

Treaty of Lausanne The 1923 treaty that ended the Turkish war and recognized the territorial integrity of a truly independent Turkey.

Mustafa Kemal believed Turkey should modernize and secularize along Western lines. His first moves, beginning in 1923, were political. Kemal called on the National Assembly to depose the sultan and establish a republic, and he had himself elected president. Kemal savagely crushed the demands for independence of ethnic minorities within Turkey like the Armenians and the Kurds, but he realistically abandoned all thought of winning back lost Arab territories. He then created a one-party system in order to work his will.

Kemal’s most radical changes pertained to religion and culture. For centuries most believers’ intellectual and social activities had been regulated by Islamic religious authorities. Profoundly influenced by the example of western Europe, Mustafa Kemal set out, like the philosophes of the Enlightenment, to limit religious influence in daily affairs, but, like Russia’s Peter the Great, he employed dictatorial measures rather than reason and democracy to reach his goal. Kemal decreed a revolutionary separation of church and state. Secular law codes inspired by European models replaced religious courts. State schools replaced religious schools and taught such secular subjects as science, mathematics, and social sciences.

Mustafa Kemal also struck down many entrenched patterns of behavior. Women, traditionally secluded and inferior to males in Islamic society, received the right to vote. Civil law on a European model, rather than the Islamic code, now governed marriage. Women could seek divorces, and no man could have more than one wife at a time. Men were forbidden to wear the tall red fez of the Ottoman era as headgear; government employees were ordered to wear business suits and felt hats, erasing the visible differences between Muslims and "infidel" Europeans. The old Arabic script was replaced with a new Turkish alphabet based on Roman letters, which facilitated massive government efforts to spread literacy after 1928. Finally, in 1935, surnames on the European model were introduced. The National Assembly granted Mustafa Kemal the surname Atatürk, which means "father of the Turks."

By his death in 1938, Atatürk and his supporters had consolidated their revolution. Government-sponsored industrialization was fostering urban growth and new attitudes, encouraging Turks to embrace business and science. Poverty persisted in rural areas, as did some religious discontent among devout Muslims. But like the Japanese after the Meiji Restoration, the Turkish people had rallied around the nationalist banner to repulse European imperialism and were building a modern secular nation-state.

Modernization Efforts in Persia and Afghanistan

In Persia (renamed Iran in 1935) strong-arm efforts to build a unified modern nation ultimately proved less successful than in Turkey. In the late nineteenth century Persia had also been subject to extreme foreign pressure, which stimulated efforts to reform the government as a means of reviving Islamic civilization. In 1906 a nationalistic coalition of merchants, religious leaders, and intellectuals revolted. The despotic shah was forced to grant a constitution and establish a national assembly, the **Majlis** (MAHJ-lis).

Majlis The national assembly established by the despotic shah of Iran in 1906.

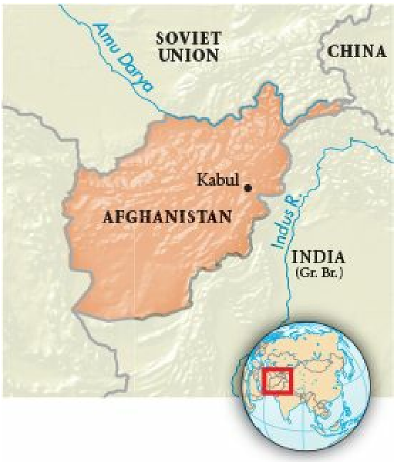
Yet the 1906 Persian revolution was doomed to failure, largely because of European imperialism. Without consulting Iran, in 1907 Britain and Russia divided the country into spheres of influence. Britain's sphere ran along the Persian Gulf; the Russian sphere encompassed the whole northern half of Persia (see Map 29.1). Thereafter Russia intervened constantly. It blocked reforms, occupied cities, and completely dominated the country by 1912. When Russian power collapsed in the Bolshevik Revolution, British armies rushed into the power vacuum. By bribing corrupt Persians, Great Britain in 1919 negotiated a treaty allowing the installation of British “advisers” in every government department.

The Majlis refused to ratify the treaty, and the blatant attempt to make Persia a British satellite aroused the national spirit. In 1921 reaction against the British brought to power a military dictator, Reza Shah Pahlavi (PAH-luh-vee) (1877–1944), who proclaimed himself shah in 1925 and ruled until 1941.

Inspired by Turkey’s Mustafa Kemal, Reza Shah had three basic goals: to build a modern nation, to free Persia from foreign domination, and to rule with an iron fist. The challenge was enormous. Persia was a vast, undeveloped country. The rural population was mostly poor and illiterate, and among the Persian majority were sizable ethnic minorities with their own aspirations. Furthermore, Iran’s powerful religious leaders hated Western (Christian) domination but were equally opposed to a more secular, less Islamic society.

To realize his vision of a strong Persia, the shah created a modern army, built railroads, and encouraged commerce. He won control over ethnic minorities such as the Kurds in the north and Arab tribesmen on the Iraqi border. He reduced the privileges granted to foreigners and raised taxes on the powerful Anglo-Persian Oil Company, which had been founded in 1909 to exploit the first great oil strike in the Middle East. Yet Reza Shah was less successful than Atatürk.

Because the European-educated elite in Persia was smaller than the comparable group in Turkey, the idea of re-creating Persian greatness on the basis of a secularized society attracted relatively few determined supporters. Many powerful religious leaders turned against Reza Shah, and he became increasingly brutal, greedy, and tyrannical.



Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Afghanistan, meanwhile, was nominally independent in the nineteenth century, but the British imposed political restrictions and constantly meddled in the country's affairs. In 1919 emir Amanullah Khan (1892–1960) declared war on the British government in India and won complete independence for the first time. Amanullah (ah-man-UL-lah) then decreed revolutionary modernizing reforms designed to hurl his primitive country into the twentieth century. He established modern, secular schools for both boys and girls, and adult education classes for the predominantly illiterate population. He did away with seclusion and centuries-old dress codes for women, abolished slavery, created the country's first constitution in 1923, restructured and reorganized the economy, and established a legislative assembly and secular (rather than Islamic) court system. The result was tribal and religious revolt, civil war, and retreat from reform. Islam remained both religion and law. A powerful but primitive patriotism enabled Afghanistan to win political independence from the West, but not to build a modern society.

Gradual Independence in the Arab States

French and British mandates forced Arab nationalists to seek independence by gradual means after 1920. Arab nationalists were indirectly aided by Western taxpayers who wanted cheap — that is, peaceful — empires. As a result, Arabs won considerable control over local affairs in the mandated states, except Palestine, though the mandates remained European satellites in international and economic affairs.

In Iraq the British chose Faisal bin Hussein, whom the French had deposed in Syria, as king. Faisal obligingly gave British advisers broad behind-the-scenes control. The king also accepted British ownership of

Iraq's oil fields, consequently giving the West a stranglehold on the Iraqi economy. Given the severe limitations imposed on him, Faisal (r. 1921–1933) proved to be an able ruler, gaining his peoples' support and encouraging moderate reforms. In 1932 he secured Iraqi independence at the price of a restrictive long-term military alliance with Great Britain.

Egypt had been occupied by Great Britain since 1882 (see "Egypt: From Reform to British Occupation" in Chapter 25) and had been a British protectorate since 1914. Following intense nationalist agitation after the Great War, Great Britain in 1922 proclaimed Egypt formally independent but continued to occupy the country militarily and control its politics. In 1936 the British agreed to restrict their troops to their bases in the Suez Canal Zone.

The French compromised less in their handling of their mandated Middle East territories. Following the Ottoman Empire's collapse after World War I, the French designated Lebanon as one of several ethnic enclaves within a larger area that became part of the French mandate of Syria. They practiced a policy of divide and rule and generally played off ethnic and religious minorities against each other. In 1926 Lebanon became a separate republic but remained under the control of the French mandate. Arab nationalists in Syria finally won promises of Syrian independence in 1936 in return for a friendship treaty with France.

In short, the Arab states gradually freed themselves from Western political mandates but not from Western military threats or from pervasive Western influence. Since large Arab landowners and urban merchants increased their wealth and political power after 1918, they often supported the Western hegemony. Radical nationalists, on the other hand, recognized that Western control of the newly discovered Arab oil fields was proof that economic independence and genuine freedom had not yet been achieved.

Arab-Jewish Tensions in Palestine

Relations between the Arabs and the West were complicated by the tense situation in the British mandate of Palestine, and that situation deteriorated in the interwar years. Both Arabs and Jews denounced the British, who tried unsuccessfully to compromise with both sides. Arab nationalist anger, however, was aimed primarily at Jewish settlers. The key issue was Jewish migration from Europe to Palestine.

Jewish nationalism, known as Zionism, took shape in Europe in the late nineteenth century under Theodor Herzl's leadership (see "Jewish Emancipation and Modern Anti-Semitism" in Chapter 24). Herzl believed only a Jewish state could guarantee Jews dignity and security. The Zionist movement encouraged some of the world's Jews to settle in Palestine, but until 1921 the great majority of Jewish emigrants preferred the United States.

After 1921 the situation changed radically. An isolationist United States drastically limited immigration from eastern Europe, where war and revolution had kindled anti-Semitism. Moreover, the British began honoring the Balfour Declaration despite Arab protests. Thus Jewish immigration to Palestine from turbulent Europe in the interwar years grew rapidly, particularly after Adolf Hitler became German chancellor in 1933. By 1939 Palestine's Jewish population had increased almost fivefold since 1914 and accounted for about 30 percent of all inhabitants.

Jewish settlers in Palestine faced formidable difficulties. Although much of the land purchased by the Jewish National Fund was productive, the sellers of such land were often wealthy absentee Arab landowners who cared little for their Arab tenants' welfare. When the Jewish settlers replaced those long-time Arab tenants, Arab farmers and intellectuals burned with a sense of injustice. Moreover, most Jewish immigrants came from urban backgrounds and preferred to establish new cities like Tel Aviv or to live in existing towns, where they competed with the Arabs. The land issue combined with economic and cultural friction to harden Arab protest into hatred.

Courtesy Kibbutz Kfar Blum Archives

קרן קימת
לישראל
ציון
REDEEM THE LAND of ISRAEL!

Courtesy National Jewish Fund

Kibbutz Children Picking Grapes Many of the early kibbutzim, such as this one at Kfar Blum in Israel's northern Galilee, were agricultural settlements that produced cotton and fruits such as grapes, oranges, and apples, which were then packed and shipped around the world. They also produced most of the food eaten by the members. On the kibbutz, as these children illustrate, all did their share of the work. Collection boxes for the Zionist cause (bottom) date back to 1884, but donations became more standardized after the founding of the Jewish National Fund in 1901. The first Blue Box appeared in 1904, with the suggestion that a box be placed in every Jewish home around the world and contributed to as often as possible. Still collected today, Blue Box donations fund projects such as planting forests, establishing parks, and building roads and water reservoirs in the Israeli state.

The British gradually responded to Arab pressure and tried to slow Jewish immigration. This effort satisfied neither Jews nor Arabs, and between 1936 and 1939 the three communities (Arab, Jewish, and British) were engaged in an undeclared civil war. On the eve of the Second World War, the frustrated British proposed an independent Palestine with the number of Jews permanently limited to only about one-third of the total population. Zionists felt themselves in grave danger of losing their dream of an independent Jewish state.

Nevertheless, in the face of adversity Jewish settlers gradually succeeded in forging a cohesive community in Palestine. Hebrew, for centuries used only in religious worship, was revived as a living language in the 1920s–1930s to bind the Jews in Palestine together. Despite its slow beginnings, rural development achieved often remarkable results. The key unit of agricultural organization was the **kibbutz**, a collective farm on which each member shared equally in the work, rewards, and defense. An egalitarian socialist ideology also characterized industry, which grew rapidly. By 1939 a new but old nation was emerging in the Middle East.

kibbutz A Jewish collective farm, first established by Zionists in Palestine, on which each member shared equally in the work, rewards, and defense.

Toward Self-Rule in India

What role did Gandhi and his campaign of militant nonviolence play in leading India to independence from the British?

The nationalist movement in British India grew out of two interconnected cultures, Hindu and Muslim. While the two joined together to challenge British rule, they also came to see themselves as fundamentally different. Nowhere has modern nationalism's power both to unify and to divide been more strikingly demonstrated than in India.

British Promises and Repression

Indian nationalism had emerged in the late nineteenth century (see "The British and the Indian Educated Elite" in Chapter 26), and when the First World War began, the British feared an Indian revolt. Instead Indians supported the war effort. About 1.2 million Indian soldiers and laborers voluntarily served in Europe, Africa, and the Middle East. The British government in India and the native Indian princes sent large supplies of food, money, and ammunition. In return, the British opened more good government jobs to Indians and made other minor concessions.

© Mary Evans Picture Library/The Image Works

British Man Fishing in India British colonial officials, such as this gentleman reposing in a wicker chair while fishing in India around 1925, enjoyed lifestyles that were often much more comfortable than would have been the case back in England. Gardeners, chauffeurs, maids, cooks, and other personal servants, like the three men helping the fisher, were commonly hired to wait on the colonists hand and foot. Some justified the lifestyle as demonstrating the refinements of civilization — part of the white man's burden.

As the war in distant Europe ground on, however, inflation, high taxes, food shortages, and a terrible influenza epidemic created widespread suffering and discontent. The prewar nationalist movement revived, becoming stronger than ever, and moderates and radicals in the Indian National Congress Party joined forces. Moreover, in 1916 Hindu leaders in the Congress Party hammered out an alliance — the **Lucknow Pact** — with India's Muslim League. The Lucknow (LUHK-noh) Pact forged a powerful united front of Hindus and Muslims and called for putting India on an equal footing with self-governing British dominions like Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.

Lucknow Pact A 1916 alliance between the Hindus leading the Indian National Congress Party and the Muslim League.

The British response to the Lucknow Pact was mixed. In August 1917 the British called for the "gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India."[4] But the proposed self-government was much more limited than that granted the British dominions. In late 1919 the British established a dual administration: part Indian and elected, part British and authoritarian. Such uncontroversial activities as agriculture and health were transferred from British to Indian officials, but sensitive matters like taxes, police, and the courts remained solely in British hands.

Old-fashioned authoritarian rule also seriously undermined whatever positive impact this reform might have had. The 1919 Rowlatt Acts indefinitely extended wartime "emergency measures" designed to curb unrest and root out "conspiracy." The result was a wave of rioting across India.

Under these tense conditions a crowd of some ten thousand gathered to celebrate a Sikh religious festival in an enclosed square in the Sikh (SEEK) holy city of Amritsar (ahm-RIHT-suhr) in the northern Punjab province. Unknown to the crowd, the local English commander, General Reginald Dyer, had banned all public meetings that very day. Dyer marched his troops into the square and, without warning, ordered them to fire into the crowd until the ammunition ran out. Official British records of the Amritsar Massacre list 379 killed and 1,137 wounded, but these figures remain hotly contested as being too low. Tensions flared, and India stood on the verge of more violence and repression. That India took a different path to national liberation was due largely to Mohandas K. Gandhi (1869–1948), the most influential Indian leader of modern times.

The Roots of Militant Nonviolence

Gandhi grew up in a well-to-do family, and after his father's death he went to study law in England, where he passed the English bar. Upon returning to India, he decided in 1893 to try a case for some wealthy Indian merchants in the British colony of Natal (part of modern South Africa). It was a momentous decision.

In Natal Gandhi took up the plight of the expatriate Indian community. White plantation owners had been importing thousands of poor Indians as indentured laborers since the 1860s. Some of these Indians, after completing their period of indenture, remained in Natal as free persons and economic competitors. In response, the Afrikaner (of Dutch descent) and British settlers passed brutally discriminatory laws. Poor Indians had to work on plantations or return to India. Rich Indians, who had previously had the vote in Natal, lost that right in 1896. Gandhi undertook his countrymen's legal defense.

Meanwhile, Gandhi was searching for a spiritual theory of social action. He studied Hindu and Christian teachings and gradually developed a weapon for the poor and oppressed that he called **satyagraha** (suh-TYAH-gruh-huh). Gandhi conceived of satyagraha, loosely translated as "soul force," as a means of striving for truth and social justice through love and a willingness to suffer the oppressor's blows, while trying to convert him or her to one's views of what is true and just. Its tactic was active nonviolent resistance.

satyagraha Loosely translated as "soul force," which Gandhi believed was the means of striving for truth and social justice through love, suffering, and conversion of the oppressor.

When South Africa's white government severely restricted Asian immigration and internal freedom of movement, Gandhi put his philosophy into action and organized a nonviolent mass resistance campaign. Thousands of Indian men and women marched in peaceful protest and withstood beatings, arrest, and imprisonment.

In 1914 South Africa's exasperated whites agreed to many of the Indians' demands. They passed a law abolishing discriminatory taxes on Indian traders, recognized the legality of non-Christian marriages, and permitted the continued immigration of free Indians.

Gandhi's Resistance Campaign in India

In 1915 Gandhi returned to India a hero. The masses hailed him as a mahatma, or "great soul" — a Hindu title of veneration for a man of great knowledge and humanity. In 1920 Gandhi launched a national campaign of nonviolent resistance to British rule. He urged his countrymen to boycott British goods, jobs, and honors and told peasants not to pay taxes.

The nationalist movement had previously touched only the tiny, prosperous, Western-educated elite. Now both the illiterate masses of village India and the educated classes heard Gandhi's call for militant nonviolent resistance. It particularly appealed to the masses of Hindus who were not members of the warrior caste or the so-called military races and who were traditionally passive and nonviolent. The British had regarded ordinary Hindus as cowards. Gandhi told them that they could be courageous and even morally superior:

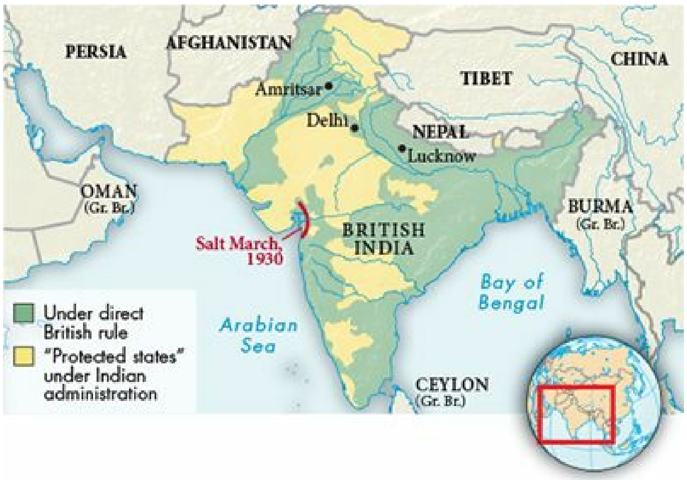
> What do you think? Wherein is courage required — in blowing others to pieces from behind a cannon, or with a smiling face to approach a cannon and be blown to pieces? Who is the true warrior — he who keeps death always as a bosom-friend, or he who controls the death of others? Believe me that a man devoid of courage and manhood can never be a passive resister.[5]

Gandhi made the Indian National Congress into a mass political party, welcoming members from every ethnic group and cooperating closely with the Muslim minority.

In 1922 some Indian resisters turned to violence, murdering twenty-two policemen. Savage riots broke out, and Gandhi abruptly called off his campaign, observing that he had "committed a Himalayan blunder in placing civil disobedience before those who had never learnt the art of civil disobedience."[6] Arrested for fomenting rebellion, Gandhi served two years in prison. Upon his release Gandhi set up a commune, established a national newspaper, and set out to reform Indian society and improve the lot of the poor. For Gandhi moral improvement, social progress, and the national movement went hand in hand. Above all, Gandhi nurtured national identity and self-respect. He also tried to instill in India's people the courage to overcome their fear of their colonial rulers and to fight these rulers with nonviolence. (See "Global Viewpoints: Gandhi and Mao on

Revolutionary Means,” page 868.)

During Gandhi’s time in prison (1922–1924) the Indian National Congress had splintered into various factions, and Gandhi spent the years after his release quietly trying to reunite the organization. In 1929 the radical nationalists, led by Jawaharlal Nehru (juh-WAH-hur-lahl NAY-roo) (1889–1964), pushed through the National Congress a resolution calling for virtual independence within a year. The British stiffened in their resolve against Indian independence, and Indian radicals talked of a bloody showdown.


PERSIA
AFGHANISTAN
Amritsar
Delhi
TIBET
CHINA
NEPAL
Lucknow
OMAN (Gr. Br.)
Salt March, 1930
BRITISH INDIA
BURMA (Gr. Br.)
Bay of Bengal
Arabian Sea
CEYLON (Gr. Br.)
🟩 Under direct British rule
🟨 “Protected states” under Indian administration

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin’s

India, ca. 1930

Into this tense situation Gandhi masterfully reasserted his leadership, taking a hard line toward the British but insisting on nonviolent methods. He organized a massive resistance campaign against the tax on salt, which gave the British a veritable monopoly on the salt that was absolutely necessary for survival in India’s heat and humidity and affected every Indian family. From March 12 to April 6, 1930, Gandhi led tens of thousands of people in a spectacular march to the sea, where he made salt in defiance of the law. A later demonstration at the British-run Dharasana (dahr-AH-sahn-nah) salt works resulted in many of the 2,500 nonviolent marchers being beaten senseless by policemen in a brutal and well-publicized encounter. Over the next months the British arrested Gandhi and sixty thousand other protesters for making and distributing salt. But the protests continued, and in 1931 the frustrated and unnerved British released Gandhi from jail and sat down to negotiate with him over Indian self-rule. Negotiations resulted in a new constitution, the Government of India Act, in 1935, which greatly strengthened India’s parliamentary representative institutions and gave Indians some voice in the administration of British India.

© SZ Photo/Scherl/Bridgeman Images

Gandhi on the Salt March, March 1930 A small, frail man, Gandhi possessed enormous courage and determination. His campaign of nonviolent resistance to British rule inspired the Indian masses and mobilized a nation. Here he is shown walking on his famous march to the sea to protest the English-Indian government’s monopoly on salt production.

Despite his best efforts, Gandhi failed to heal a widening split between Hindus and Muslims. Indian nationalism, based largely on Hindu symbols and customs, increasingly disturbed the Muslim minority, represented by the Muslim League led by the Western-educated Bombay lawyer Muhammad Ali Jinnah (jee-NAH) (1876–1948). Tempers mounted, and both sides committed atrocities. By the late 1930s Muslim League leaders were calling for the creation of a Muslim nation in British India, a “Pakistan,” or “land of the pure.” As in Palestine, the rise of conflicting nationalisms in India based on religion would lead to tragedy (see “Independence in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh” in Chapter 31).

GLOBAL VIEWPOINTS

Gandhi and Mao on Revolutionary Means

India's Mohandas Gandhi and China's Mao Zedong successfully led two of the largest and most populous nations to independence in the late 1940s. Although both drew much of their support from the peasant masses, their political philosophies were exact oppposites.

Gandhi believed active nonviolent disobedience to British rule was the only way Indians could break free of British rule and gain independence. Mao, in his *Little Red Book*, argues that "power flows from the barrel of a gun," and that only through the use of violence can the Chinese masses rid themselves of corrupt warlords, cruel landowners, imperialist occupiers, and ruling elites.

Mohandas Gandhi

■ Complete civil disobedience is rebellion without the element of violence in it. An out-and-out resister simply ignores the authority of the State. He becomes an outlaw claiming to disregard every unmoral State law. Thus, for instance, he may refuse to pay taxes, he may refuse to recognize the authority in his daily intercourse. . . . In doing all this he never uses force and never resists force when it is used against him. In fact, he invites imprisonment and other uses of force against himself. This he does because and when he finds the bodily freedom he seemingly enjoys to be an intolerable burden. He argues to himself that a State allows personal freedom only in so far as the citizen submits to its regulations. Submission to the State law is the price a citizen pays for his personal liberty. Submission, therefore, to a State wholly or largely unjust is an immoral barter for liberty. . . .

A body of civil resisters is, therefore, like an army subject to all the discipline of a soldier. . . . And as a civil resistance army is or ought to be free from passion because free from the spirit of retaliation, it requires the fewest number of soldiers. Indeed, one *perfect* civil resister is enough to win the battle of Right against Wrong. [1921]

You might of course say that there can be no nonviolent rebellion and there has been none known to history. Well, it is my ambition to provide an instance, and it is my dream that my country may win its freedom through nonviolence. And, I would like to repeat to the world times without number, that I will not purchase my country's freedom at the cost of nonviolence. My marriage to nonviolence is such an absolute thing that I would rather commit suicide than be deflected from my position. I have not mentioned truth in this connection, simply because truth cannot be expressed except by nonviolence. [1931]

Mao Zedong

■ *War* is the highest form of struggle for resolving contradictions, when they have developed to a certain state, between classes, nations, states, or political groups, and it has existed ever since the emergence of private property and of classes.

The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally, for China and for all other countries.

According to the Marxist theory of the state, . . . whoever wants to seize and retain state power must have a strong army. Some people ridicule us as advocates of the "omnipotence of war." Yes, we are advocates of the omnipotence of revolutionary war; that is good, not bad, it is Marxist. Experience in the class struggle in the era of imperialism teaches us that it is only by the power of the gun that the working class and the laboring masses can defeat the armed bourgeoisie and landlords; in this sense we may say that only with guns can the whole world be transformed.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. According to Gandhi, when should people resort to nonviolent disobedience in opposing their rulers?
2. According to Mao, what is the highest form of revolution? What theory does he draw on for this conclusion?

Sources: Mahatma Gandhi, "Young India, November 10, 1921" and "Young India, November 12, 1931," in *All Men Are Brothers: Autobiographical Reflections*, ed. Krishna Kripalani (New York: Continuum, 1997), pp. 81, 135–136. Reprinted by permission of the Navajivan Trust; Mao Tsetung, *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tsetung* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1972), pp. 58, 61–63.

Nationalist Struggles in East and Southeast Asia

How did nationalism shape political developments in East and Southeast Asia?

Because of the efforts of the Meiji reformers, nationalism and modernization were well developed in Japan by 1914. Japan competed politically and economically with the world's leading nations, building its own empire and proclaiming its special mission in Asia. Initially China lagged behind, but after 1912 the pace of nationalist development began to quicken.

By promoting extensive modernization in the 1920s, the Chinese nationalist movement managed to reduce the power and influence both of the warlords who controlled large territories in the interior and of the imperialist West. This achievement was soon undermined, however, by an internal civil war followed by war with an expanding Japan. Nationalism also flourished elsewhere in Asia, scoring a major victory in the Philippines.

The Rise of Nationalist China

The 1911 Revolution led by Sun Yatsen (1866–1925) overthrew the Qing (CHING) Dynasty, and after four thousand years of monarchy the last Chinese emperor, Puyi (1906–1967), abdicated in February 1912 (see "Republican Revolution" in Chapter 26). Sun Yatsen (soon yaht-SEHN) proclaimed China a republic and thereby opened an era of unprecedented change for Chinese society. In 1912 Sun Yatsen turned over leadership of the republican government to the other central figure in the revolution, Yuan Shigai (yoo-AHN shee-KIGH). Originally called out of retirement to save the Qing Dynasty, Yuan (1859–1916) betrayed its Manchu leaders and convinced the revolutionaries that he could unite the country peacefully and prevent foreign intervention. Once elected president of the republic, however, Yuan concentrated on building his own power. In 1913 he used military force to dissolve China's parliament and ruled as a dictator. China's first modern revolution had failed.

The extent of the failure became apparent only after Yuan's death in 1916, when the central government in Beijing almost disintegrated. For more than a decade thereafter, power resided in a multitude of local military leaders, the so-called warlords. Their wars, taxes, and corruption created terrible suffering.

Foreign imperialism intensified the agony of warlordism. Japan's expansion into Shandong and southern Manchuria during World War I angered China’s growing middle class and enraged China’s young patriots (see Map 29.2, page 878). On May 4, 1919, five thousand students in Beijing exploded against the decision of the Paris Peace Conference to leave the Shandong Peninsula in Japanese hands. This famous incident launched the **May Fourth Movement**, which opposed both foreign domination and warlord government. (See “Thinking Like a Historian: Interpreting the May Fourth Movement,” page 874.)

May Fourth Movement A Chinese nationalist movement against foreign imperialists and warlord rule; it began as a 1919 student protest against the decision of the Paris Peace Conference to leave the Shandong Peninsula in the hands of Japan.

The May Fourth Movement, which was both strongly pro-Marxist and passionately anti-imperialist, looked to the October 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia as a model for its own nationalist revolution. In 1923 Sun Yatsen decided to ally his Nationalist Party, or Guomindang (gwoh-mihn-dang), with Lenin’s Communist Third International and the newly formed Chinese Communist Party. The result was the first of many so-called national liberation fronts.

Sun, however, was no Communist. In his *Three Principles of the People*, elaborating on the official Nationalist Party ideology — nationalism, democracy, and people’s livelihood — nationalism remained of prime importance:

> Compared to the other peoples of the world we have the greatest population and our civilization is four thousand years old; we should be advancing in the front rank with the nations of Europe and America. But the Chinese people . . . do not have national spirit. . . . If we do not earnestly espouse nationalism and weld together our four hundred million people into a strong nation, there is a danger of China’s being lost and our people being destroyed. If we wish to avert this catastrophe, we must . . . bring this national spirit to the salvation of the country.[7]

Democracy, in contrast, had a less exalted meaning. Sun equated it with firm rule by the Nationalists, who would improve people’s lives through land reform and welfare measures.

Sun planned to use the Nationalist Party’s revolutionary army to crush the warlords and reunite China under a strong central government. When

Sun unexpectedly died in 1925, Jiang Jieshi (known in the West as Chiang Kai-shek) (1887–1975) took his place. In 1926 and 1927 Jiang Jieshi (jee-ang jee-shee) led Nationalist armies in a successful attack on warlord governments in central and northern China. In 1928 the Nationalists established a new capital at Nanjing. Foreign states recognized the Nanjing government, and superficial observers believed China to be truly reunified.

In fact, national unification was only skin-deep. China remained a vast agricultural country plagued by foreign concessions, regional differences, and a lack of modern communications. Moreover, the uneasy alliance between the Nationalist Party and the Chinese Communist Party had turned into a bitter, deadly rivalry. Fearful of Communist subversion of the Nationalist government, Jiang decided in April 1927 to liquidate his left-wing “allies” in a bloody purge. Chinese Communists went into hiding and vowed revenge.

THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN

Interpreting the May Fourth Movement

On May 4, 1919, several thousand students at Peking (Beijing) University demonstrated against Japan’s receipt of Germany’s former territorial privileges in China’s Shandong province. The protest soon acquired a much broader agenda, however, by incorporating the causes of the New Culture Movement that had begun in the mid-1910s. These included the promotion of democracy, science, equality, modernization, education reform, the revision of the land tenure system, women’s emancipation, and opposition to foreign influences in China.

1 **Luo Jialun, “Notice from Beijing Educational Circles,” May 4, 1919.** This notice, drafted by a Peking University student, was printed on a flyer that was circulated among the crowd during the student demonstration in Beijing on May 4, 1919. The students first listened to speeches and then began a march toward Beijing’s diplomatic quarter.

■ The Japanese demands at the Peace Conference to annex Qingdao and to adminster all the rights to Shandong are going to succeed! Their diplomacy has triumphed! Our diplomacy has failed! If Shandong is lost, it will wreck China’s territory! If China’s territory is wrecked, China will perish! That is why we from the educational circles have lined up today to go to the various legations in order to ask the countries involved to do justice. We urge our country’s industrial and commercial sectors to rise up and organize a national assembly, to fight for sovereignty abroad and to drive out the traitors at home. China’s fate depends on this! Today we propose to our compatriots these two principles:

> China’s land may be conquered but it must not be forfeited!
> China’s people may be killed but they must not surrender!
> The Country will perish! Countrymen arise!

2 **Chen Duxiu, excerpt from “Should We Be Patriotic After All?” 1922.** Chen Duxiu (too-shoe) was dean of humanities at Peking University. He was arrested and imprisoned on June 8, 1919, for his participation in the May Fourth Movement.

■ Since the outbreak of the Shandong crisis, patriotic chanting is heard everywhere. It is therefore all the more important to raise the question: should we be patriotic or not? To ask this rational question in the midst of an emotional upheaval is particularly important, since reason is frequently in conflict with mass psychology. . . . Nationalism is chiefly an emotional response. It can drive people to extreme, irrational behavior — take the example of the German and Japanese military. . . . [N]ationalism is just another excuse for harming people, making them blind, mad enough to sacrifice themselves. We uneducated, ignorant, disorganized Chinese people aren’t fit for patriotism yet, much less for the long-range reflection about what kind of country we want. But this need not always be so.

3 **Tianjin Awakening Society, "Declaration on Marriage, Education, and Economics," 1919.** The Tianjin Awakening Society was formed during the New Culture Movement and included both male and female members. Participation in groups like this had a liberating effect on the women involved and allowed them to focus their activities on their foremost concerns: marriage, education, and economics.

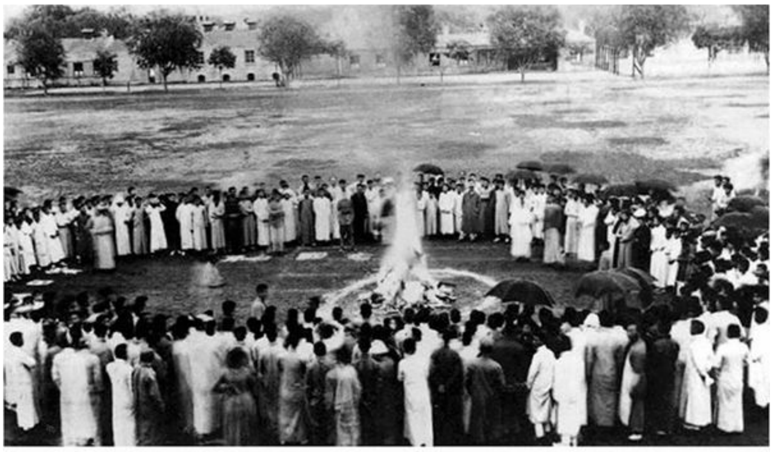
■ Marriage is a matter which many young men and women earnestly hope can be satisfactorily revolved. Since most young men and women are under the oppression of headstrong parents, have no opportunity to fight back, and even submit to parents making decisions on their behalf, malignant outcomes are frequent and everywhere to be seen. . . . Oh, loveable and vivacious young women! Do not be afraid of offending your parents, do not be afraid of offending your parents-in-law, and do not be afraid of offending your husband or other kinfolk. If you feel the environment is unfit for your existence you should courageously break away from it. Society is replete with persons who sympathize with you and who are ready to assist you. Hurry up and join hands with them!

4 **Hu Shih on the work remaining, December 1919**. Hu Shih was a Western-educated Chinese philosopher and one of the leaders of the New Culture Movement. He coined the phrases "Mr. Democracy" and "Mr. Science" to encourage the adoption of these Western ideals. In this excerpt, Hu Shih mentions some of the actions that remain to be taken to modernize China and promote democracy and science.

■ It was the nonpolitical forces — the students, the merchants, the demonstrations and street orations, and the boycott — that did the work and triumphed. This was a great revelation and produced a new optimism.

. . . [W]e still have the masses to educate, the women to emancipate, the schools to reform, the home industries to develop, the family system to reshape, the dead and antiquated ideas to combat, the false and harmful idols to dethrone, the many, many social and economic wrongs to redress. It is in these new channels of activity that Young China, with reawakened hope and vigor, is now working slowly but steadily to rebuild a new foundation for Chinese democracy.

5 **Tsinghua University students burn Japanese goods, 1919.** One of the actions taken by the Chinese university students was to burn imported Japanese goods.



© Pictures from History/The Image Works

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. According to Source 1, what actions do the students intend to take to accomplish their goals? What are their guiding principles?
2. In Source 2, why is Chen Duxiu concerned about patriotism and nationalism? What kinds of actions does he say these two "isms" evoke?
3. According to Source 3, what kinds of actions should young women take in the changing China of 1919? Why might they be afraid of this change in Chinese society?
4. According to Hu Shih in Source 4, what kinds of changes still need to be carried out?
5. Why are the students burning Japanese goods in the photo in Source 5? What do the Japanese goods represent?

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

Using the sources above, along with what you have learned in class and in this chapter, write a short essay about the anti-imperialist, political, and cultural revolution initiated by the May Fourth and New Culture Movements. What were the students seeking to change? Why was Marxism an important ideology in the movement?

Sources: (1) "Notice from Beijing Educational Circles," quoted in Chen Pingyuan, *Touches of History: An Entry into "May Fourth" China*, Michel Hockx, trans. (Boston: Brill, 2011), p. 26; (2) Chen Duxiu, "Should We Be Patriotic After All?" quoted in Vera Schwarcz, *The Chinese Enlightenment: Intellectuals and the Legacy of the May Fourth Movement of 1919* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), p. 23; (3) Quoted in Yunzhi Geng, *An Introductory Study on China's Cultural Transformation in Recent Time* (Berlin: Springer-Verlag, 2015), p. 286; (4) Hu Shih, "Intellectual China in 1919," quoted in Jerome B. Grieder, *Hu Shih and the Chinese Renaissance: Liberalism in the Chinese Revolution, 1917–1937* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970), p. 177.

China’s Intellectual Revolution

Nationalism was the most powerful idea in China between 1911 and 1929, but it was only one aspect of a complex intellectual revolution, generally known as the **New Culture Movement**, that hammered at traditional Chinese thought and custom, advocated cultural renaissance, and pushed China into the modern world. The New Culture Movement was founded around 1916 by young Western-oriented intellectuals in Beijing. These intellectuals attacked Confucian ethics, which subordinated subjects to rulers, sons to fathers, and wives to husbands. As modernists, they advocated new and anti-Confucian virtues: individualism, democratic equality, and the critical scientific method. They also promoted the use of simple, understandable written language as a means to clear thinking and mass education. China, they said, needed a whole new culture, a radically different worldview. (See “Thinking Like a Historian: Interpreting the May Fourth Movement,” page 874.)

New Culture Movement An intellectual revolution beginning in 1916 that attacked traditional Chinese, particularly Confucian, culture and promoted Western ideas of science, democracy, and individualism.

Many intellectuals thought the radical worldview China needed was Marxist socialism. It, too, was Western in origin, “scientific” in approach, and materialist in its denial of religious belief and Confucian family ethics. But while liberalism and individualism reflected the bewildering range of Western thought since the Enlightenment, Marxist socialism offered the certainty of a single all-encompassing creed. As one young Communist intellectual exclaimed, “I am now able to impose order on all the ideas which I could not reconcile; I have found the key to all the problems which appeared to me self-contradictory and insoluble.”[8]

Marxism provided a means of criticizing Western dominance, thereby salving Chinese pride. Chinese Communists could blame China’s pitiful weakness on rapacious foreign capitalistic imperialism. Thus Marxism, as modified by Lenin and applied by the Bolsheviks in the Soviet Union, appeared as a means of catching up with the hated but envied West. For Chinese believers, it promised salvation soon. (See “Analyzing the Evidence: The Fate of a Chinese Patriot,” page 871.)

Chinese Communists could and did interpret Marxism-Leninism to appeal to the masses — the peasants. Mao Zedong (sometimes spelled

Mao Tse-tung) in particular quickly recognized the impoverished Chinese peasantry's enormous revolutionary potential. (See "Global Viewpoints: Gandhi and Mao on Revolutionary Means," page 868.) A member of a prosperous, hard-working peasant family, Mao Zedong (maow-dzuh-dahng) (1893–1976) converted to Marxist socialism in 1918. He began his revolutionary career as an urban labor organizer. In 1925 protest strikes by Chinese textile workers against their Japanese employers unexpectedly spread from the big coastal cities to rural China, prompting Mao (like Lenin in Russia) to reconsider the peasants (see "Lenin and the Bolshevik Revolution" in Chapter 28). Investigating the rapid growth of radical peasant associations in Hunan province, Mao argued passionately in a 1927 report:

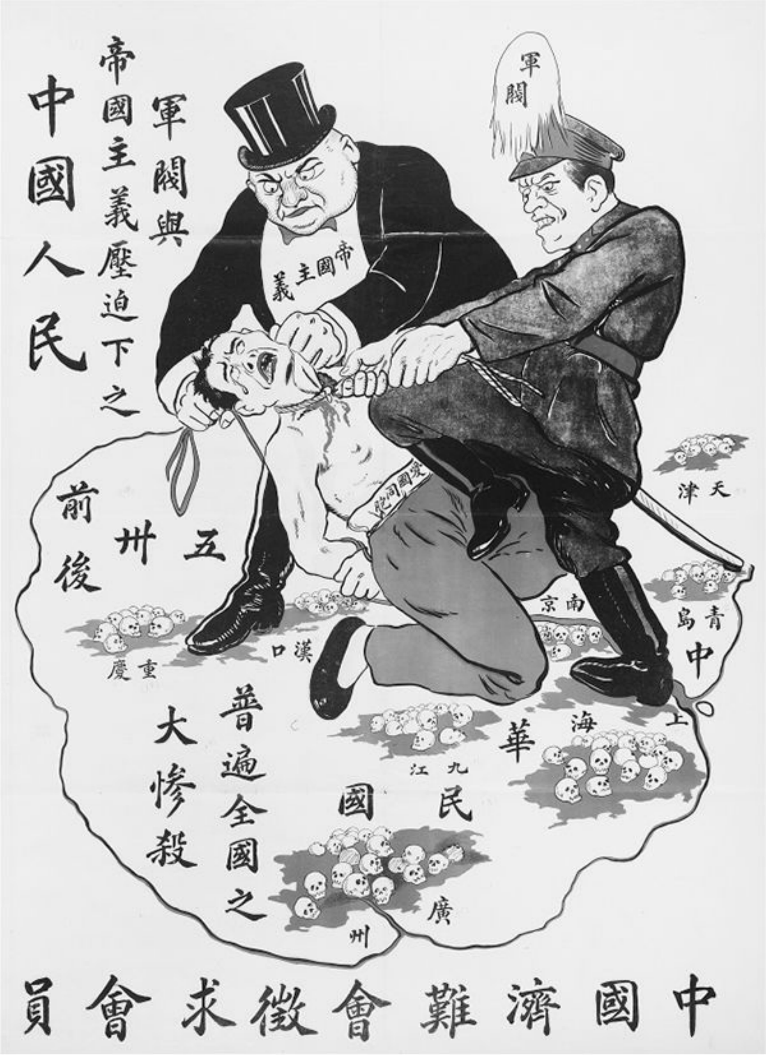
> The force of the peasantry is like that of the raging winds and driving rain. It is rapidly increasing in violence. No force can stand in its way. The peasantry will tear apart all nets which bind it and hasten along the road to liberation. They will bury beneath them all forces of imperialism, militarism, corrupt officialdom, village bosses and evil gentry.[9]

Mao's first experiment in peasant revolt — the Autumn Harvest Uprising of September 1927 — was not successful, but Mao learned quickly. He advocated equal distribution of land and broke up his forces into small guerrilla groups. After 1928 he and his supporters built up a self-governing Communist soviet, centered at Jiangxi (jee-AHNG-shee) in southeastern China, and dug in against Nationalist attacks.

China's intellectual revolution also stimulated profound changes in popular culture and family life. (See "Individuals in Society: Ning Lao, a Chinese Working Woman," at right.) After the 1911 Revolution Chinese women enjoyed increasingly greater freedom and equality, and gradually gained unprecedented educational and economic opportunities. Thus rising nationalism and the intellectual revolution interacted with monumental changes in Chinese family life.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

The Fate of a Chinese Patriot



Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C./LC-USZ62-99451

On May 30, 1925, British municipal police in Shanghai opened fire on a group of Chinese demonstrators who were protesting unfair labor practices and wages and the foreign imperialist presence in their country. The police killed thirteen people and wounded many others, touching off nationwide and international protests and attacks on foreign offices and businesses. Merchants and workers across the country organized strikes and boycotts against Japanese and British goods and factories. The Chinese Communist Party in particular benefited significantly from the anti-imperialist sentiment stirred up by this incident, with party membership swelling from only a few hundred members to over twenty thousand. The unrest lasted for three months, until the British fired the policemen involved and paid a cash indemnity to the families of the wounded and dead.

This political cartoon shows the fate of the Chinese patriots at the hands of warlords and foreign imperialists. The Chinese characters on the plume of the soldier’s hat say

“Warlords,” referring to the large private armies that many landowners employed to maintain control over the territory they had seized. The label on the chest of the fat, obviously Western man says, “Foreign Imperialism.” The waistband on the patriot being choked reads, “Patriotic compatriot.” In the upper left-hand corner the characters read, “Warlords and Imperialists’ oppression of the Chinese people, before and after May 30, 1925.” The “map” that the figures stand on represents “The Republic of China.” Each place where there is a pile of skulls and blood is labeled with the name of a city where massacres occurred: Qingdao, Nanjing, Shanghai, Jiujiang, Guangzhou, Hankou, and Chongqing. The Chinese characters on the map in the lower left corner read, “The massacres of the entire country.” The name of the organization producing the cartoon is written across the bottom: “Membership Drive of the Chinese Salvation Association.”

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Which figures represent Chinese warlords, foreign imperialists, and Chinese patriots?
2. What does the cartoon suggest about the fate of the Chinese demonstrators?
3. What emotions are these images trying to evoke in the person viewing the cartoon?

INDIVIDUALS IN SOCIETY

Ning Lao, a Chinese Working Woman

Reproduced with permission of Eileen Hsu-Balzer

The tough and resilient Ning Lao (right) with Ida Pruitt.

THE VOICE OF THE POOR AND UNEDUCATED IS OFTEN muffled in history. Thus *A Daughter of Han*, a rare autobiography of an illiterate working woman as told to an American friend, Ida Pruitt, offers unforgettable insights into the evolution of ordinary Chinese life and family relations.

Ning Lao was born in 1867 to poor parents in the northern city of Penglai on the Shandong Peninsula. Her foot binding was delayed to age nine, since she "loved so much to run and play." She described the pain when the bandages were finally drawn tight: "My feet hurt so much that for two years I had to crawl on my knees."* Her arranged marriage at age fourteen was a disaster. She found that her husband was a drug addict ("in those days everyone took opium to some extent") who sold everything to pay for his habit. Yet "there was no freedom then for women," and "it was no light thing for a woman to leave her house" and husband. Thus Ning Lao endured her situation until her husband sold their four-year-old daughter to buy opium. Taking her remaining baby daughter, she fled.

Taking off her foot bandages, Ning Lao became a beggar. Her feet began to spread, quite improperly, but she walked without pain. And the beggar's life was "not the hardest one," she thought, for a beggar woman could go where she pleased. To better care for her child, Ning Lao became a servant and a cook in prosperous households. Some of her mistresses were concubines (secondary wives taken by rich men in middle age), and she concluded that concubinage resulted in nothing but quarrels and heartache. Hot tempered and quick to take offense and leave an employer, the hard-working woman always found a new job quickly. In time she became a peddler of luxury goods to wealthy women confined to their homes.

The two unshakable values that buoyed Ning Lao were a tough, fatalistic acceptance of life — "Only fortune that comes of itself will come. There is no use to seek for it" — and devotion to her family. She eventually returned to her husband, who had mellowed, seldom took opium, and was "good" in those years. She reflected, "But I did not miss him when he died. I had my newborn son and I was happy. My house was established. . . . Truly all my life I spent thinking of my family." Her lifelong devotion was reciprocated by her son and granddaughter, who cared for her well in her old age.

Ning Lao's remarkable life story encompasses both old and new Chinese attitudes toward family life. Her son moved to the capital city of Beijing, worked in an office, and had only one wife. Her granddaughter, Su Teh, studied in missionary schools and became a college teacher and a determined foe of arranged marriages. She personified the trend toward greater freedom for Chinese women.

Generational differences also highlighted changing political attitudes. When the Japanese invaded China and occupied Beijing in 1937, Ning Lao thought that "perhaps the Mandate of Heaven had passed to the Japanese . . . and we should listen to them as our new masters." Her nationalistic granddaughter disagreed. She urged resistance and the creation of a new China, where the people governed themselves. Leaving to join the guerrillas in 1938, Su Teh gave her savings to her family and promised to continue to help them. One must be good to one's family, she said, but one must also work for the country.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Compare the lives of Ning Lao and her granddaughter. In what ways were they different and similar?
2. In a broader historical perspective, what do you find most significant about Ning Lao's account of her life? Why?

*Ida Pruitt, *A Daughter of Han: The Autobiography of a Chinese Working Woman* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1945), p. 22. Other quotations are from pages 83, 62, 71, 182, 166, 235, and 246.

From Liberalism to Ultranationalism in Japan

The nearly total homogeneity of the Japanese population (98.5 percent ethnic Japanese) was a major factor in the Meiji reformers' efforts to build a powerful, nationalistic, modern state and resist Western imperialism. Their spectacular success deeply impressed Japan's fellow Asians. The Japanese, alone among Asia's peoples, had mastered modern industrial technology by 1910 and had fought victorious wars against both China and Russia. The First World War brought more triumphs. In 1915 Japan seized Germany's Asian holdings and retained most of them as League of Nations mandates. The Japanese economy expanded enormously. Profits soared as Japan won new markets that wartime Europe could no longer supply.

In the early 1920s Japan made further progress on all fronts. In 1922 Japan signed a naval arms limitation treaty with the Western powers and returned some of its control over the Shandong Peninsula to China. These conciliatory moves reduced tensions in East Asia. At home Japan seemed headed toward genuine democracy. The electorate expanded twelvefold between 1918 and 1925 as all males over twenty-five won the vote. Two-party competition was intense. Japanese living standards were the highest in Asia. Literacy was universal.

Japan's remarkable rise was accompanied by serious problems. Japan had a rapidly growing population but scarce natural resources. As early as the 1920s Japan was exporting manufactured goods in order to pay for imports of food and essential raw materials. Deeply enmeshed in world trade, Japan was vulnerable to every boom and bust. These economic realities broadened support for Japan's colonial empire. Before World War I Japanese leaders saw colonial expansion primarily in terms of international prestige and national defense. They believed that control of Taiwan, Korea, and Manchuria provided an essential "outer ring of defense" to protect the home islands from Russian attack and Anglo-American imperialism. Now, in the 1920s, Japan's colonies also seemed essential for markets, raw materials, and economic growth.

Mansell/The LIFE Picture Collection/Getty Images

Japanese Suffragists In the 1920s Japanese women pressed for political emancipation in demonstrations like this one, but they did not receive the right to vote until 1946. Like these suffragists, some young Japanese women adopted Western fashions. Most workers in modern Japanese textile factories were women.

Japan’s rapid industrial development also created an imbalanced “dualistic” economy. The modern sector consisted of a handful of giant conglomerate firms, the **zaibatsu** (zigh-BAHT-dzoo), or “financial combines.” Zaibatsu firms wielded enormous economic power and dominated the other sector of the economy, an unorganized multitude of peasant farmers and craftsmen. The result was financial oligarchy, corruption of government officials, and a weak middle class.

zaibatsu Giant conglomerate firms established in Japan beginning in the Meiji period and lasting until the end of World War II.

Behind the façade of party politics, Japanese elites — the emperor, high government officials, big business and military leaders — jockeyed savagely for power. Cohesive leadership, which had played such an important role in Japan’s modernization by the Meiji reformers, had ceased to exist. By far the most serious challenge to peaceful progress was fanatical nationalism. As in Europe, ultranationalism first emerged in

Japan in the late nineteenth century but did not flower fully until the First World War and the 1930s.

Though their views were often vague, Japan’s ultranationalists shared several fundamental beliefs. They were violently anti-Western, rejecting democracy, big business, and Marxist socialism. Reviving old myths, they stressed the emperor’s godlike qualities and the samurai warrior’s code of honor, obedience, and responsibility. Despising party politics, they assassinated moderate leaders and plotted armed uprisings to achieve their goals. Above all else, the ultranationalists preached foreign expansion. Like Western imperialists shouldering “the white man’s burden,” Japanese ultranationalists thought their mission was a noble one. “Asia for the Asians” was their anti-Western rallying cry. As the famous ultranationalist Kita Ikki wrote in 1923, “Our seven hundred million brothers in China and India have no other path to independence than that offered by our guidance and protection.”[10]

The ultranationalists were noisy and violent in the 1920s, but it took the Great Depression of the 1930s to tip the scales decisively in their favor. The worldwide depression (see “Worldwide Effects” in Chapter 30) hit Japan like a tidal wave in 1930. Exports and wages collapsed; unemployment and raw suffering soared. The ultranationalists blamed the system, and people listened.

Japan Against China

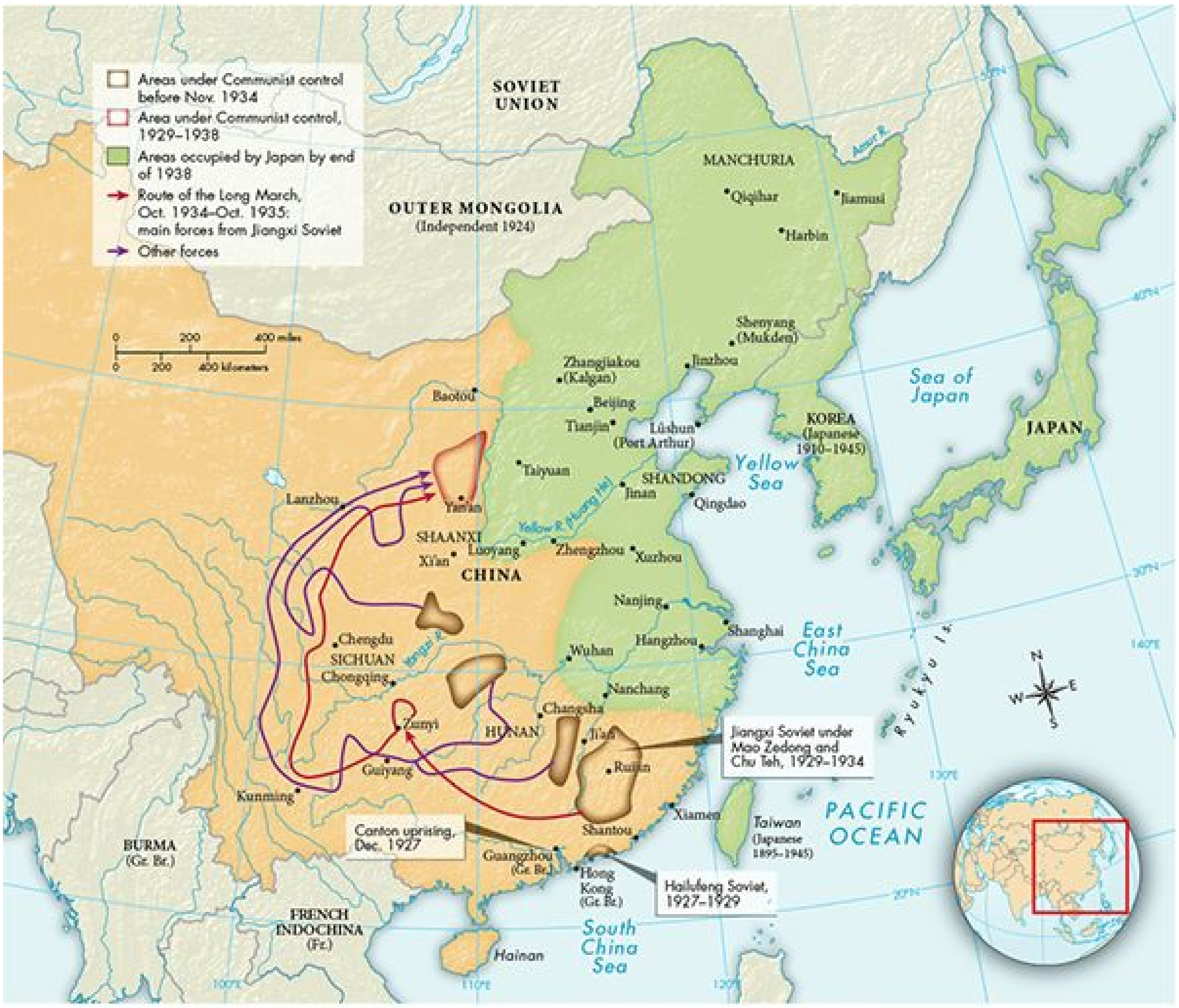
Among those who listened with particular care were young Japanese army officers in Manchuria, the underpopulated, resource-rich province of northeastern China controlled by the Japanese army since its victory over Russia in 1905. The rise of Chinese nationalism embodied in the Guomindang unification of China challenged Japanese control over Manchuria. In response, junior Japanese officers in Manchuria, in cooperation with top generals in Tokyo, secretly manufactured an excuse for aggression in late 1931. They blew up some Japanese-owned railroad tracks near the city of Shenyang (Mukden) and then, with reinforcements rushed in from Korea, quickly occupied all of Manchuria in “self-defense.”

In 1932 Japan proclaimed Manchuria an independent state, renaming it Manchukuo, and in 1934 installed Puyi, the last Qing emperor, as puppet emperor over the puppet state. When the League of Nations condemned Japanese aggression in Manchuria, Japan resigned in protest. Japanese aggression in Manchuria proved that the army, though reporting directly to the Japanese emperor, was an independent force subject to no outside control.

For China the Japanese conquest of Manchuria was disastrous. Japanese aggression in Manchuria drew attention away from modernizing efforts. The Nationalist government promoted a massive boycott of Japanese goods but lost interest in social reform. Above all, the Nationalist government after 1931 completely neglected land reform and the Chinese peasants' grinding poverty. A contemporaneous Chinese economist spelled out the revolutionary implications: "It seems clear that the land problem in China today is as acute as that of eighteenth-century France or nineteenth-century Russia."[11] Mao Zedong agreed.

Having abandoned land reform, partly because they themselves were often landowners, the Nationalists under Jiang Jieshi devoted their energies between 1930 and 1934 to great campaigns of encirclement and extermination of the Communists' rural power base in southeastern China. In 1934 they closed in for the kill, but, in one of the most incredible sagas of modern times, the main Communist army broke out, beat off attacks, and retreated 6,000 miles in twelve months to a remote region on the northwestern border (Map 29.2). Of the estimated 100,000 men and women who began the **Long March**, only 8,000 to 10,000 reached the final destination in Yan'an (YEH-nahn).

Long March The 6,000-mile retreat of the Chinese Communist army in 1934 to a remote region on the northwestern border of China, during which tens of thousands lost their lives.


Areas under Communist control before Nov. 1934
Area under Communist control, 1929–1938
Areas occupied by Japan by end of 1938
Route of the Long March, Oct. 1934–Oct. 1935: main forces from Jiangxi Soviet
Other forces
0 200 400 miles
0 200 400 kilometers
SOVIET UNION
OUTER MONGOLIA (Independent 1924)
MANCHURIA
Qiqihar
Jiamusi
Harbin
Amur R.
Shenyang (Mukden)
Jinzhou
Zhangjiakou (Kalgan)
Beijing
Tianjin
Lüshun (Port Arthur)
Baotou
Taiyuan
SHANDONG
Jinan
Qingdao
Yellow Sea
KOREA (Japanese 1910–1945)
Sea of Japan
JAPAN
Lanzhou
Yan'an
SHAANXI
Xi'an
Luoyang
Zhengzhou
Xuzhou
Yellow R. (Huang He)
CHINA
Nanjing
Shanghai
East China Sea
Hangzhou
Wuhan
Chengdu
SICHUAN
Chongqing
Yangzi R.
Nanchang
Changsha
HUNAN
Zunyi
Ji'an
Ruijin
Guiyang
Kunming
Jiangxi Soviet under Mao Zedong and Chu Teh, 1929–1934
Ryukyu Is.
Xiamen
Taiwan (Japanese 1895–1945)
PACIFIC OCEAN
Shantou
Canton uprising, Dec. 1927
Guangzhou
Hong Kong (Gr. Br.)
Hailufeng Soviet, 1927–1929
BURMA (Gr. Br.)
FRENCH INDOCHINA (Fr.)
Hainan
South China Sea
N
S
E
W
100°E
110°E
120°E
130°E
140°E
20°N
30°N
40°N
50°N

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 29.2 The Chinese Communist Movement and the War with Japan, 1927–1938 After urban uprisings ordered by Stalin failed in 1927, Mao Zedong succeeded in forming a self-governing Communist soviet in mountainous southern China. Relentless Nationalist attacks between 1930 and 1934 finally forced the Long March to Yan'an, where the Communists were well positioned for guerrilla war against the Japanese.

There Mao built up his forces once again, established a new territorial base, and won local peasant support in five unprecedented ways. First, Mao's forces did not pillage and rape across the countryside as imperialist and warlord armies had always done. Second, Mao set up schools, albeit for Marxist education, so the nearly universally illiterate peasants could learn to read and write. Third, Mao established health clinics to provide the peasants with basic medical care. Fourth, Mao's armies, rather than stealing the peasants' produce, put down their weapons and helped the peasants plant and harvest their crops. Fifth, Communist courts tried the warlords and landlords for crimes against the peasants, who for the first time in Chinese history received economic and social justice.

In Japan politics became increasingly chaotic. In 1937 the Japanese military and the ultranationalists were in command. Unable to force China to cede more territory in northern China, they used a minor incident near Beijing as a pretext for a general attack. This marked the beginning of what became World War II in Asia, although Japan issued no declaration of war. The Nationalist government, which had just formed a united front with the Communists, fought hard, but Japanese troops quickly took Beijing and northern China. After taking the port of Shanghai, the Japanese launched an immediate attack up the Yangzi River.

akg-images

Mao Zedong and the Chinese Long March Mao's Communist forces were welcomed by the peasants during the Long March and at the army's final destination at Yan'an because the soldiers treated them with respect. In Yan'an they set up schools and health clinics, helped the farmers with their crops, and tried and punished the warlords and landlords. Here Mao talks with some peasants while on the Long March.

Foretelling the horrors of World War II, the Japanese air force bombed Chinese cities and civilian populations with unrelenting fury. Nanjing, the capital, fell in December 1937. Entering the city, Japanese soldiers went berserk and committed dreadful atrocities over seven weeks. They brutally murdered an estimated 200,000 to 300,000 Chinese civilians and unarmed soldiers, and raped 20,000 to 80,000 Chinese women. The "Rape of Nanjing" combined with other Japanese atrocities to outrage world opinion. The Western powers denounced Japanese aggression but, with tensions rising in Europe, took no action.

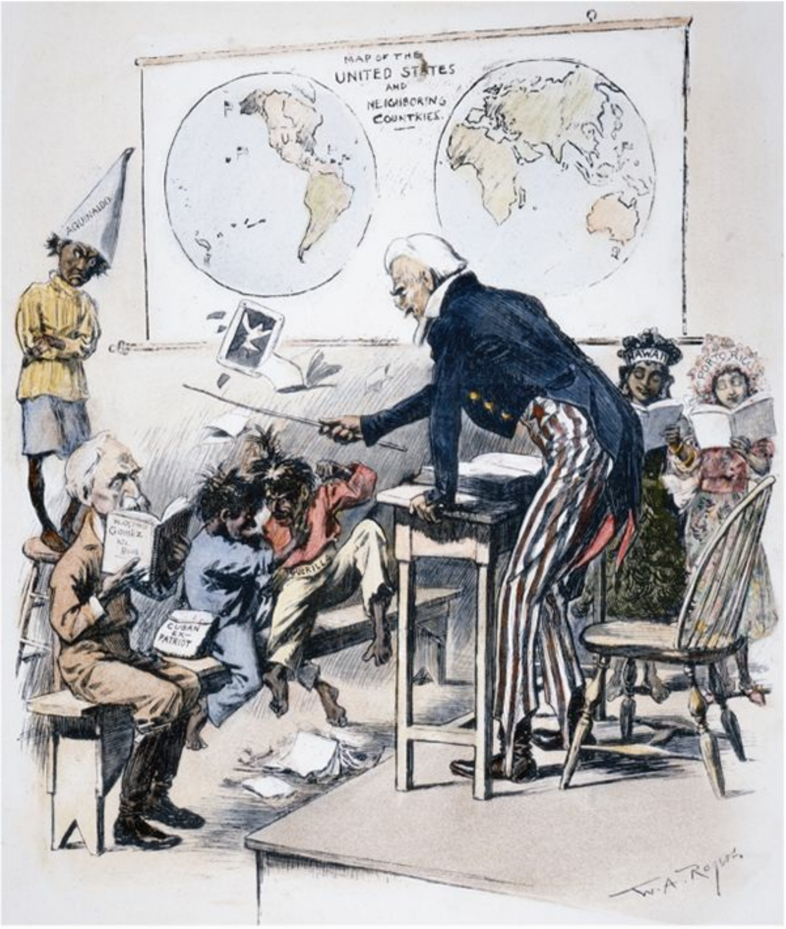
By late 1938 Japanese armies occupied sizable portions of coastal China (see Map 29.2). But the Nationalists and the Communists had retreated to the interior, and both refused to accept defeat. In 1939, as Europe edged toward another great war, China and Japan were bogged down in a savage stalemate. This undeclared war — called by historians the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945) — provided a spectacular example of conflicting nationalisms.

Striving for Independence in Southeast Asia

The tide of nationalism was also rising in Southeast Asia. Nationalists in French Indochina and the Philippines urgently wanted genuine political independence and freedom from foreign rule. In French Indochina they ran up against an imperialist stone wall. The obstacle to Filipino independence came from America and Japan.

The French in Indochina, as in all their colonies, refused to export the liberal policies contained in the stirring words of their own Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen: liberty, equality, and fraternity (see “The National Assembly” in Chapter 22). This uncompromising attitude stimulated the growth of an equally stubborn Communist opposition under Ho Chi Minh (hoh chee mihn) (1890–1969), which despite ruthless repression emerged as the dominant anti-French force in Indochina.

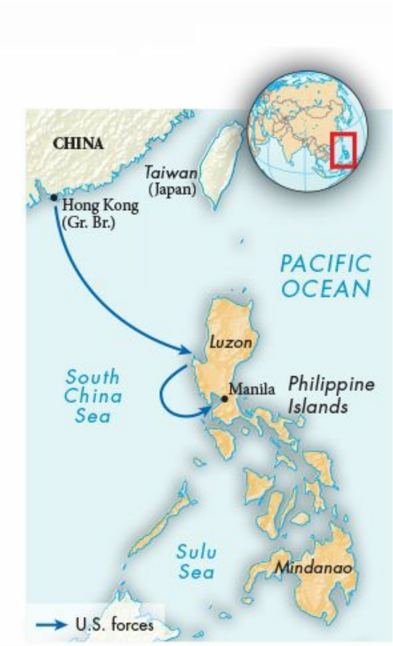
In the Philippines, however, a well-established nationalist movement achieved greater success. As in colonial Latin America, the Spanish in the Philippines had been indefatigable missionaries. By the late nineteenth century the Filipino population was 80 percent Catholic. Filipinos shared a common cultural heritage and a common racial origin. Education, especially for girls, was advanced for Southeast Asia, and already in 1843 a higher percentage of people could read in the Philippines than in Spain itself. Economic development helped to create a westernized elite, which turned first to reform and then to revolution in the 1890s.



Sarin Images/Granger, NYC — All rights reserved.

Uncle Sam as Schoolmaster In this cartoon that first appeared on the cover of *Harper's Weekly* in August 1898, unruly students from Spain's former colonies in Cuba and the Philippines, now living under American rule, are identified as a "Cuban Ex-patriot" and a "Guerilla." They are being disciplined with a switch by a stern Uncle Sam as he tries to teach them self-government. The gentleman to the left reading a book is José Miguel Gómez, one of Cuba's revolutionary heroes, while the Filipino insurrectionist Emilio Aguinaldo is made to wear a dunce cap and stand in the corner. The two well-behaved girls to the right represent Hawaii and Puerto Rico.

Filipino nationalists were bitterly disillusioned when the United States, having taken the Philippines from Spain in the Spanish-American War of 1898, ruthlessly beat down a patriotic revolt and denied the universal Filipino desire for independence. The Americans claimed the Philippines was not ready for self-rule and might be seized by Germany or Britain if it could not establish a stable, secure government. As the imperialist power in the Philippines, the United States encouraged education and promoted capitalistic economic development. And as in British India, an elected legislature was given some real powers.



Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

The Spanish-American War in the Philippines, 1898

As in India and French Indochina, demands for independence grew. One important contributing factor was American racial attitudes. Americans treated Filipinos as inferiors and introduced segregationist practices borrowed from the American South. American racism made passionate nationalists of many Filipinos. However, it was the Great Depression that had the most radical impact on the Philippines.

As the United States collapsed economically in the 1930s, the Philippines suddenly appeared to be a liability rather than an asset. American farm groups lobbied for protection from cheap Filipino sugar. To protect American jobs, labor unions demanded an end to Filipino immigration. Responding to public pressure, in 1934 Congress made the Philippines a self-governing commonwealth and scheduled independence for 1944. Sugar imports were reduced, and immigration was limited to only fifty Filipinos per year.

Some Filipino nationalists denounced the continued U.S. presence, but others were less certain that it was the immediate problem. Japan was fighting in China and expanding economically into the Philippines and throughout Southeast Asia. By 1939 a new threat to Filipino independence would come from Japan itself.

Chapter Summary

The Ottoman Empire's collapse in World War I left a power vacuum that both Western imperialists and Asian nationalists sought to fill. Strong leaders, such as Turkey's Mustafa Kemal, led successful nationalist movements in Turkey, Persia, and Afghanistan. British and French influence over the League of Nations–mandated Arab states declined in the 1920s and 1930s as Arab nationalists pushed for complete independence. The situation in Palestine, where the British had promised both Palestinians and Jewish Zionists independent homelands, deteriorated in the interwar years as increasingly larger numbers of European Jews migrated there.

Britain's centuries-long colonial rule over the Indian subcontinent met increasing resistance from Indian nationalists, particularly from Indian National Congress leaders, in the first decades of the twentieth century. Gandhi's active, nonviolent resistance campaign, which he called satyagraha, was principally responsible for convincing the British that their colonial hegemony in India was doomed. China's 1911 Revolution successfully ended the ancient dynastic system before the Great War, while the 1919 May Fourth Movement renewed nationalist hopes after it. Jiang Jieshi's Nationalist Party and Mao Zedong's Communists, however, would violently contest who would rule over a unified China. Japan, unlike China, industrialized early and by the 1920s seemed headed toward genuine democracy, but militarists and ultranationalists then launched an aggressive campaign of foreign expansion based on "Asia for Asians," which contributed to the buildup to World War II. As the Great Depression took hold, Filipino nationalists achieved independence from the United States. The diversity of these nationalist movements, arising out of separate historical experiences and distinct cultures, helps explain why Asian nationalists, like European nationalists, developed a strong sense of "we" and "they." In Asia "they" included other Asians as well as Europeans.

CONNECTIONS

Just as nationalism drove politics and state-building in Europe in the nineteenth century, so it took root across Asia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While nationalism in Europe developed out of a desire to turn cultural unity into political reality and create imagined communities out of millions of strangers, in Asia nationalist sentiments drew their greatest energy from opposition to European imperialism and domination. Asian modernizers, aware of momentous advances in science and technology and of politics and social practices in the West, also pressed the nationalist cause by demanding an end to outdated conservative traditions that they argued only held back the development of modern, independent nations capable of throwing off Western domination and existing as equals with the West.

The nationalist cause in Asia took many forms and produced some of the twentieth century's most remarkable leaders. In Chapter 32 we will discuss how nationalist leaders across Asia shaped the freedom struggle and the resulting independence according to their own ideological and personal visions. China's Mao Zedong is the giant among the nationalist leaders who emerged in Asia, but he replaced imperialist rule with one-party Communist rule. Gandhi's dream of a unified India collapsed with the partition of British India into Hindu India and Muslim Pakistan and Bangladesh. India and Pakistan remain bitter, and nuclear-armed, enemies today, as we will see in Chapter 33. Egypt assumed a prominent position in the Arab world after World War II under Gamal Nasser's leadership and, after a series of wars with Israel, began to play a significant role in efforts to find a peaceful resolution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. That conflict, however, continues unabated as nationalist and religious sentiments inflame feelings on both sides. Ho Chi Minh eventually forced the French colonizers out of Vietnam, only to face another Western power, the United States, in a long and deadly war. As described in Chapter 31, a unified Vietnam finally gained its independence in 1975, but, like China, the country was under one-party Communist control.

Japan remained an exception to much of what happened in the rest of Asia. After a long period of isolation, the Japanese implemented an unprecedented program of modernization and westernization in the late nineteenth century. Japan continued to model itself after the West when it took control of former German colonies as mandated territories after the Great War and occupied territory in China, Korea, Vietnam, Taiwan, and elsewhere. In the next chapter we will see how ultranationalism drove national policy in the 1930s, ultimately leading to Japan's defeat in World War II.

CHAPTER 29 Review and Explore

Identify Key Terms

Identify and explain the significance of each item below.

Permanent Mandates Commission (p. 856)
Sykes-Picot Agreement (p. 859)
Balfour Declaration (p. 860)
Treaty of Lausanne (p. 862)
Majlis (p. 863)
kibbutz (p. 865)
Lucknow Pact (p. 866)
satyagraha (p. 867)
May Fourth Movement (p. 870)
New Culture Movement (p. 870)
zaibatsu (p. 876)
Long March (p. 877)

Review the Main Ideas

Answer the focus questions from each section of the chapter.

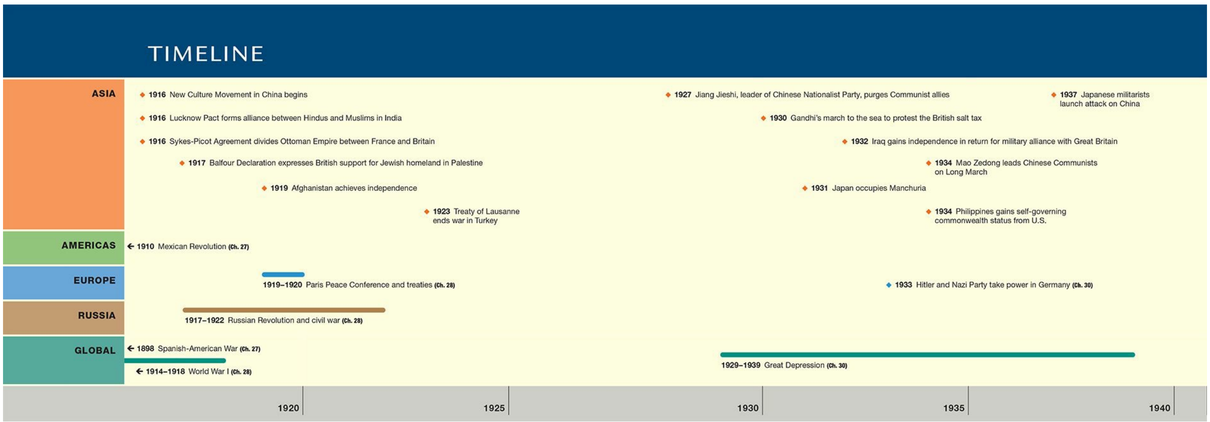
1. Why did modern nationalism develop in Asia between the First and Second World Wars, and what was its appeal? (p. 856)
2. How did the Ottoman Empire's collapse in World War I shape nationalist movements in the Middle East? (p. 857)
3. What role did Gandhi and his campaign of militant nonviolence play in leading India to independence from the British? (p. 865)
4. How did nationalism shape political developments in East and Southeast Asia? (p. 869)

Make Comparisons and Connections

Analyze the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters.

1. Asian leaders adopted several of the ideologies of change that evolved in nineteenth-century Europe (Chapter 24) to unite their peoples against European imperialism in the twentieth century. Give examples of some of these ideologies and where they were adopted.
2. How were Indian, Chinese, and Turkish responses to European imperialism in the twentieth century affected by the different individual histories of these nations (Chapters 25, 26)?

3. Compare and contrast Japan’s actions as a modern, imperial power in the late nineteenth century and the first three decades of the twentieth century with those of the European imperial powers at the same time (Chapters 25, 26).



Suggested Resources

Books

Fenby, Jonathan, *The Penguin History of Modern China: The Fall and Rise of a Great Power, 1850 to the Present*, 2d ed. 2013. An up-to-date comprehensive account of China’s fall and rise.

Fromkin, David. *A Peace to End All Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East*, 20th anniversary ed. 2009. A thorough but readable introduction to the Middle East in the early twentieth century.

Gandhi, Rajmohan. *Gandhi: The Man, His People, and the Empire*. 2008. Monumental scholarly biography written by a university professor who is also Gandhi’s grandson.

Hane, Mikiso, and Louis G. Perez. *Modern Japan: A Historical Survey*, 5th ed. 2012. Highly readable and comprehensive study of modern Japan.

Hourani, Albert. *A History of the Arab Peoples*, rev. ed. 2010. One of the best single-volume histories of the Arab peoples.

Kawamura, Noriko, *Emperor Hirohito and the Pacific War*. 2015. A new biography of the controversial emperor that draws on new and reappraised sources.

Mango, Andrew. *Atatürk*. 2000. Rich, well-researched biography of this complex Turkish leader.

Osborne, Milton. *Southeast Asia: An Introductory History*, 11th ed. 2013. Remains the classic introduction to the region’s history.

Sachar, Howard M. *A History of Israel: From the Rise of Zionism to Our Time*, 3d ed. 2007. A detailed history of Zionism and the Jewish state.

Spence, Jonathan. *The Search for Modern China*, 3d ed. 2012. Important study of modern China by a leading Chinese scholar.

Wolpert, Stanley. *A New History of India*, 8th ed. 2008. An excellent introduction to India’s history.

Young, Louise. *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism*. 1998. A fascinating pioneering work on Japanese imperialism.

Documentaries

Mahatma Gandhi: Pilgrim of Peace (A&E, 2000). A brief examination of Gandhi's life; part of A&E's *Biography* series.

Mao Tse Tung: China's Peasant Emperor (A&E, 1998). An introduction to Mao Zedong's life as a revolutionary and as the leader of Communist China; part of A&E's *Biography* series.

Feature Films

Gandhi (Richard Attenborough, 1982). Nominated for eleven Academy Awards, and winner of Best Picture, Best Director (Richard Attenborough), and Best Actor (Ben Kingsley), this film received broadly positive critical acclaim, both in India and internationally.

The Last Emperor (Bernardo Bertolucci, 1987). Winner of nine Academy Awards, including Best Picture, this is a beautifully filmed epic biographical movie about the last Chinese emperor, Puyi, who ascended to the throne when he was two in 1908 and was then forced to abdicate in 1912. The Japanese made him puppet emperor of the puppet Manchukuo Empire from 1934 to 1945.

Websites

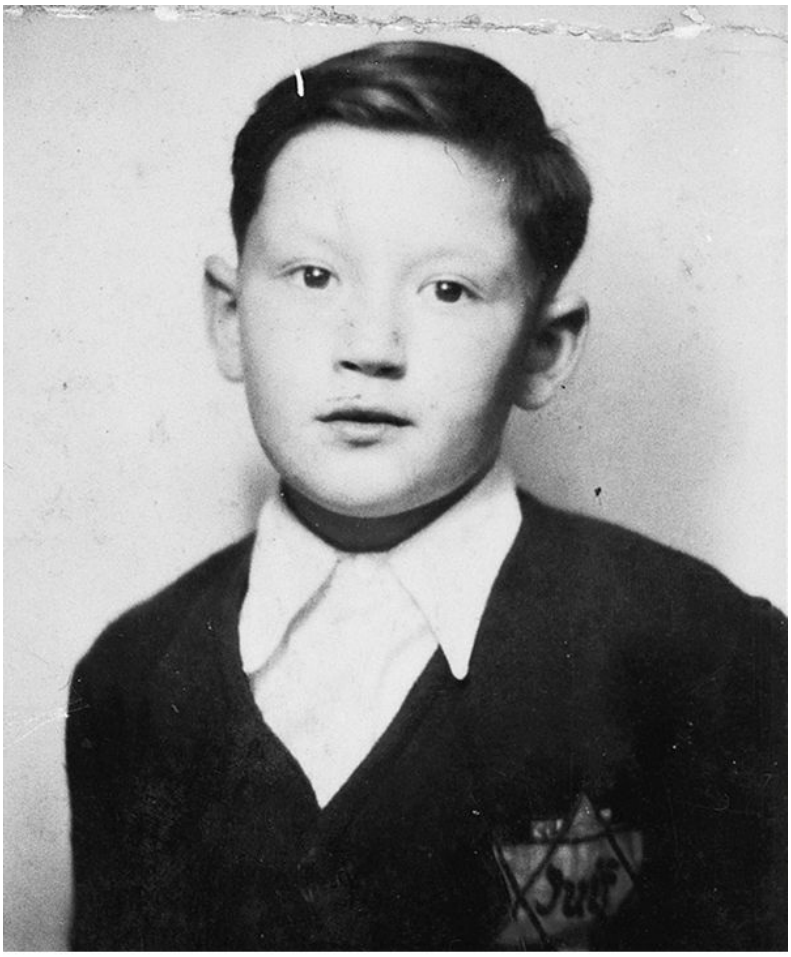
East Asian History Sourcebook. Includes primary and secondary sources and links to other websites, for most of East Asia, including China, Japan, and Korea. **sourcebooks.fordham.edu/Halsall/eastasia/eastasiasbook.asp**

Internet Indian History Sourcebook. A good starting point for sources on India's history, including links to other sites. **sourcebooks.fordham.edu/Halsall/india/indiasbook.asp**

30

The Great Depression and World War II

1929–1945



United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, courtesy of Israel Lichtenstein

Jewish Boy in Nazi-Controlled France

Israel Lichtenstein, wearing a Jewish star, was born in Paris in 1932. His father was one of an estimated 1 million Jews who died in the Auschwitz concentration camp. Israel and his mother were

also sent to a concentration camp, but they escaped and survived the Holocaust by going into hiding until the end of the war. Israel later immigrated to the nation of Israel.

The years of anxiety and political maneuvering in Europe after World War I were made much worse when a massive economic depression spread around the world following the American stock market crash of October 1929. An increasingly interconnected global economy now collapsed. Free-market capitalism appeared to have run its course. People everywhere looked for relief to new leaders, some democratically elected, many not. In Europe, on the eve of the Second World War, few liberal democratic governments survived. Worldwide, in countries such as Brazil, Japan, the Soviet Union, and others, as well as in Europe, dictatorships seemed the wave of the future.

The mid-twentieth-century era of dictatorship is a deeply disturbing chapter in the history of civilization. The key development was not only the resurgence of authoritarian rule, but also the rise of a particularly ruthless brand of totalitarianism that reached its fullest realization in the Soviet Union, Nazi Germany, and Japan in the 1930s. Stalin, Hitler, and Japan's military leaders intervened radically in society and ruled with unprecedented severity. Hitler's sudden attack on Poland in 1939 started World War II in Europe. His successes encouraged the Japanese to expand their stalemated Chinese campaign into a vast Pacific war. By war's end, millions had died on the battlefields and in the bombed-out cities. Millions more died in the Holocaust, in Stalin's Soviet Union from purges and forced imposition of communism, and during Japan's quest to create an "Asia for Asians."

CHAPTER PREVIEW

THE GREAT DEPRESSION, 1929–1939
What caused the Great Depression, and what were its consequences?

AUTHORITARIAN STATES
What was the nature of the new totalitarian dictatorships, and how did they differ from conservative authoritarian states and from each other?

STALIN'S SOVIET UNION
How did Stalin and the Communist Party build a totalitarian order in the Soviet Union?

MUSSOLINI AND FASCISM IN ITALY
How did Italian fascism develop?

HITLER AND NAZISM IN GERMANY

Why were Hitler and his Nazi regime initially so popular, and how did their actions lead to World War II?

THE SECOND WORLD WAR, 1939–1945

How did Germany and Japan build empires in Europe and Asia, and how did the Allies defeat them?

The Great Depression, 1929–1939

What caused the Great Depression, and what were its consequences?

Like the Great War, the Great Depression must be spelled with capital letters. Beginning in 1929 an exceptionally long and severe economic depression struck the entire world with ever-greater intensity, and recovery was uneven and slow. Only the Second World War brought it to an end.

The Economic Crisis

Though economic activity was already declining moderately in many countries by early 1929, the U.S. stock market crash in October of that year really started the Great Depression. The American stock market boom was built on borrowed money. Two factors explain why. First, the wealth gap (or income inequality) between America's rich and poor reached its greatest extent in the twentieth century in 1928–1929. One percent of Americans then held 70 percent of all America's wealth. Eventually, with not enough money to go around, the remaining 99 percent of Americans had to borrow to make even basic purchases — as a result, the cost of farm credit, installment loans, and home mortgages skyrocketed. Then a point was reached where the 99 percent could borrow no more, so they stopped buying.

Second, wealthy investors and speculators took increasingly greater investment risks. One such popular risk was to buy stocks by paying only a small fraction of the total purchase price and borrowing the remainder from their stockbrokers or from banks. Such buying "on margin" was extremely dangerous. When prices started falling, the hard-pressed margin buyers started selling to pay their debts. The result was a financial panic. Countless investors and speculators were wiped out in a matter of days or weeks, and the New York stock market's crash started a domino effect that hit most of the world's major stock exchanges.

The financial panic in the United States triggered a worldwide financial crisis. Throughout the 1920s American bankers and investors had lent large sums to many countries, and as panic spread, New York bankers began recalling their short-term loans. Frightened citizens around the world began to withdraw their bank savings, leading to general financial chaos. The recall of American loans also accelerated the collapse in world prices, as business people dumped goods in a frantic attempt to get cash to pay what they owed.

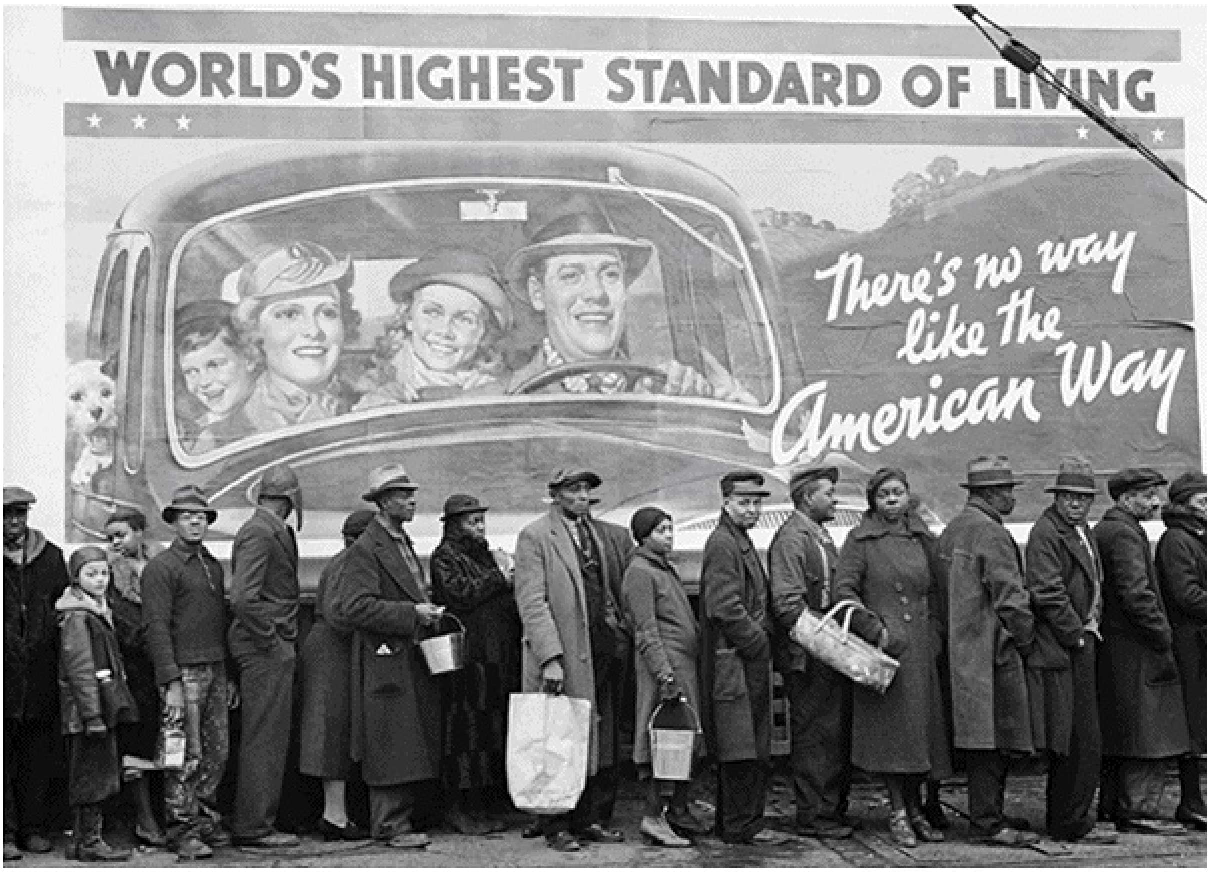
The financial chaos led to a drastic decline in production in country after country. Between 1929 and 1933 world output of goods fell by an estimated 38 percent. Countries now turned inward and tried to go it alone. Many followed the American example, in which protective tariffs were raised to their highest levels ever in 1930 to seal off shrinking national markets for American producers only.

Although historians' opinions differ, two factors probably best explain the relentless slide to the bottom from 1929 to early 1933. First, the international economy lacked leadership able to maintain stability when the crisis came. Neither the seriously weakened Britain nor the United States — the world's economic leaders — stabilized the international economic system in 1929. Instead Britain and the United States cut back international lending and erected high tariffs.

Second, in almost every country, governments cut their budgets and reduced spending instead of running large deficits to try to stimulate their economies. That is, governments needed to put large sums of money into the economy to stimulate job growth and spending. After World War II such a "counter-cyclical policy," advocated by the British economist John Maynard Keynes (1883–1946), became a well-established weapon against depression. But in the 1930s orthodox economists generally regarded Keynes's prescription with horror.

Mass Unemployment

The need for large-scale government spending was tied to mass unemployment. The 99 percent's halt in buying contributed to the financial crisis, which led to production cuts, which in turn caused workers to lose their jobs and have even less money to buy goods. This led to still more production cuts, and unemployment soared. In Britain unemployment had averaged 12 percent in the 1920s; between 1930 and 1935 it averaged more than 18 percent. Germany and Austria had some of the highest unemployment rates, 30–32 percent in 1932. The worst unemployment was in the United States. In the 1920s unemployment there had averaged only 5 percent; in 1933 it soared to about 33 percent of the entire labor force: 14 million people were out of work. This was the only time in American history when more people left America than immigrated in — including thousands of Mexican Americans who suffered increasing hostility, accused of stealing jobs from those who considered themselves to be "real Americans," and perhaps a hundred thousand Americans who migrated to the Soviet Union, attracted by communism's promises of jobs and a new life.


WORLD'S HIGHEST STANDARD OF LIVING
There's no way like the American Way

Margaret Bourke-White/Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images

Louisville Flood Victims, 1937 During the Great Depression, Louisville, Kentucky, was hit by the worst flood in its history. The famous documentary photographer Margaret Bourke-White captured this image of African American flood victims lining up for food. Not only does the billboard message mock the Depression-era conditions, but the smiling white family appears to be driving its car through the line of people, drawing attention to America's race and class differences.

Mass unemployment created great social problems. Poverty increased dramatically, although in most industrialized countries unemployed workers generally received some meager unemployment benefits or public aid that prevented starvation. Millions of unemployed people lost their spirit, and homes and ways of life were disrupted in countless personal tragedies. In 1932 workers in Manchester, England, appealed to their city officials — a typical appeal echoed throughout the Western world:

> We tell you that thousands of people . . . are in desperate straits. We tell you that men, women, and children are going hungry. . . . We tell you that great numbers are being rendered distraught through the stress and worry of trying to exist without work. . . .
>
> If you do not provide useful work for the unemployed — what, we ask, is your alternative? Do not imagine that this colossal tragedy of unemployment is going on endlessly without some fateful catastrophe. Hungry men are angry

men.[1]

The New Deal in the United States

The Great Depression and the response to it marked a major turning point in American history. Herbert Hoover (U.S. pres. 1929–1933) and his administration initially reacted with limited action. When the financial crisis struck Europe with full force in summer 1931 and boomeranged back to the United States, banks failed and unemployment soared. In 1932 industrial production fell to about 50 percent of its 1929 level.

In these desperate circumstances Franklin Delano Roosevelt (U.S. pres. 1933–1945) won a landslide presidential victory in 1932 with promises of a "**New Deal** for the forgotten man." Roosevelt's basic goal was to preserve capitalism by reforming it. Rejecting socialism and government ownership of industry, Roosevelt advocated forceful federal government intervention in the economy. His commitment to national relief programs marked a profound shift from the traditional stress on family support and local community responsibility.

New Deal Franklin Delano Roosevelt's plan to reform capitalism in the United States through forceful government intervention in the economy.

Roosevelt attacked mass unemployment by creating new federal agencies that launched a vast range of public works projects so the federal government could directly employ as many people as financially possible. The Works Progress Administration (WPA), set up in 1935, employed one-fifth of the entire U.S. labor force at some point in the 1930s, and these workers constructed public buildings, bridges, and highways.

In 1935 the U.S. government established a national social security system with old-age pensions and unemployment benefits. The 1935 National Labor Relations Act declared collective bargaining to be U.S. policy, and union membership more than doubled. In general, between 1935 and 1938 government rulings and social reforms chipped away at the privileges of the wealthy and tried to help ordinary people.

Despite undeniable accomplishments in social reform, the New Deal was only partly successful as a response to the Great Depression. Unemployment was still a staggering 10 million when war broke out in Europe in 1939. The New Deal brought fundamental reform, but it never did pull the United States out of the depression; only the Second World War did that.

The European Response to the Depression

The American stock market's collapse in October 1929 set off a chain of economic downturns that hit Europe, particularly Germany and Great Britain, the hardest. Postwar Europe had emerged from the Great War deeply in debt and in desperate need of investment capital to rebuild. The United States became the primary creditor and financier. Germany borrowed, for example, to pay Britain war reparations, and then Britain took that money and repaid its war debts and investment loans to America. When the American economy crashed, the whole circular system crashed with it.

Of all the Western democracies, the Scandinavian countries under socialist leadership responded most successfully to the challenge of the Great Depression. When the economic crisis struck in 1929, Sweden's socialist government pioneered the use of large-scale deficits to finance public works projects and thereby maintain production and employment. Scandinavian governments also increased social welfare benefits. All this spending required a large bureaucracy and high taxes. Yet both private and cooperative enterprise thrived, as did democracy. Some observers considered Scandinavia's welfare socialism an appealing middle way between what they considered to be sick capitalism and cruel communism or fascism.

In Britain, Ramsay MacDonald's Labour government (1929–1931) and, after 1931, the Conservative-dominated coalition government followed orthodox economic theory. The budget was balanced, but unemployed workers received barely enough welfare support to live. Nevertheless, the economy recovered considerably after 1932, reflecting the gradual reorientation of the British economy. Britain concentrated increasingly on the national, rather than the international, market. Old export industries, such as textiles and coal, continued to decline, but new industries, such as automobiles and electrical appliances, grew. These developments encouraged British isolationism and often had devastating economic consequences for Britain's far-flung colonies and dominions, which depended heavily upon reciprocal trade with Great Britain and the United States. (See "Analyzing the Evidence: British Conservative Party Poster," at right.)

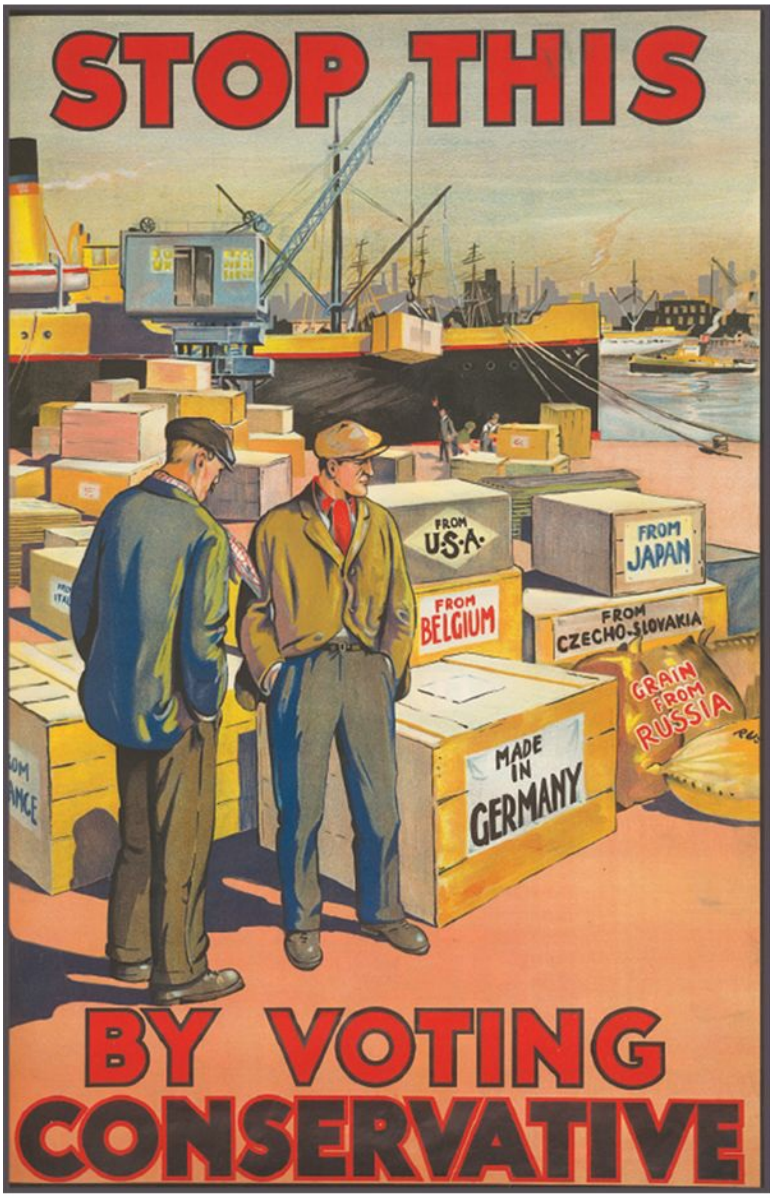
The Great Depression came late to France as it was relatively less industrialized and more isolated from the world economy. But once the depression hit, it stayed. Economic stagnation both reflected and heightened an ongoing political crisis, as liberals, democratic socialists, and Communists fought for control of the French government with conservatives and the far right. The latter groups agitated against parliamentary democracy and turned to Mussolini's Italy and Hitler's Germany for inspiration. At the same time, the Communist Party and many workers looked to Stalin's Russia for guidance.

Frightened by the growing popularity of Hitler-and Mussolini-style right-wing dictatorships at home and abroad, the Communist, Socialist, and Radical Parties in France formed an alliance — the **Popular Front** — for the May 1936 national elections. Following its clear victory, the Popular Front government launched a far-reaching New Deal–inspired program of social and economic reform. Popular with workers (because it supported unions) and the lower middle class, these measures were quickly sabotaged by rapid inflation, rising wages, a decline in overseas exports, and cries of socialist revolution from frightened conservatives. Politically, the Popular Front lost many left-wing supporters when it failed to back the republican cause in the Spanish Civil War while Hitler and Mussolini openly armed and supported Franco's nationalists. In June 1937, with the country hopelessly divided, the Popular Front collapsed.

Popular Front A party formed in 1936 in France that encouraged unions and launched a far-reaching New Deal–inspired program of social reform.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

British Conservative Party Poster


STOP THIS
FROM U.S.A.
FROM JAPAN
FROM BELGIUM
FROM CZECHO-SLOVAKIA
GRAIN FROM RUSSIA
MADE IN GERMANY
BY VOTING CONSERVATIVE

The Conservative Party Archive/Getty Images

In June 1930 the United States enacted a tariff (tax) on goods imported into the country. Lawmakers thought this action would force Americans to buy American products and would thereby revive American businesses and increase employment. By this time, however, the United States had long been a member of the global economy and depended as much on exporting goods as on importing them. The effect of the tariff was to reduce America's international trade and to cause other countries to turn to the same supposed economic remedy, further depressing international trade.

When the Great Depression hit, Great Britain, like many other countries, faced a financial crisis. In August 1930 the Labour government resigned and a new unity government drawn from Labour and Conservative members alike took over, but this soon collapsed as well. In October 1931 a general election was held, which resulted in a landslide victory for Conservative members of Parliament. Early in 1932 the Conservative-led government introduced tariffs on all imports (except those from members of the British Empire) at a rate of 10 percent. This campaign poster from the 1931 British general election portrays crates and bags of foreign goods being unloaded on English docks. It was these shiploads of foreign goods that the tariffs would block when the Conservatives triumphed.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Where are the goods on the dock from?
2. What do the Conservatives want stopped?
3. Was the attitude of this poster's creators toward foreign goods unique to England? What other countries held similar views? What effect did such attitudes have on the worldwide depression?

Worldwide Effects

The Great Depression's magnitude was unprecedented, and its effect rippled well beyond Europe and the United States. Because many countries and colonies in Africa, Asia, and Latin America were nearly totally dependent on one or two commodities — such as coffee beans or cocoa — for income, the implementation of protectionist trade policies by the leading industrial nations had devastating effects.

The Great Depression hit the vulnerable commodity economies of Latin America especially hard. With foreign sales plummeting, Latin American countries could not buy the industrial goods they needed from abroad. The global depression provoked a profound shift toward economic nationalism after 1930, as popularly based governments worked to reduce foreign influence and gain control of their own economies and natural resources. These efforts were fairly successful. By the late 1940s factories in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile could generally satisfy domestic consumer demand for the products of light industry. But as in Hitler's Germany, the deteriorating economic conditions in Latin America also gave rise to dictatorships, some of them modeled along European Fascist lines.

The Great Depression marked a decisive turning point in the development of African nationalism. For the first time, educated Africans faced widespread unemployment. African peasants and small business people who had been drawn into world trade, and who sometimes profited from booms, also felt the economic pain, as did urban workers. In some areas the result was unprecedented mass protest.

While Asians were somewhat affected by the Great Depression, the consequences varied greatly by country or colony and were not as serious generally as they were elsewhere. That being said, where the depression did hit, it was often severe. The price of rice fell by two-thirds between 1929 and 1932. Also crippling to the region's economies was Asia's heavy dependence on raw material exports. With debts to local moneylenders fixed in value and taxes to colonial governments hardly ever reduced, many Asian peasants in the 1930s struggled under crushing debt and suffered terribly. (See "Global Viewpoints: Socialism and the Working Class," at right.)

When the Great Depression reached China in the early 1930s, it hit the rural economy the hardest. China's economy depended heavily on cash-crop exports and these declined dramatically, while cheap foreign agricultural goods — such as rice and wheat — were dumped in China. While Chinese industrial production dropped off after 1931, it quickly recovered. Much of this growth was in the military sector, as China tried to catch up with the West and also prepare for war with Japan.

In Japan the terrible suffering caused by the Great Depression caused ultranationalists and militarists to call for less dependence on global markets and the expansion of a self-sufficient empire. Such expansion began in 1931 when Japan invaded Chinese Manchuria, which became a major source of the raw materials needed to feed Japanese industrial growth (see “Japan Against China” in Chapter 29). Japan recovered more quickly from the Great Depression than did any other major industrial power because of prompt action by the civilian democratic government, but the government and large corporations continued to be blamed for the economic downturn. By the mid-1930s this lack of confidence, combined with the collapsing international economic order, Europe’s and America’s increasingly isolationist and protectionist policies, and a growing admiration for Nazi Germany and its authoritarian, militaristic model of government, had led the Japanese military to topple the civilian authorities and dictate Japan’s future.

GLOBAL VIEWPOINTS

Socialism and the Working Class

James Keir Hardie (1856–1915) was the first Socialist member of the British Parliament and a founder of the British Labour Party. His *From Serfdom to Socialism* (1907) was intended to make a "brief unadorned statement of the case for Socialism, easily understandable by plain folks."

In 1936–1937 George Orwell (1903–1950), famous for his novels *1984* and *Animal Farm*, lived in Wigan, a mill town in a coal-mining district near Manchester in the north of England. In *The Road to Wigan Pier*, he tried to explain why socialism did not have more support among the workers.

James Keir Hardie, *From Serfdom to Socialism*

■ But it is to the working-class itself that we must look for changing the system of production and making it a means of providing for the healthy human need of all the people. This is so not only because of their numbers but also because unless they consciously set themselves to win Socialism it can never be won. It is, in the fullest sense of a very much abused phrase, a People's Cause. When it has been won it will be their fight which has won it; should it never be won, and should our Western civilisation totter on until it falls into the depths of a merciful oblivion, that too will be their doing, and be due entirely to their not having had the courage and the intelligence to put up a fight strong enough to save it and themselves.

Somewhat dimly at present, but with growing clearness of vision, the worker begins to see that he will remain a menial, outcast and forlorn, until he has made himself master of the machine he tends and the soil he tills. Hence the growth of Socialism.

George Orwell, *The Road to Wigan Pier*

■ Socialism . . . is a theory confined entirely to the middle class. The typical Socialist is not, as tremulous old ladies imagine, a ferocious-looking workingman with greasy overalls and a raucous voice. He is either a youthful snob-Bolshevik who in five years' time will quite probably have made a wealthy marriage and been converted to Roman Catholicism; or, still more typically, a prim little man with a white-collar job, usually a secret teetotaler . . . often with vegetarian leanings . . . and, above all, with a social position which he has no intention of forfeiting. . . . In addition to this there is the horrible . . . prevalence of cranks. . . . The mere words "Socialism" and "Communism" draw towards them . . .

every fruit-juice drinker, nudist, sandal-wearer, sex-maniac, Quaker, "Nature Cure" quack, pacifist, and feminist in England. . . .

A working man, so long as he remains a genuine working man, is seldom or never a Socialist. . . . Very likely he votes Labour, or even Communist if he gets the chance, but his conception of Socialism is quite different from that of the book-trained Socialist. . . . To [him] . . . Socialism does not mean much more than better wages and shorter hours and nobody bossing you about. . . . Often . . . he is a truer Socialist than the orthodox Marxist, because he does remember, what the other so often forgets, that Socialism means justice and common decency. . . . His vision of the Socialist future is a vision of present society with the worst abuses left out, and with . . . the same things as at present — family life, the pub, football, and local politics. As for the philosophic side of Marxism, . . . I have yet to meet a *working* miner, steel-worker, cotton-weaver, docker, navvy, or whatnot who was "ideologically" sound.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Both Hardie and Orwell were writing about socialism in Great Britain, one in 1907 and the other in the 1930s. What aspects of Hardie's analysis of potential socialists would Orwell agree with, and what aspects would he disagree with?
2. What events occurred between 1907 and the 1930s that might have affected the socialist movement in Great Britain? Explain your answer.
3. Is one of these authors more pessimistic about the spread of socialism than the other is? Which one? Why?

Sources: James Keir Hardie, *From Serfdom to Socialism* (London: George Allen, 1907), pp. ix, 29–31; George Orwell, *The Road to Wigan Pier* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1958), pp. 173–177. Copyright © 1958 and renewed by the Estate of Sonia B. Orwell. Reprinted by permission of Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company. All rights reserved.

Authoritarian States

What was the nature of the new totalitarian dictatorships, and how did they differ from conservative authoritarian states and from each other?

Both conservative and radical totalitarian dictatorships arose in Europe in the 1920s and the 1930s. Although they sometimes overlapped in character and practice, they were profoundly different in essence.

Conservative Authoritarianism

The traditional form of antidemocratic government in world history was conservative authoritarianism. Like Russia's tsars and China's emperors, the leaders of such governments relied on obedient bureaucracies, vigilant police departments, and trustworthy armies to control society. They forbade or limited popular participation in government and often jailed or exiled political opponents. Yet they had neither the ability nor the desire to control many aspects of their subjects' lives. As long as the people did not try to change the system, they often enjoyed considerable personal independence.

After the First World War, conservative authoritarianism revived, especially in Latin America. Conservative dictators also seized power in Spain and Portugal, and in the less-developed eastern part of Europe. There were several reasons for this development. These lands lacked strong traditions of self-government, and many new states, such as Yugoslavia, were torn by ethnic conflicts. Dictatorship appealed to nationalists and military leaders as a way to repress such tensions and preserve national unity. Large landowners and the church were still powerful forces in these predominantly agrarian areas and often looked to dictators to protect them from progressive land reform or Communist agrarian upheaval. Conservative dictatorships were concerned more with maintaining the status quo than with mobilizing the masses or forcing society into rapid change or war.

Radical Totalitarian Dictatorships

By the mid-1930s a new kind of radical dictatorship — termed totalitarian — had emerged in the Soviet Union, Germany, and, to a lesser extent, Italy. Scholars disagree over the definition of totalitarianism, its origins, and to what countries and leaders the term should apply. Moreover, when the Cold War began in the late 1940s (see "The World Remade" in Chapter 31), conservatives, particularly in the United States, commandeered the term as shorthand for the “evil” Communist regimes in the Soviet Union and its satellites. Liberals, especially in the 1960s, used the term more loosely to refer to every system they felt inhibited freedom — from local police to the U.S. Pentagon. Thus by the 1980s many scholars questioned the term’s usefulness. More recently, with these caveats, scholars have returned to the term to explain and understand fascism, Nazism, and communism in the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s.

It can be argued that **totalitarianism** began with the total war effort of 1914–1918 (see “Mobilizing for Total War” in Chapter 28), as governments acquired total control over all areas of society in order to achieve one supreme objective: victory. This provided a model for future totalitarian states. As the French thinker Élie Halévy (AY-lee ah-LAY-vee) observed in 1936, the varieties of modern totalitarian tyranny — fascism, Nazism, and communism — could be thought of as “feuding brothers” with a common father: the nature of modern war.[2]

totalitarianism A radical dictatorship that exercises complete political power and control over all aspects of society and seeks to mobilize the masses for action.

The consequences of the Versailles treaty (1919) and the severe economic and political problems that Germany and Italy faced in the 1920s left both those countries ripe for new leadership, but not necessarily totalitarian dictators. It was the Great Depression that must be viewed as the immediate cause of the modern totalitarian state.

In 1956 American historians Carl Friedrich and Zbigniew Brzezinski (z-BIG-nyef bzheh-ZIN-skee) identified at least six key features of modern totalitarian states: (1) an official ideology; (2) a single ruling party; (3) complete control of “all weapons of armed combat”; (4) complete monopoly of all means of mass communication; (5) a system of terror, physical and psychic, enforced by the party and the secret police; and (6) central control and direction of the entire economy.[3]

While all these features were present in Stalin’s Communist Soviet Union and Hitler’s Nazi Germany, there were some major differences. Most notably, Soviet communism seized private property for the state and sought to level society by crushing the middle classes. Nazi Germany also criticized big landowners and industrialists but, unlike the Communists, did not try to nationalize private property, so the middle classes survived. This difference in property and class relations led some scholars to speak of “totalitarianism of the left” — Stalinist Russia — and “totalitarianism of the right” — Nazi Germany.

© Imagno/Austrian Archives/The Image Works

The Spread of Fascism in Spain, 1937 In the 1920s and 1930s most European countries had Fascist sympathizers. Between 1936 and 1939 Fascist nationalist forces led by General Francisco Franco, pictured here, fought a brutal war against the government of Spain’s left-leaning, democratic Second Spanish Republic. Socialist and liberal volunteers from around the world came to Spain to fight against Franco’s army, as recounted in Ernest Hemingway’s novel *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. Pablo Picasso portrayed the destruction to one town caused by German Nazi and Italian Fascist warplanes, supporting Franco, in his famous painting *Guernica*. Following the nationalist victory, Franco ruled Spain as a dictator for thirty-six years.

Moreover, Soviet Communists ultimately had international aims: they sought to unite the workers of the world. Mussolini and Hitler claimed they were interested in changing state and society on a national level only, although Hitler envisioned a greatly expanded “living space,” or *lebensraum* (LAY-buhns-rowm), for Germans in eastern Europe and Russia. Both Mussolini and Hitler used the term **fascism** (FASH-iz-uhm) to describe their movements’ supposedly “total” and revolutionary character. Orthodox Marxist Communists argued that the Fascists were powerful capitalists seeking to destroy the revolutionary working class and thus protect their enormous profits. So while Communists and Fascists both sought the overthrow of existing society, their ideologies clashed, and they were enemies.

fascism A movement characterized by extreme, often expansionist nationalism, anti-socialism, a dynamic and violent leader, and glorification of war and the military.

European Fascist movements shared many characteristics, including extreme, often expanionist, nationalism; anti-socialism aimed at destroying working-class movements; a dynamic and violent leader; a crushing of human individualism; alliances with powerful capitalists and landowners; and glorification of war and the military. Fascists, especially in Germany, also embraced racial homogeneity. Indeed, while class was the driving force in communist ideology, race and racial purity were profoundly important to Nazi ideology.

Although 1930s Japan has sometimes been called a Fascist society, most recent scholars disagree with this label. Japanese political philosophers were attracted by some European Fascist ideas, such as Hitler’s desire for eastward expansion, which would be duplicated by Japan’s expansion to the Asian mainland. Other appealing concepts included nationalism, militarism, the corporatist economic model, and a single, all-powerful political party. The idea of a Japanese dictator, however, clashed with the emperor’s divine status. There were also various ideologically unique forces at work in Japan, including ultranationalism, militarism (building on the historic role of samurai warriors in Japanese society), reverence for traditional ways, emperor worship, and the profound changes to Japanese society beginning with the Meiji Restoration in 1867 (see “The Meiji Restoration” in Chapter 26). These also contributed to the rise of a totalitarian, but not Fascist, state before the Second World War.

In summary, the concept of totalitarianism remains a valuable tool for historical understanding. It correctly highlights that in the 1930s Germany, the Soviet Union, and Japan made an unprecedented “total claim” on the beliefs and behaviors of their respective citizens.[4] However, none of these nations were successful in completely dominating their citizens. Thus totalitarianism is an idea never fully achieved.

Stalin’s Soviet Union

How did Stalin and the Communist Party build a totalitarian order in the Soviet Union?

Joseph Stalin (1879–1953) consolidated his power following Lenin’s death in 1924 and by 1927 was the de facto leader of the Soviet Union. In 1928 he launched the first **five-year plan** — a “revolution from above,”[5] as he so aptly termed it, to transform Soviet society along socialist lines, and to generate a Communist society with new attitudes, new loyalties, and a new socialist humanity. Stalin and the Communist Party used constant propaganda, enormous sacrifice, and unlimited violence and state control to establish a dynamic, modern totalitarian state in the 1930s.

five-year plan Launched by Stalin in 1928 and termed the “revolution from above,” its goal was to modernize the Soviet Union and generate a Communist society with new attitudes, new loyalties, and a new socialist humanity.

From Lenin to Stalin

By spring 1921 Lenin and the Bolsheviks had won the civil war, but they ruled a shattered and devastated land. Facing economic disintegration, the worst famine in generations, riots by peasants and workers, and an open rebellion by previously pro-Bolshevik sailors at Kronstadt (kruhn-SHTAHT), Lenin changed course. In March 1921 he announced the **New Economic Policy (NEP)**, which re-established limited economic freedom in an attempt to rebuild agriculture and industry. Peasant producers could sell their surpluses in free markets, as could private traders and small handicraft manufacturers. Heavy industry, railroads, and banks, however, remained wholly nationalized.

New Economic Policy (NEP) Lenin’s 1921 policy re-establishing limited economic freedom in the Soviet Union in an attempt to rebuild agriculture and industry in the face of economic disintegration.

The NEP was successful both politically and economically. Politically, it was a necessary but temporary compromise with the Soviet Union’s overwhelming peasant majority. Economically, the NEP brought rapid recovery. In 1926 industrial output surpassed prewar levels, and peasants were producing almost as much grain as before the war.

As the economy recovered, an intense power struggle began in the Communist Party's inner circles, for Lenin left no chosen successor when he died in 1924. The principal contenders were Stalin and Leon Trotsky. While Trotsky appeared to be the stronger of the two, in the end Stalin won because he gained the support of the party, the only genuine source of power in the one-party state.

Stalin gradually achieved absolute power between 1922 and 1927. He used the moderates to crush Trotsky and then turned against the moderates and destroyed them as well. Stalin's final triumph came at the party congress of December 1927, which condemned all deviation from the general party line as formulated by Stalin.

The Five-Year Plans

The 1927 party congress marked the end of the NEP and the beginning of socialist five-year plans. The first five-year plan had staggering economic objectives. In just five years, total industrial output was to increase by 250 percent and agricultural production by 150 percent. By 1930 economic and social change was sweeping the country in a frenzied effort to modernize and industrialize, much like in Britain in the nineteenth century (see "The Industrial Revolution in Britain" in Chapter 23), and dramatically changing the lives of ordinary people, sometimes at great personal cost. One worker complained, "The workers . . . made every effort to fulfill the industrial and financial plan and fulfilled it by more than 100 percent, but how are they supplied? The ration is received only by the worker, except for rye flour, his wife and small children receive nothing. Workers and their families wear worn-out clothes, the kids are in rags, their naked bellies sticking out."[6]

Stalin unleashed his "second revolution" because, like Lenin, he was deeply committed to socialism. Stalin was also driven to catch up with the advanced and presumably hostile Western capitalist nations. In February 1931 Stalin famously declared:

> It is sometimes asked whether it is not possible to slow down the tempo a bit. . . . No, comrades, it is not possible! The tempo must not be reduced! . . . To slacken the tempo would mean falling behind. And those who fall behind get beaten. No, we refuse to be beaten! . . . We are fifty or a hundred years behind the advanced countries. We must make good this distance in ten years. Either we do it, or we shall be crushed.[7]

Domestically, there was the peasant problem. For centuries peasants had wanted to own the land, and finally they had it. Sooner or later, the Communists reasoned, the peasants would become conservative capitalists and threaten the regime. Stalin therefore launched a preventive war against the peasantry to bring it under the state's absolute control.

That war was **collectivization** — the forcible consolidation of individual peasant farms into large, state-controlled enterprises. Beginning in 1929 peasants were ordered to give up their land and animals and become members of collective farms. As for the kulaks, the better-off peasants, Stalin instructed party workers to "break their resistance, to eliminate them as a class."[8] (See "Thinking Like a Historian: Peasant Resistance to Stalin's Collectivization Plan," page 896.) Stripped of land and livestock, many starved or were deported to forced-labor camps for "re-education."

collectivization Stalin's forcible consolidation, beginning in 1929, of individual peasant farms in the Soviet Union into large, state-controlled enterprises.

Because almost all peasants were poor, the term *kulak* soon meant any peasant who opposed the new system. Whole villages were often attacked. One conscience-stricken colonel in the secret police confessed to a foreign journalist:

> I am an old Bolshevik. I worked in the underground against the Tsar and then I fought in the Civil War. Did I do all that in order that I should now surround villages with machine guns and order my men to fire indiscriminately into crowds of peasants? Oh, no, no![9]

Forced collectivization led to disaster. Many peasants slaughtered their animals and burned their crops in protest. Nor were the state-controlled collective farms more productive. Grain output barely increased, and collectivized agriculture made no substantial financial contribution to Soviet industrial development during the first five-year plan.

In Ukraine Stalin instituted a policy of all-out collectivization with two goals: to destroy all expressions of Ukrainian nationalism, and to break the Ukrainian peasants' will so they would accept collectivization and Soviet rule. Stalin began by purging Ukraine of its intellectuals and political elite. He then set impossibly high grain quotas for the collectivized farms. This grain quota had to be turned over to the government before any peasant could receive a share. Many scholars and dozens of governments and international organizations have declared Stalin's and the Soviet government's policies a deliberate act of genocide. As one historian observed:

> Grain supplies were sufficient to sustain everyone if properly distributed. People died mostly of terror-starvation (excess grain exports, seizure of edibles from the starving, state refusal to provide emergency relief, bans on outmigration, and forced deportation to food-deficit locales), not poor harvests and routine administrative bungling.[10]

The result was a terrible man-made famine, called in Ukrainian the *Holodomor* (HAU-lau-dau-mohr) (Hunger extermination), in Ukraine in 1932 and 1933, which probably claimed 3 to 5 million lives.

Collectivization was a cruel but real victory for Communist ideologues who were looking to institute their brand of communism and to crush opposition as much as improve production. By 1938, 93 percent of peasant families had been herded onto collective farms at a horrendous cost in both human lives and resources. Regimented as state employees and dependent on the state-owned tractor stations, the collectivized peasants were no longer a political threat.

The industrial side of the five-year plans was more successful. Soviet industry produced about four times as much in 1937 as in 1928. No other major country had ever achieved such rapid industrial growth. Heavy industry led the way, and urban development accelerated: more than 25 million people migrated to cities to become industrial workers during the 1930s.

The sudden creation of dozens of new factories demanded tremendous resources. Funds for industrial expansion were collected from the people through heavy hidden sales taxes. Firm labor discipline also contributed to rapid industrialization. Trade unions lost most of their power, and individuals could not move without police permission. When factory managers needed more hands, they were sent “unneeded” peasants from collective farms.

Foreign engineers were hired to plan and construct many of the new factories. Highly skilled American engineers, hungry for work in the depression years, were particularly important until newly trained Soviet experts began to replace them after 1932. Thus Stalin's planners harnessed the skill and technology of capitalist countries to promote the surge of socialist industry.

THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN

Peasant Resistance to Stalin's Collectivization Plan

In 1929 Stalin ordered the forced collectivization of all peasants onto state-controlled farms, promising that large-scale industrialized agriculture would provide them all, equally, with better lives. The peasants generally would have none of it and resisted so successfully that the state resorted to violence, starvation, and genocide to force them out of their homes, off their lands, and onto the collective farms.

1 **Maurice Hindus on peasant distrust of Soviet promises, 1929.** Journalist Maurice Hindus wrote about peasant attitudes toward collective farms during a visit to his native village in central Russia in the summer of 1929.

■ These peasants never believed in anybody's words; they had always mistrusted the whole world. . . . And now they were to give up their individual land, their horses, their cows, their farm buildings — the things that had given them bread, protection against starvation, the very security they needed to hold body and soul together — all on the mere promise of a youthful agitator that this would enrich their lives!

2 **Apocalyptic visions of collectivization, late 1929.** Nightmarish rumors of what was to come spread from village to village across Russia among the generally illiterate but very religious peasants as the specter of collectivization approached.

■ In the collective farm, there will be a special stamp, [they] will close all the churches, not allow prayer, dead people will be cremated, the christening of children will be forbidden, invalids and the elderly will be killed, there won't be any husbands or wives, [all] will sleep under a one-hundred-meter blanket. Beautiful men and women will be taken and brought to one place to produce beautiful people. Children will be taken from their parents, there will be wholesale incest. . . . The collective farm — this is beasts in a single shed, people in a single barrack.

3 **Stalingrad district administration, proclamation calling for open rebellion, 1930.** In July 1930 a proclamation issued by the administration of the Stalingrad district in the lower Volga River region called for the peasants to rise up and overthrow the Soviet government.

■ Citizens of great Russia. The People's Democratic party calls on you to throw off the yoke of the unprecedented red terror. Citizens remember the slogans of the years of revolution — freedom of speech, press, conscience, religion; factories to the workers, land to the peasants, etc. And what have the people gotten from these slogans. A dictatorship of the ruinous communist party gave, instead of the promises, . . . a robbery of all the laboring population unprecedented in the history of humanity. Instead of freedom of conscience and religion, the mass closing of churches. . . . Instead of freedom of speech and the press — the brutal suppression of the thought and speech of people — terror for the workers, and instead of bread — hunger; instead of land, the peasantry gets taxes. . . .

Down with the thieving dictatorship of the . . . Communists, down with the red terror. . . . [D]own with collectivization which is a hidden form of slave labor.

4 **A Soviet activist on performing his revolutionary duty, 1933.** One of the activists recruited to enforce the collectivization and gather the peasants' grain in the Ukraine recalls the horrors he witnessed while carrying out his duties in support of the socialist fatherland.

■ I firmly believed that the ends justified the means. Our great goal was the universal triumph of Communism, and for the sake of that goal everything was permissible — to lie, to steal, to destroy hundreds of thousands and even millions of people, . . . everyone who stood in the way. . . .

In the terrible spring of 1933 I saw people dying from hunger. I saw women and children with distended bellies, turning blue, still breathing but with vacant, lifeless eyes. And corpses — corpses in ragged sheepskin coats and cheap felt boots; corpses in peasant huts, in the melting snow. . . . I saw all this and did not go out of [my] mind or commit suicide. Nor did I curse those who had sent me out to take away the peasants' grain in the winter, and in the spring to persuade the barely walking, skeleton-thin or sickly-swollen people to go into the fields in order to "fulfil the bolshevik sowing plan in shock-worker style."

Nor did I lose my faith. As before, I believed because I wanted to believe.

5 **Dinner time on a collective farm, 1936.** Male and female peasants on a Soviet collective farm near Kiev take time to share a meal.

Universal Images Group/Sovfoto/akg-images

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. In Source 1, who is the “youthful agitator,” and what is he asking the peasants to give up?
2. What are the different effects of collectivization feared by the peasants in Source 2?
3. Who is the target of the peasants’ anger in Source 3? In what ways are the peasants’ lives threatened by collectivization?
4. To whom or what is the activist in Source 4 remaining loyal? What has he witnessed?
5. Why might the image in Source 5 be considered a propaganda piece created by the Soviet regime to promote collectivization? What might the effect of such an image be?

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

Using the sources above, along with what you have learned in class and in this chapter, write a short essay on the Soviet government’s efforts to promote collectivization and the peasants’ reactions to collectivization.

Sources: (1) Maurice Gerschon Hindus, *Red Bread: Collectivization in a Russian Village*, quoted in R. W. Davies, *The Socialist Offensive: The Collectivisation of Soviet Agriculture, 1929–1930* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1980), pp. 209–210; (2) Russian State Archive of the Economy, quoted in Lynne Viola, *Peasant Rebels Under Stalin: Collectivization and the Culture of Peasant Resistance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 59; (3) Archives of the Internal Security Police, quoted in Viola, *Peasant Rebels Under Stalin*, p. 120; (4) Lev Kopelev, *The Education of a True Believer*, quoted in Robert Conquest, *The Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror—Famine* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 233.

Life and Culture in Soviet Society

Daily life was hard in Stalin’s Soviet Union. Despite these hardships, many Communists saw themselves as heroically building the world’s first socialist society while capitalism crumbled and fascism rose in the West.

Offsetting the hardships were the important social benefits Soviet workers received, such as old-age pensions, free medical services and education, and day-care centers for children. Unemployment was almost unknown. Moreover, there was the possibility of personal advancement. Rapid industrialization required massive numbers of trained experts. Thus the Stalinist state broke with the egalitarian policies of the 1920s and provided tremendous incentives to those who acquired specialized skills. A growing technical and managerial elite joined the political and artistic elites in a new upper class, whose members were rich and powerful.

Soviet society’s radical transformation profoundly affected women’s lives. The Russian Bolshevik Revolution immediately proclaimed complete equality of rights for women. In the 1920s divorce and abortion were made easily available, and women were urged to work outside the home. After Stalin came to power, however, he encouraged a return to traditional family values.

The most lasting changes for women involved work and education. Peasant women continued to work on farms, and millions of women now toiled in factories and heavy construction. The more determined women entered the ranks of the better-paid specialists in industry and science. By 1950, 75 percent of all doctors in the Soviet Union were women.

Culture was thoroughly politicized through constant propaganda and indoctrination. Party activists lectured workers in factories and peasants on collective farms, while newspapers, films, and radio broadcasts recounted socialist achievements and warned of capitalist plots.

Stalinist Terror and the Great Purges

In the mid-1930s the push to build socialism and a new society culminated in ruthless police terror and a massive purging of the Communist Party. In August 1936 sixteen prominent “Old Bolsheviks” — party members before the 1917 revolution — confessed to all manner of plots against Stalin in spectacular public show trials in Moscow. Then in 1937 the secret police arrested a mass of lesser party officials and newer members, torturing them and extracting confessions for more show trials. In addition to the party faithful, union officials, managers, intellectuals, army officers, and countless ordinary citizens were struck down. One Stalin functionary admitted, "Innocent people were arrested: naturally — otherwise no one would be frightened. If people were arrested only for specific misdemeanors, all the others would feel safe and so become ripe for treason."[11] In all, at least 8 million people were arrested, and millions of these were executed. Those not immediately executed were sent to gulags (GOO-lagz) — labor camps from which few escaped. Many were simply worked to death as they provided convict labor for Stalin's industrialization drive in areas of low population.

© SZ Photo/Bridgeman Images

The Soviet Forced-Labor Camp at Arkhangelsk From 1929 to 1953 millions of Soviet citizens were sent to forced-labor prison camps such as this one, and over 1.5 million died. Ten to 20 percent of these prisoners were women, many of them found guilty of nothing more than being married to men considered enemies of the state. Here male and female prisoners work in a lumberyard in a cold and snowy climate near the Arctic Circle.

Stalin recruited 1.5 million new members to replace those purged. Thus more than half of all Communist Party members in 1941 had joined since the purges. This new generation of Stalin-formed Communists served the leader effectively until his death in 1953 and then governed the Soviet Union until the early 1980s. Stalin's mass purges remain baffling, for most historians believe those purged posed no threat and confessed to crimes they had not committed. Some historians have challenged the long-standing interpretation that blames the great purges on Stalin's cruelty or madness. They argue that Stalin’s fears were exaggerated but genuine and were shared by many in the party and in the general population. Investigations and trials snowballed into a mass hysteria, a new witch-hunt.[12] Historians who have accessed recently opened Soviet archives, however, continue to hold that Stalin was intimately involved with the purges and personally directed them, abetted by amenable informers, judges, and executioners. Oleg Khlevniuk, a Ukrainian historian familiar with these archives, writes, “Theories about the elemental, spontaneous nature of the terror, about a loss of central control over the course of mass repression, and about the role of regional leaders in initiating the terror are simply not supported by the historical record.”[13] In short, a ruthless and paranoid Stalin found large numbers of willing collaborators for crime as well as for achievement.

Mussolini and Fascism in Italy

How did Italian fascism develop?

Benito Mussolini's Fascist movement and his seizure of power in 1922 were important steps in the rise of dictatorships between the two world wars. Mussolini and his supporters were the first to call themselves "Fascists." His dictatorship was brutal and theatrical, and it contained elements of both conservative authoritarianism and modern totalitarianism.

The Seizure of Power

In the early twentieth century Italy was a liberal state with civil rights and a constitutional monarchy. On the eve of the First World War, the parliamentary regime granted universal male suffrage. But there were serious problems. Poverty was widespread, and many peasants were more attached to their villages and local interests than to the national state. Church-state relations were often tense. Class differences were also extreme, and by 1912 the Socialist Party's radical wing led the powerful revolutionary socialist movement.[14]

World War I worsened the political situation. Having fought on the Allied side almost exclusively for purposes of territorial expansion, Italian nationalists were disappointed with Italy's modest gains at the Paris Peace Conference. Workers and peasants also felt cheated: to win their support during the war, the government had promised social and land reform, which it failed to deliver after the war.

The Russian Revolution inspired and energized Italy's revolutionary socialist movement, and radical workers and peasants began occupying factories and seizing land in 1920. These actions scared and mobilized the property-owning classes. Thus by 1921 revolutionary socialists, antiliberal conservatives, and frightened property owners were all opposed — though for different reasons — to the liberal parliamentary government.

Into these crosscurrents of unrest and fear stepped Benito Mussolini (1883–1945). Mussolini began his political career as a Socialist Party leader and radical newspaper editor before World War I. Expelled from the Italian Socialist Party for supporting the war, and wounded on the Italian front in 1917, Mussolini returned home and began organizing bitter war veterans into a band of Fascists — Italian for "a union of forces."

At first Mussolini's program was a radical combination of nationalist and socialist demands. As such, it competed directly with the well-organized Socialist Party and failed to attract followers. When Mussolini realized his violent verbal assaults on rival Socialists won him growing support from conservatives and the frightened middle classes, he began to shift gears and to exalt nation over class. By 1921 he was ridiculing and dismissing the Marxist interpretation of history:

> We deny the existence of two classes, because there are many more than two classes. We deny that human history can be explained in terms of economics. We deny your internationalism. That is a luxury article, which only the elevated can practice, because peoples are passionately bound to their native soil.[15]

Mussolini and his private army of **Black Shirts** also turned to physical violence. Few people were killed, but Socialist newspapers, union halls, and local Socialist Party headquarters were destroyed, eventually pushing Socialists out of the city governments of northern Italy. A skillful politician, Mussolini convinced his followers they were opposing the "Reds," while also promoting a real revolution of the little people against the established interests.

Black Shirts A private army under Mussolini in Italy that destroyed Socialist newspapers, union halls, and local Socialist Party headquarters, eventually pushing Socialists out of the city governments of northern Italy.

With the government breaking down in 1922, Mussolini stepped forward as the savior of order and property. In October 1922 thirty thousand Fascists marched on Rome, threatening the king and demanding he appoint Mussolini prime minister. Victor Emmanuel III (r. 1900–1946), forced to choose between Fascists or Socialists, asked Mussolini to form a new cabinet. Thus, after widespread violence and a threat of armed uprising, Mussolini seized power "legally."

The Regime in Action

In 1924 Mussolini declared his desire to "make the nation Fascist"[16] and imposed a series of repressive measures. Press freedom was abolished, elections were fixed, and the government ruled by decree. Mussolini arrested his political opponents, disbanded all independent labor unions, and put dedicated Fascists in control of Italy's schools. He created a Fascist youth movement, Fascist labor unions, and many other Fascist organizations. He trumpeted his goal in a famous slogan of 1926: "Everything in the state, nothing outside the state, nothing against the state."[17] By year's end Italy was a one-party dictatorship under Mussolini's unquestioned leadership.

Stefano Bianchetti/Corbis via Getty Images

Mussolini Leading a Parade in Rome Benito Mussolini was a master showman who drew on Rome's ancient heritage to promote Italian fascism. He wanted a grand avenue to stage triumphal marches with thousands of troops, so he had the Way of the Imperial Forums built through the old city. Here Mussolini rides at the head of a grand parade in 1932 to inaugurate the new road, passing the Roman Coliseum, one of the focal points along the route.

Mussolini was only primarily interested, however, in personal power. Rather than destroy the old power structure, he remained content to compromise with the conservative classes that controlled the army, the economy, and the state. He controlled labor but left big business to regulate itself, profitably and securely. There was no land reform.

Mussolini also drew increasing support from the Catholic Church. In the **Lateran Agreement** of 1929, he recognized the Vatican as a tiny independent state and agreed to give the church heavy financial support. The pope in return urged Italians to support Mussolini's government.

Lateran Agreement A 1929 agreement in which Mussolini in Italy recognized the Vatican as an independent state and agreed to give the church heavy financial support in return for the pope’s public support.

Like Stalin and Hitler, Mussolini favored a return of traditional roles for women. He abolished divorce and told women to stay at home and produce children. In 1938 women were limited by law to a maximum of 10 percent of the better-paying jobs in industry and government.

Mussolini’s government passed no racial laws until 1938 and did not persecute Jews savagely until late in the Second World War, when Italy was under Nazi control. Nor did Mussolini establish a truly ruthless police state. Only twenty-three political prisoners were condemned to death between 1926 and 1944. Mussolini’s Fascist Italy, though repressive and undemocratic, was never really totalitarian.

Hitler and Nazism in Germany

Why were Hitler and his Nazi regime initially so popular, and how did their actions lead to World War II?

The most frightening dictatorship developed in Nazi Germany. Here Nazism asserted an unlimited claim over German society and proclaimed the ultimate power of its leader, Adolf Hitler. Nazism's aspirations were truly totalitarian.

The Roots of Nazism

Nazism grew out of many complex concepts, of which the most influential were extreme nationalism and racism. These ideas captured the mind of the young Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) and evolved into Nazism.

Nazism A movement born of extreme nationalism and racism and dominated by Adolf Hitler from 1933 until the end of World War II in 1945.

The son of an Austrian customs official, Hitler did poorly in high school and dropped out at age sixteen. He then headed to Vienna, where he was exposed to extreme Austro-German nationalists who believed Germans to be a superior people and central Europe's natural rulers. They advocated union with Germany and violent expulsion of "inferior" peoples from the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

From these extremists Hitler eagerly absorbed virulent anti-Semitism, racism, and hatred of Slavs. He developed an unshakable belief in the crudest distortions of Social Darwinism (see "Science for the Masses" in Chapter 24), the superiority of Germanic races, and the inevitability of racial conflict. The Jews, he claimed, directed an international conspiracy of finance capitalism and Marxist socialism against German culture, German unity, and the German race. Anti-Semitism and racism became Hitler's most passionate convictions.

Hitler greeted the Great War's outbreak as a salvation. The struggle and discipline of serving as a soldier in the war gave his life meaning, and when Germany suddenly surrendered in 1918, Hitler's world was shattered. Convinced that Jews and Marxists had "stabbed Germany in the back," he vowed to fight on.

In late 1919 Hitler joined a tiny extremist group in Munich called the German Workers' Party. By 1921 Hitler had gained absolute control of this small but growing party, now renamed the National Socialist German Worker's Party, or Nazi Party. A master of mass propaganda and political showmanship, Hitler worked his audiences into a frenzy with wild attacks on the Versailles treaty, the Jews, war profiteers, and Germany's Weimar Republic.

In late 1923 Germany under the Weimar Republic was experiencing unparalleled hyperinflation and seemed on the verge of collapse (see "Germany and the Western Powers" in Chapter 28). Hitler, inspired by Mussolini's recent victory, attempted an armed uprising in Munich. Despite the failure of the poorly organized plot and Hitler's arrest, Nazism had been born.

Hitler's Road to Power

At his trial Hitler violently denounced the Weimar Republic and attracted enormous publicity. During his brief prison term in 1924 he dictated *Mein Kampf* (*My Struggle*), in which he expounded on his basic ideas on race and anti-Semitism, the notion of territorial expansion based on "living space" for Germans, and the role of the leader-dictator, called the *Führer* (FYOOR-uhr).

The Nazis remained a small splinter group until the 1929 Great Depression shattered the economic prosperity and stability of the late 1920s. By the end of 1932, 32 percent or more of Germany's labor force was unemployed. Industrial production fell by one-half between 1929 and 1932. No factor contributed more to Hitler's success than this economic crisis.

Popperfoto/Getty Images

Young People in Hitler's Germany This photo from 1930 shows Hitler admiring a young boy dressed in the uniform of Hitler's storm troopers, a paramilitary organization of the Nazi Party that supported Hitler's rise to power in the 1920s and early 1930s. Only a year after the founding of the storm troopers in 1921, Hitler began to organize Germany's young people into similar paramilitary groups in an effort to militarize all of German society. The young paramilitaries became the Hitler Youth, who eventually numbered in the millions.

Hitler rejected free-market capitalism and advocated government programs to promote recovery. He pitched his speeches to middle- and lower-middle-class groups and to skilled workers. As the economy collapsed, great numbers of these people “voted their pocketbooks”[18] and deserted the conservative and moderate parties for the Nazis. In the July 1932 election the Nazis won 14.5 million votes — 38 percent of the total — and became the largest party in the Reichstag.

Hitler and the Nazis appealed strongly to German youth; Hitler himself was only forty in 1929. In 1931 almost 40 percent of Nazi Party members were under thirty, compared with 20 percent of Social Democrats. “National Socialism is the organized will of the youth,”[19] proclaimed the official Nazi slogan. National recovery, exciting and rapid change, and personal advancement made Nazism appealing to millions of German youths.

Hitler also came to power because of the breakdown of democratic government. Germany’s economic collapse in the Great Depression convinced many voters that the country’s republican leaders were incompetent and corrupt. Disunity on the left was another nail in the republic’s coffin. The Communists refused to cooperate with the Social Democrats, even though the two parties together outnumbered the Nazis in the Reichstag.

Finally, Hitler excelled in backroom politics. In 1932 he succeeded in gaining support from key people in the army, big business, and politics, who thought they could manipulate and use him to their own advantage. Thus in January 1933 President Paul von Hindenburg (1847–1934) legally appointed Hitler, leader of Germany’s largest party, as German chancellor.

The Nazi State and Society

Hitler quickly established an unshakable dictatorship. When the Reichstag building was partly destroyed by fire in February 1933, Hitler blamed the Communist Party. He convinced President von Hindenburg to sign dictatorial emergency acts that abolished freedom of speech and assembly and most personal liberties. He also called for new elections in an effort to solidify his political power.

When the Nazis won only 44 percent of the votes, Hitler outlawed the Communist Party and arrested its parliamentary representatives. Then on March 23, 1933, the Nazis forced through the Reichstag the so-called **Enabling Act**, which gave Hitler absolute dictatorial power for four years.

Enabling Act An act pushed through the Reichstag by the Nazis in 1933 that gave Hitler absolute dictatorial power for four years.

Hitler and the Nazis took over the government bureaucracy, installing many Nazis in top positions. Hitler next outlawed strikes and abolished independent labor unions, which were replaced by the Nazi Labor Front. Professional people — doctors and lawyers, teachers and engineers — also saw their independent organizations swallowed up in Nazi associations. Publishing houses and universities were put under Nazi control, and students and professors publicly burned forbidden books. Modern art and architecture were ruthlessly prohibited. Life became violently anti-intellectual. As the cynical Joseph Goebbels, later Nazi minister of propaganda, put it, “When I hear the word ‘culture’ I reach for my gun.”[20] By 1934 a brutal dictatorship characterized by frightening dynamism and total obedience to Hitler was already largely in place.

In 1934 Hitler also ordered that all civil servants and members of the German armed forces swear a binding oath of “unquestioning obedience” to Adolf Hitler. The SS — Hitler’s elite personal guard — grew rapidly. Under Heinrich Himmler (1900–1945), the SS took over the political police (the Gestapo) and expanded its network of concentration camps.

From the beginning, German Jews were a special object of Nazi persecution. By late 1934 most Jewish lawyers, doctors, professors, civil servants, and musicians had been banned from their professions. In 1935 the infamous Nuremberg Laws classified as Jewish anyone having three or more Jewish grandparents and deprived Jews of all rights of citizenship. By 1938 roughly one-quarter of Germany’s half million Jews had emigrated, sacrificing almost all their property in order to leave Germany.

In late 1938 the attack on the Jews accelerated and grew more violent. On November 9 and 10, 1938, the Nazis initiated a series of well-organized attacks against Jews throughout Nazi Germany and some parts of Austria. This infamous event is known as Kristallnacht (krees-TAHL-nahkht), or Night of Broken Glass, after the broken glass that littered the streets following the frenzied destruction of Jewish homes, shops, synagogues, and neighborhoods by German civilians and uniformed storm troopers. U.S. consul David Buffum reported of the Nazis in Leipzig:

> The most hideous phase of the so-called “spontaneous” action, has been the wholesale arrest and transportation to concentration camps of male German Jews between the ages of sixteen and sixty. . . . Having demolished dwellings and hurled most of the effects to the streets, the insatiably sadistic perpetrators threw many of the trembling inmates into a small stream that flows through the Zoological Park, commanding horrified spectators to spit at them, defile them with mud and jeer at their plight.[21]

Many historians consider this night the beginning of Hitler’s Final

Solution against the Jews, and after this event it became very difficult for Jews to leave Germany.

Some Germans privately opposed these outrages, but most went along or looked the other way. Although this lack of response reflected the individual's helplessness in a totalitarian state, it also reflected the strong popular support Hitler's government enjoyed.

Hitler's Popularity

Hitler had promised the masses economic recovery — "work and bread" — and he delivered. The Nazi Party launched a large public works program to pull Germany out of the depression. In 1935 Germany turned decisively toward rearmament. Unemployment dropped steadily, and by 1938 the Nazis boasted of nearly full employment. For millions of Germans economic recovery was tangible evidence that Nazi promises were more than show and propaganda.

For ordinary German citizens, in contrast to those deemed "undesirable" (Jews, Slavs, Gypsies, Jehovah's Witnesses, Communists, and homosexuals), Hitler's government offered greater equality and more opportunities. In 1933 class barriers in Germany were generally high. Hitler's rule introduced changes that lowered these barriers. The new Nazi elite included many young and poorly educated dropouts, rootless lower-middle-class people like Hitler who rose to the top with breathtaking speed. More generally, however, the Nazis tolerated privilege and wealth only as long as they served party needs.

Yet Hitler and the Nazis failed to bring about a real social revolution. The well-educated classes held on to most of their advantages, and only a modest social leveling occurred in the Nazi years. Significantly, the Nazis shared with the Italian Fascists the stereotypical view of women as housewives and mothers. Only when facing labor shortages during the war did they reluctantly mobilize large numbers of German women for office and factory work.[22]

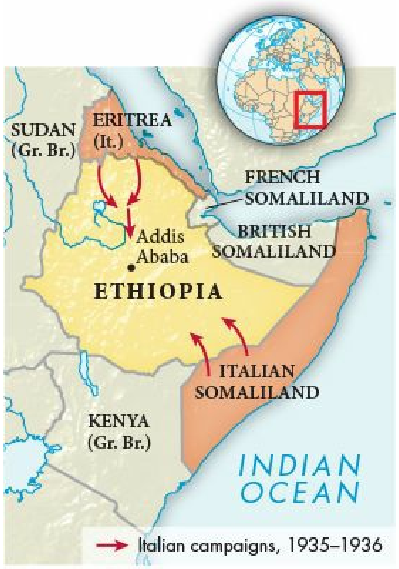
Not all Germans supported Hitler, and a number of German groups actively resisted him after 1933. Tens of thousands of political enemies were imprisoned, and thousands were executed. In the first years of Hitler's rule, the principal resisters were trade-union Communists and Socialists. Catholic and Protestant churches produced a second group of opponents. Their efforts were directed primarily at preserving genuine religious life, however, not at overthrowing Hitler. Finally, in 1938 and again during the war, some high-ranking army officers, who feared the consequences of Hitler's reckless aggression, plotted, unsuccessfully, against him.

Aggression and Appeasement, 1933–1939

After Germany's economic recovery and Hitler's success in establishing Nazi control of society, Hitler turned to the next item on his agenda: aggressive territorial expansion. Germany's withdrawal from the League of Nations in October 1933 indicated its determination to rearm. When in March 1935 Hitler established a general military draft and declared the "unequal" Versailles treaty disarmament clauses null and void, leaders in Britain, France, and Italy issued a rather tepid joint protest and warned him against future aggressive actions.

But the emerging united front against Hitler quickly collapsed. Britain adopted a policy of appeasement, granting Hitler everything he could reasonably want (and more) in order to avoid war. British appeasement, which practically dictated French policy, had the support of many powerful British conservatives who, as in Germany, underestimated Hitler. The British people, still horrified by the memory, the costs, and the losses of the First World War, generally supported pacifism rather than war.

Some British leaders at the time, however, such as Winston Churchill, bitterly condemned appeasement as peace at any price. After the war, British appeasement came to be viewed as "the granting from fear or cowardice of unwarranted concessions in order to buy temporary peace at someone else's expense."[23] Beginning in the 1990s some historians have argued that British leaders had no real choice but to appease Hitler in the 1930s, because neither Great Britain nor France was prepared psychologically or militarily to fight another war.[24]


SUDAN (Gr. Br.)
ERITREA (It.)
FRENCH SOMALILAND
BRITISH SOMALILAND
Addis Ababa
ETHIOPIA
ITALIAN SOMALILAND
KENYA (Gr. Br.)
INDIAN OCEAN
→ Italian campaigns, 1935–1936

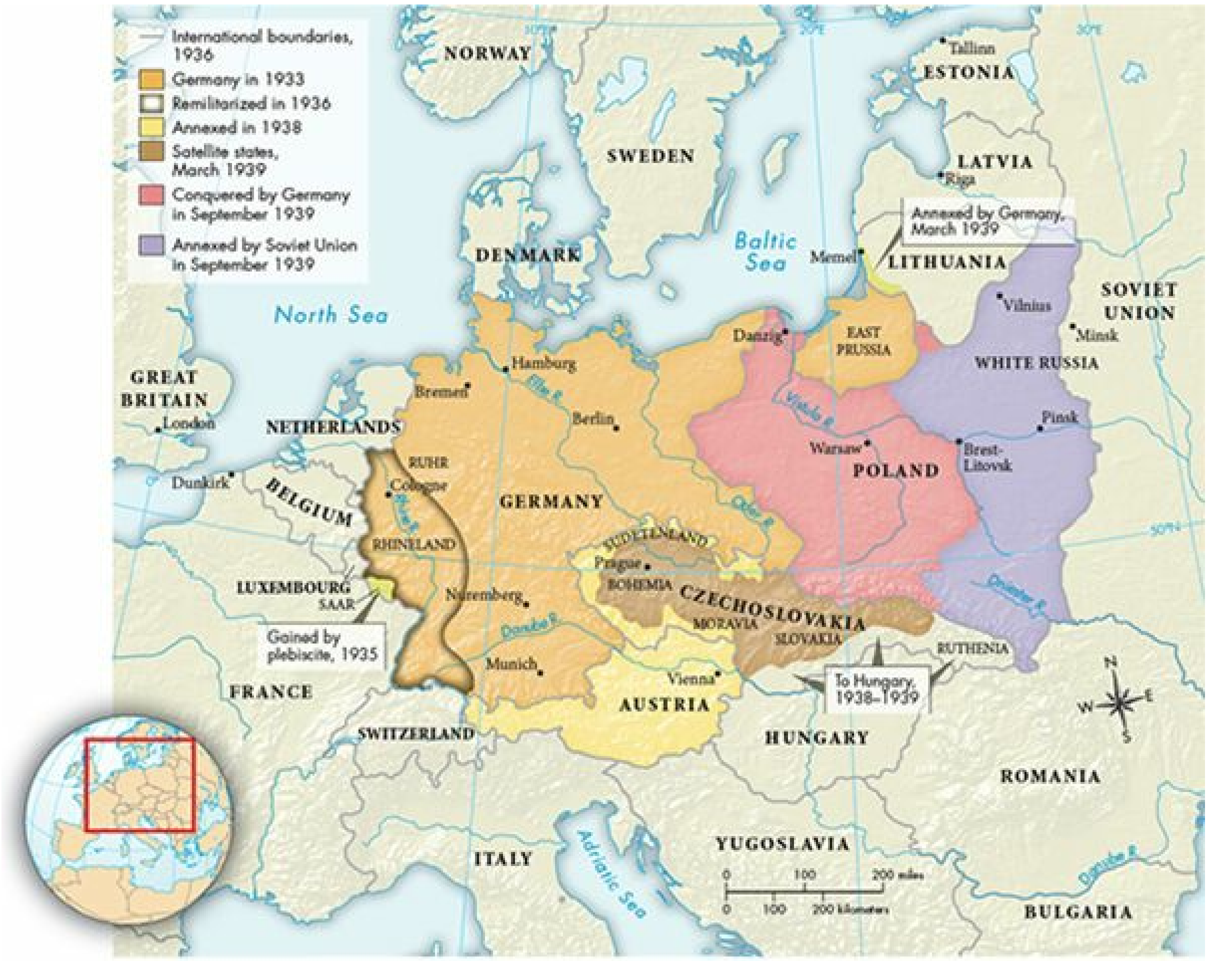
Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/ St. Martin's

Italy's Ethiopian Campaign, 1935–1936

In March 1936 Hitler marched his armies without notice into the demilitarized Rhineland, violating the Treaties of Versailles and Locarno. France would not move without British support, and Britain refused to act. As Britain and France opted for appeasement, Hitler found powerful allies, particularly Mussolini, who in October 1935 had attacked the independent African kingdom of Ethiopia. Western powers had condemned the Italian aggression, but Hitler supported Italy energetically. In October 1936 Italy and Germany established the so-called Rome-Berlin Axis. Japan, which wanted support for its occupation of Manchuria, joined the Axis alliance in 1940 (see "Japan Against China" in Chapter 29).

At the same time, Germany and Italy intervened in the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939), where their support helped General Francisco Franco's Fascist movement defeat republican Spain. Republican Spain's only official aid in the fight against Franco came from the Soviet Union.

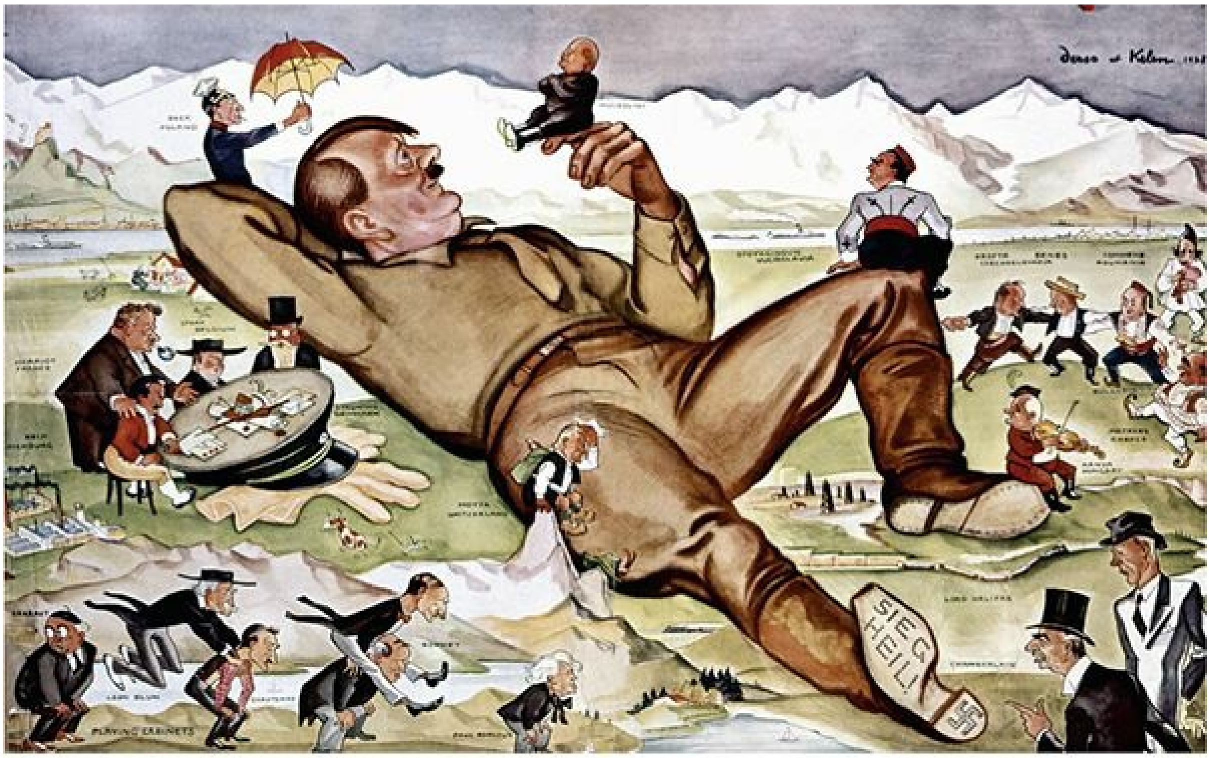
In late 1937 Hitler moved forward with his plans to crush Austria and Czechoslovakia as the first step in his long-contemplated drive to the east for living space. On March 12, 1938, German armies moved into Austria unopposed, and Austria became two provinces of Greater Germany (Map 30.1).


International boundaries, 1936
🟧 Germany in 1933
☐ Remilitarized in 1936
🟨 Annexed in 1938
🟫 Satellite states, March 1939
🟥 Conquered by Germany in September 1939
🟪 Annexed by Soviet Union in September 1939
NORWAY
SWEDEN
ESTONIA
Tallinn
LATVIA
Riga
Annexed by Germany, March 1939
Baltic Sea
Memel
LITHUANIA
Vilnius
SOVIET UNION
Minsk
WHITE RUSSIA
Pinsk
Brest-Litovsk
DENMARK
North Sea
GREAT BRITAIN
London
NETHERLANDS
Hamburg
Bremen
Elbe R.
Berlin
Danzig
EAST PRUSSIA
Vistula R.
Warsaw
POLAND
RUHR
Cologne
Rhine R.
Dunkirk
BELGIUM
GERMANY
RHINELAND
Oder R.
SUDETENLAND
Prague
BOHEMIA
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
MORAVIA
SLOVAKIA
RUTHENIA
Dniester R.
LUXEMBOURG
SAAR
Gained by plebiscite, 1935
Nuremberg
Danube R.
Munich
Vienna
AUSTRIA
To Hungary, 1938–1939
FRANCE
SWITZERLAND
HUNGARY
ROMANIA
N
E
W
S
ITALY
Adriatic Sea
YUGOSLAVIA
0
100
200 miles
200 kilometers
Danube R.
BULGARIA

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 30.1 The Growth of Nazi Germany, 1933–1939 Until March 1939 Hitler brought ethnic Germans into the Nazi state; then he turned on the Slavic peoples, whom he had always hated. He stripped Czechoslovakia of its independence and prepared for an attack on Poland in September 1939.

Simultaneously, Hitler demanded that the pro-Nazi, German-speaking territory of western Czechoslovakia — the Sudetenland — be turned over to Germany. Democratic Czechoslovakia was prepared to defend itself, but appeasement triumphed again. In September 1938 British prime minister Arthur Neville Chamberlain (1869–1940) and French negotiators met with Hitler in Munich and agreed with him that the Sudetenland should be ceded to Germany immediately. Returning to London from the Munich Conference, Chamberlain told cheering crowds that he had secured "peace with honour . . . peace for our time."[25] Sold out by the Western powers, Czechoslovakia gave in.



Kelen Collection/Snark Archives © Photo12/The Image Works

Hitler Playing with All the Statesmen This satirical cartoon from 1938 shows Hitler playing with all the statesmen attending the Four Power (Italy, Germany, England, France) Peace Conference that year in Munich. The Munich Agreement that came out of this meeting permitted Germany to annex the Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia, although representatives of that country were not invited to the conference. British prime minister Neville Chamberlain is portrayed in the lower right corner, under Hitler's boot.

Hitler's armies occupied the remainder of Czechoslovakia, however, in March 1939. This time, there was no possible rationale of self-determination for Nazi aggression. When Hitler used the question of German minorities in Danzig as a pretext to confront Poland, Chamberlain declared that Britain and France would fight if Hitler attacked his eastern neighbor. Hitler did not take these warnings seriously and pressed on.

Through the 1930s Hitler had constantly referred to ethnic Slavs in the Soviet Union and other countries as *Untermenschen* (OON-ter-men-schen) (inferior people), and relations between the two countries had grown increasingly tense. War between Germany and the Soviet Union seemed inevitable, and, indeed, Stalin believed that Great Britain and France secretly hoped the Nazis and Bolsheviks would destroy each other. Then, in an about-face that stunned the world, sworn enemies Hitler and Stalin signed a nonaggression pact in August 1939. Each dictator promised to remain neutral if the other became involved in war. An attached secret protocol divided eastern Europe into German and Soviet zones "in the event of a political and territorial reorganization."[26] Stalin agreed to the pact for three reasons: he distrusted Western intentions, he needed more time to build up Soviet industry and military reserves, and Hitler offered territorial gain.

For Hitler, everything was now set. He told his generals on the day of the nonaggression pact, “My only fear is that at the last moment some dirty dog will come up with a mediation plan.”[27] On September 1, 1939, the Germans attacked Poland from three sides. Two days later, Britain and France, finally true to their word, declared war on Germany. The Second World War in Europe had begun.

The Second World War, 1939–1945

How did Germany and Japan build empires in Europe and Asia, and how did the Allies defeat them?

World war broke out because Hitler's and Japan's ambitions were essentially unlimited. Nazi soldiers scored enormous successes in Europe until late 1942, establishing a vast empire of death and destruction. Japan attacked the United States in December 1941 and then moved to expand its empire throughout Asia and the Pacific Ocean. Eventually, the mighty Grand Alliance of Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union overwhelmed the aggressors in manpower and military strength. Thus the Nazi and Japanese empires proved short-lived.

EVENTS LEADING TO WORLD WAR II

1919	Treaty of Versailles is signed
1921	Hitler heads National Socialist German Worker's Party (Nazis)
1922	Mussolini seizes power in Italy
1927	Stalin takes control of the Soviet Union
1929–1939	Great Depression
1931	Japan invades Manchuria
January 1933	Hitler is appointed chancellor of Germany
March 1933	Reichstag passes the Enabling Act, granting Hitler absolute dictatorial power
October 1933	Germany withdraws from the League of Nations
1935	Nuremberg Laws deprive Jews of all rights of citizenship
March 1935	Hitler announces German rearmament
October 1935	Mussolini invades Ethiopia and receives Hitler's support
March 1936	German armies move unopposed into the demilitarized Rhineland
1936–1939	Spanish Civil War
October 1936	Rome-Berlin Axis created
1937	Japan invades China

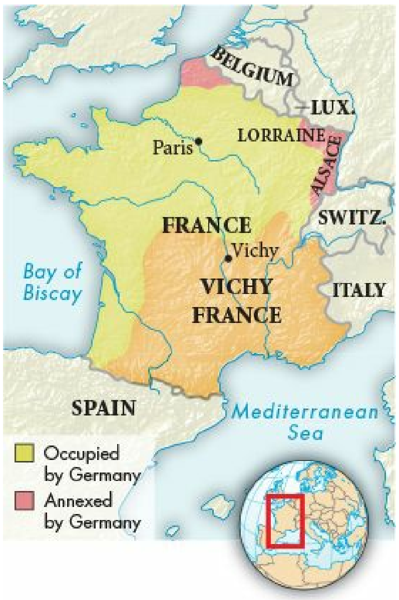
March 1938	Germany annexes Austria
September 1938	Munich Conference: Britain and France agree to German seizure of the Sudetenland from Czechoslovakia
March 1939	Germany occupies the rest of Czechoslovakia; appeasement ends in Britain
August 1939	Nazi-Soviet nonaggression pact is signed
September 1, 1939	Germany invades Poland
September 3, 1939	Britain and France declare war on Germany

Hitler’s Empire in Europe, 1939–1942

Using planes, tanks, and trucks in the first example of a **blitzkrieg** (BLITZ-kreeg), or “lightning war,” Hitler’s armies crushed Poland in four weeks. The Soviet Union quickly took its share agreed to in the secret protocol — the eastern half of Poland and the Baltic states of Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia. In spring 1940 the Nazi lightning war struck again. After occupying Denmark, Norway, and Holland, German motorized columns broke through southern Belgium and into France.

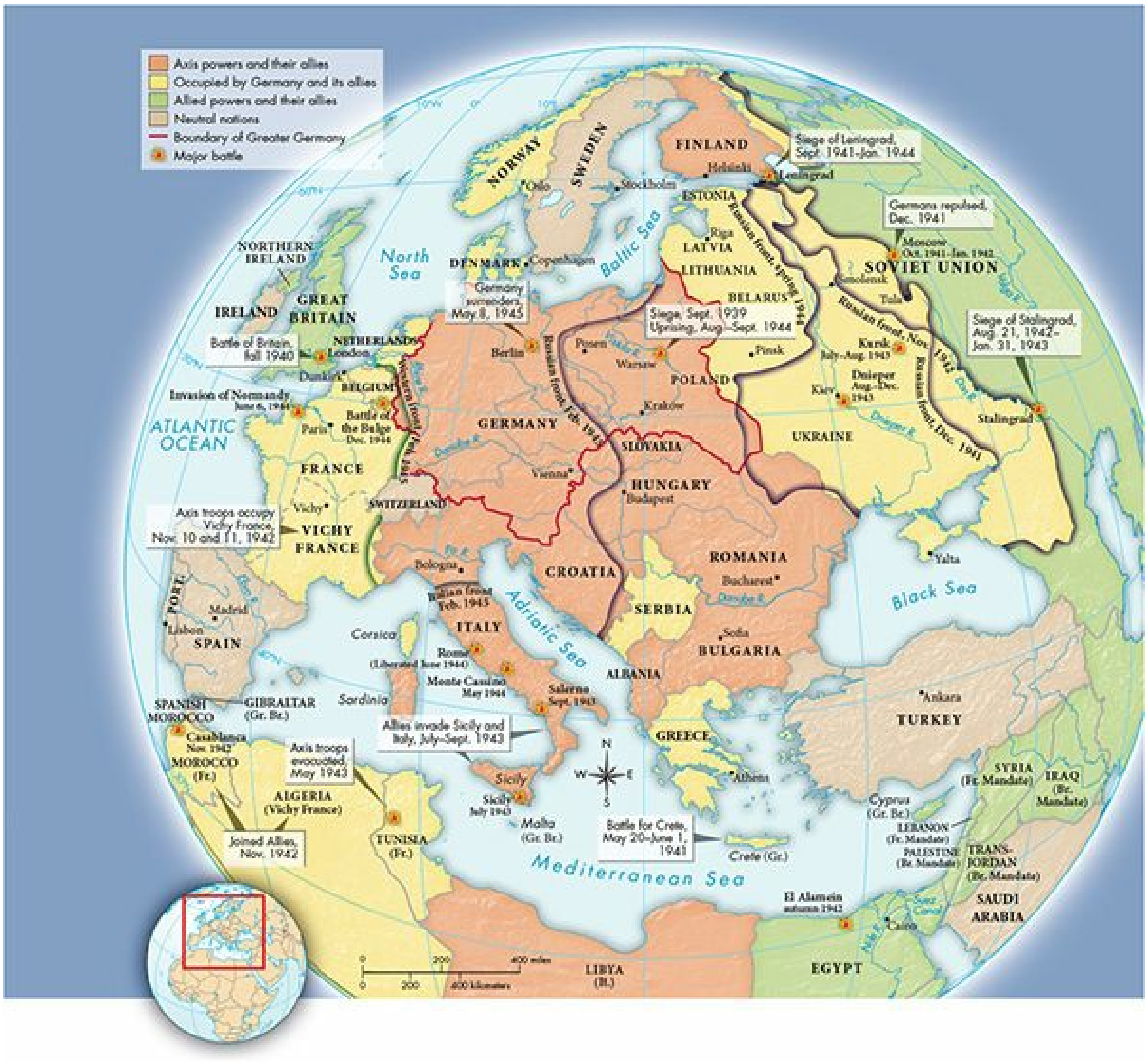
blitzkrieg “Lightning war” using planes, tanks, and trucks, first used by Hitler to crush Poland in four weeks.

As Hitler’s armies poured into France, aging marshal Henri-Philippe Pétain, a national hero of the Great War, formed a new French government — the so-called Vichy (VIH-shee) government — and accepted defeat. By July 1940 Hitler ruled practically all of western continental Europe; Italy was an ally, the Soviet Union a friendly neutral (Map 30.2). Only Britain, led by Winston Churchill (1874–1965), remained unconquered.


BELGIUM
LUX.
LORRAINE
ALSACE
Paris
FRANCE
SWITZ.
Vichy
Bay of Biscay
VICHY FRANCE
ITALY
SPAIN
Mediterranean Sea
🟨 Occupied by Germany
🟥 Annexed by Germany

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Vichy France, 1940


Axis powers and their allies
Occupied by Germany and its allies
Allied powers and their allies
Neutral nations
Boundary of Greater Germany
Major battle
NORWAY
Oslo
SWEDEN
Stockholm
FINLAND
Helsinki
Siege of Leningrad, Sept. 1941–Jan. 1944
Leningrad
ESTONIA
Germans repulsed, Dec. 1941
Riga
LATVIA
LITHUANIA
Moscow Oct. 1941–Jan. 1942
SOVIET UNION
Smolensk
Tula
BELARUS
Russian front, spring 1944
Russian front, Nov. 1942
Russian front, Dec. 1941
Siege of Stalingrad, Aug. 21, 1942–Jan. 31, 1943
Stalingrad
Kursk July–Aug. 1943
Dnieper Aug.–Dec. 1943
Kiev
Pinsk
UKRAINE
NORTHERN IRELAND
IRELAND
GREAT BRITAIN
North Sea
Baltic Sea
DENMARK
Copenhagen
Germany surrenders, May 8, 1945
Battle of Britain, fall 1940
London
NETHERLANDS
Dunkirk
BELGIUM
Invasion of Normandy June 6, 1944
Battle of the Bulge Dec. 1944
Paris
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Berlin
Poznań
Warsaw
Siege, Sept. 1939 Uprising, Aug.–Sept. 1944
POLAND
Kraków
GERMANY
Western front, Feb. 1945
Russian front, Feb. 1945
SLOVAKIA
Vienna
HUNGARY
Budapest
FRANCE
Vichy
VICHY FRANCE
SWITZERLAND
Axis troops occupy Vichy France, Nov. 10 and 11, 1942
Bologna
Italian front Feb. 1945
CROATIA
ROMANIA
Bucharest
Yalta
Black Sea
Adriatic Sea
SERBIA
Sofia
BULGARIA
PORT.
Madrid
Lisbon
SPAIN
Corsica
ITALY
Rome (Liberated June 1944)
Monte Cassino May 1944
Salerno Sept. 1943
ALBANIA
Sardinia
SPANISH MOROCCO
GIBRALTAR (Gr. Br.)
Allies invade Sicily and Italy, July–Sept. 1943
Ankara
TURKEY
Casablanca Nov. 1942
MOROCCO (Fr.)
Axis troops evacuated, May 1943
ALGERIA (Vichy France)
GREECE
Athens
Sicily
Sicily July 1943
Malta (Gr. Br.)
SYRIA (Fr. Mandate)
IRAQ (Br. Mandate)
Cyprus (Gr. Br.)
LEBANON (Fr. Mandate)
PALESTINE (Br. Mandate)
TRANS-JORDAN (Br. Mandate)
Joined Allies, Nov. 1942
TUNISIA (Fr.)
Battle for Crete, May 20–June 1, 1941
Crete (Gr.)
Mediterranean Sea
El Alamein autumn 1942
Suez Canal
Cairo
SAUDI ARABIA
N
W
E
S
0
200
400 miles
0
200
400 kilometers
LIBYA (It.)
EGYPT

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 30.2 World War II in Europe and Africa, 1939–1945 The map shows the extent of Hitler's empire at its height, before the Battle of Stalingrad in late 1942 and the subsequent advances of the Allies until Germany surrendered on May 7, 1945.

To prepare for an invasion of Britain, Germany first needed to gain control of the air. In the Battle of Britain, which began in July 1940, German planes attacked British airfields and key factories, dueling with British defenders high in the skies. In September Hitler began indiscriminately bombing British cities to break British morale. British aircraft factories increased production, and Londoners defiantly dug in. By September Britain was winning the air war, and Hitler abandoned his plans for an immediate German invasion of Britain.

Hitler now allowed his lifetime obsession of creating a vast eastern European empire for the "master race" to dictate policy. In June 1941 Germany broke the Nazi-Soviet nonaggression pact and attacked the

Soviet Union. By October Leningrad was practically surrounded, Moscow was besieged, and most of Ukraine had been conquered. But the Soviets did not collapse, and when a severe winter struck German armies outfitted in summer uniforms, the invaders were stopped.

10 minutes to wait
WAY
TEMPL
DISTR

Bettmann/Getty Images

London Bomb Shelter, 1940 Hitler believed that his relentless terror bombing of London — the “blitz” — could break the will of the British people. He was wrong. The blitz caused enormous destruction, but Londoners went about their business with courage and calm determination, as this unforgettable image of people being entertained in a bomb shelter in the Tube (subway) suggests.

Although stalled in Russia, Hitler ruled an enormous European empire. He now began building a **New Order** based on the guiding principle of Nazi totalitarianism: racial imperialism. Within the New Order, the Dutch, Norwegians, Swedes, and Danes received preferential treatment, for the Germans believed they were racially related to the German “Aryan” master race. The French, an “inferior” Latin people, occupied the middle position. At the bottom of the New Order were the harshly treated “subhumans,” Jews and Slavs.

New Order Hitler's program, based on the guiding principle of racial imperialism, which gave preferential treatment to the Nordic peoples above "inferior" Latin peoples and, at the bottom, "subhuman" Slavs and Jews.

Hitler envisioned a vast eastern colonial empire where enslaved Poles, Ukrainians, and Russians would die or be killed off while Germanic peasants would resettle the abandoned lands. Himmler and the elite SS corps implemented a program of destruction in the occupied territories to create a "mass settlement space" for Germans.

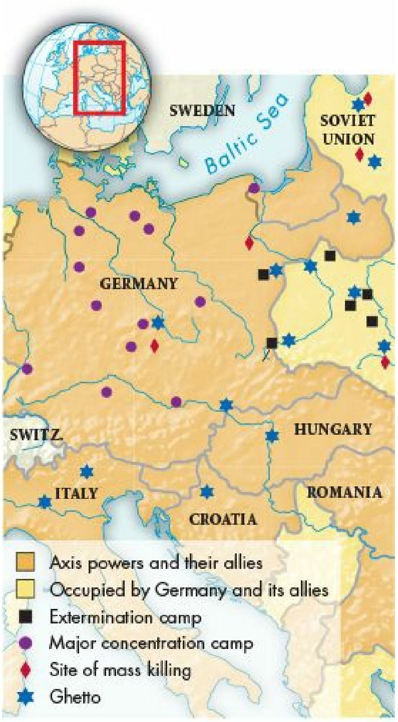
The Holocaust

Finally, the Nazi state condemned all European Jews to extermination in the **Holocaust**. After Warsaw fell in 1939, the Nazis forced Jews in the occupied territories to move to urban ghettos, while German Jews were sent to occupied Poland. After Germany attacked Russia in June 1941, forced expulsion spiraled into extermination. In late 1941 Hitler and the Nazi leadership ordered the SS to speed up planning for "the final solution of the Jewish question."[28] Throughout the Nazi empire Jews were systematically arrested, packed like cattle onto freight trains, and dispatched to extermination camps.

Holocaust The attempted systematic extermination of all European Jews and other "undesirables" by the Nazi state during World War II.

Keystone/Getty Images

Prelude to Murder This photo captures the terrible inhumanity of Nazi racism. Frightened and bewildered families from the soon-to-be-destroyed Warsaw Ghetto are being forced out of their homes by German soldiers for deportation to concentration camps.


SWEDEN
Baltic Sea
SOVIET UNION
GERMANY
SWITZ.
HUNGARY
ITALY
ROMANIA
CROATIA
🟧 Axis powers and their allies
🟨 Occupied by Germany and its allies
■ Extermination camp
● Major concentration camp
♦ Site of mass killing
✡ Ghetto

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/ St. Martin's

The Holocaust, 1941–1945

Arriving at their destination, small numbers of Jews were sent to nearby slave labor camps, where they were starved and systematically worked to death. (See “Individuals in Society: Primo Levi,” at right.) Most victims were taken to “shower rooms,” which were actually gas chambers. By 1945 about 6 million Jews had been murdered.

Who was responsible for this terrible crime? After the war, historians laid the guilt on Hitler and the Nazi leadership, arguing that ordinary Germans had little knowledge of the extermination camps, or that those who cooperated had no alternative given the brutality of Nazi terror and totalitarian control. Beginning in the 1990s studies appeared revealing a much broader participation of German people in the Holocaust and popular indifference (or worse) to the Jews’ fate.[29] In most occupied countries local non-German officials also cooperated in the arrest and deportation of Jews.

INDIVIDUALS IN SOCIETY

Primo Levi

Bernard Gotfryd/Getty Images

Primo Levi, who never stopped thinking, writing, and speaking about the Holocaust.

MOST JEWS DEPORTED TO AUSCHWITZ were murdered as soon as they arrived, but the Nazis made some prisoners into slave laborers, and a few of these survived. Primo Levi (1919–1987), an Italian Jew, became one of the most influential witnesses to the Holocaust and its death camps.

Like many in Italy's small Jewish community, Levi's family belonged to the urban professional classes. The young Primo Levi graduated in 1941 from the University of Turin with highest honors in chemistry. Since 1938, when Italy introduced racial laws, he had faced growing discrimination, and two years after graduation he joined the antifascist resistance movement. Quickly captured, he was deported to Auschwitz with 650 Italian Jews in February 1944. Stone-faced SS men picked only ninety-six men and twenty-nine women to work in their respective labor camps. Levi was one of them.

Nothing had prepared Levi for what he encountered. The Jewish prisoners were kicked, punched, stripped, branded with tattoos, crammed into huts, and worked unmercifully. Hoping for some sign of prisoner solidarity in this terrible environment, Levi found only a desperate struggle of each against all and enormous status differences among prisoners. Many stunned and bewildered newcomers, beaten and demoralized by their bosses — the most privileged prisoners — collapsed and died. Others struggled to secure their own privileges, however small, because food rations and working conditions were so abominable that ordinary Jewish prisoners perished in two to three months.

Sensitive and noncombative, Levi found himself sinking into oblivion. But instead of joining the mass of the "drowned," he became one of the "saved" — a complicated surprise with moral implications that he would ponder all his life. As Levi explained in *Survival in Auschwitz* (1947), the usual road to salvation in the camps was some kind of collaboration with German power.* Savage German criminals were released from prison to become brutal camp guards; non-Jewish political prisoners competed for jobs entitling them to better conditions; and, especially troubling for Levi, a small number of Jewish men plotted and struggled for the power of life and death over other Jewish prisoners. Though not one of these Jewish bosses, Levi believed that he himself, like almost all survivors, had entered the "gray zone" of moral compromise. Only a very few superior individuals, "the stuff of saints and martyrs," survived the death camps without shifting their moral stance.

For Levi, compromise and salvation came from his profession. Interviewed by a German technocrat for the camp's synthetic rubber program, Levi performed brilliantly in scientific German and savored his triumph as a Jew over Nazi racism. Work in the warm camp laboratory offered Levi opportunities to pilfer equipment that could then be traded to other prisoners for food and necessities. Levi also gained critical support from three saintly prisoners who refused to do wicked and hateful acts. And he counted "luck" as essential for his survival: in the camp infirmary with scarlet fever in February 1945 as advancing Russian armies prepared to liberate the camp, Levi was not evacuated by the Nazis and shot to death like most Jewish prisoners.

After the war Primo Levi was forever haunted by the nightmare that the Holocaust would be ignored or forgotten. Always ashamed that so many people whom he considered better than himself had perished, he wrote and lectured tirelessly to preserve the memory of Jewish victims and guilty Nazis. Wanting the world to understand the Jewish genocide in all its complexity so that never again would people tolerate such atrocities, he grappled tirelessly with his vision of individual choice and moral compromise in a hell designed to make the victims collaborate and persecute each other.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Describe Levi's experience at Auschwitz. How did camp prisoners treat each other? Why?
2. What does Levi mean by the "gray zone"? How is this concept central to his thinking?
3. Will a vivid historical memory of the Holocaust help prevent future genocide? Why or why not?

* Primo Levi, *Survival in Auschwitz: The Nazi Assault on Humanity*, rev. ed. 1958 (London: Collier Books, 1961), pp. 79–84, and *The Drowned and the Saved* (New York: Summit Books, 1988). These powerful testimonies are highly recommended.

Japan's Asian Empire

By late 1938, 1.5 million Japanese troops were bogged down in China, holding a great swath of territory but unable to defeat the Nationalists and the Communists (see "Japan Against China" in Chapter 29). In 1939, as war broke out in Europe, the Japanese redoubled their ruthless efforts in China. Implementing a savage policy of "kill all, burn all, destroy all," Japanese troops committed shocking atrocities, including the so-called Rape of Nanjing. During Japan's war in China — the second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945) — the Japanese are estimated to have killed 4 million Chinese people.

In August 1940 the Japanese announced the formation of a self-sufficient Asian economic zone. Although they spoke of liberating Asia from Western imperialism and of "Asia for the Asians," their true intentions were to eventually rule over a vast Japanese empire. Ultranationalists moved to convince Japan's youth that Japan had a sacred liberating mission in Asia. (See "Analyzing the Evidence: Ultranationalist Pamphlet for Japanese Students," page 910.)

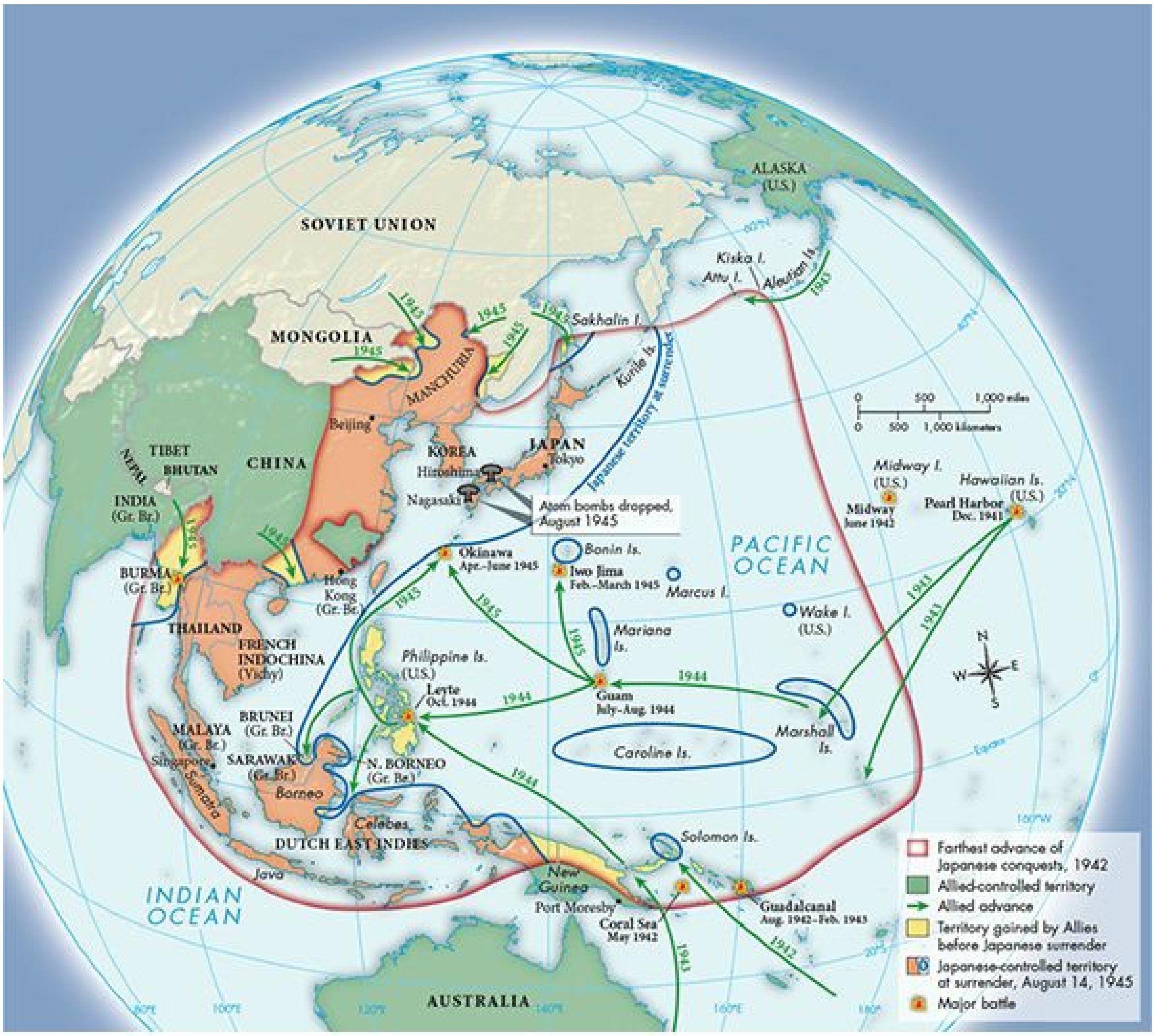
For the moment, however, Japan needed allies. In September 1940 Japan signed a formal alliance (the Axis alliance) with Germany and Italy, and Vichy France granted the Japanese dominion over northern French Indochina. The United States, upset with Japan's occupation of Indochina and fearing embattled Britain would collapse if it lost its Asian colonies, froze scrap iron sales to Japan and applied further economic sanctions in October.

As 1941 opened, Japan's leaders faced a critical decision. At the time, the United States was the world's largest oil producer and supplied over 90 percent of Japan's oil needs. Japan had only a year and a half's worth of military and economic oil reserves, which the war in China and the Japanese military and merchant navies were quickly drawing down. The Netherlands' colonial possessions in Indonesia (Netherlands East Indies) could supply all of Japan's oil, rubber, and tin needs, but the Japanese feared an attack there would bring American reprisal. On July 26, 1941, President Roosevelt embargoed all oil exports to Japan and froze its assets in the United States. Japan now had to either recall its forces from China or go to war before running out of oil. It chose war.

On December 7, 1941, Japan launched a surprise attack on the U.S. fleet in Pearl Harbor in the Hawaiian Islands. Japan hoped to cripple its Pacific rival, gain time to build a defensible Asian empire, and eventually win an ill-defined compromise peace.

The Japanese attack was a limited success. The Japanese sank or crippled every American battleship, but by chance all the American aircraft carriers were at sea and escaped unharmed. Hours later the Japanese destroyed half of the American Far East Air Force stationed at Clark Air Base in the Philippines. Americans were humiliated by these unexpected defeats, which soon overwhelmed American isolationism and brought the United States into the war.

Hitler immediately declared war on the United States. Simultaneously, Japanese armies successfully attacked European and American colonies in Southeast Asia. Small but well-trained Japanese armies defeated larger Dutch and British armies to seize the Netherlands East Indies and the British colonies of Hong Kong, Malaya, and Singapore. After American forces surrendered the Philippines in May 1942, Japan held a vast empire in Southeast Asia and the western Pacific (Map 30.3).


ALASKA (U.S.)
SOVIET UNION
Kiska I.
Attu I.
Aleutian Is.
1943
MONGOLIA
1945
Sakhalin I.
MANCHURIA
Kurile Is.
Japanese territory at surrender
Beijing
TIBET
NEPAL
BHUTAN
CHINA
KOREA
JAPAN
Tokyo
Hiroshima
Nagasaki
Atom bombs dropped, August 1945
INDIA (Gr. Br.)
BURMA (Gr. Br.)
Hong Kong (Gr. Br.)
Okinawa Apr.–June 1945
Bonin Is.
Iwo Jima Feb.–March 1945
Marcus I.
PACIFIC OCEAN
Midway I. (U.S.)
Midway June 1942
Hawaiian Is. (U.S.)
Pearl Harbor Dec. 1941
Wake I. (U.S.)
Mariana Is.
THAILAND
FRENCH INDOCHINA (Vichy)
Philippine Is. (U.S.)
Leyte Oct. 1944
Guam July–Aug. 1944
1944
Marshall Is.
Caroline Is.
BRUNEI (Gr. Br.)
MALAYA (Gr. Br.)
Singapore
SARAWAK (Gr. Br.)
N. BORNEO (Gr. Br.)
Borneo
Sumatra
Celebes
DUTCH EAST INDIES
Java
New Guinea
Solomon Is.
Port Moresby
Coral Sea May 1942
Guadalcanal Aug. 1942–Feb. 1943
1942
INDIAN OCEAN
AUSTRALIA
0 500 1,000 miles
0 500 1,000 kilometers
N
E
S
W
Farthest advance of Japanese conquests, 1942
Allied-controlled territory
Allied advance
Territory gained by Allies before Japanese surrender
Japanese-controlled territory at surrender, August 14, 1945
Major battle

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Mapping the Past

MAP 30.3 World War II in the Pacific In 1942 Japanese forces overran an enormous amount of territory, which the Allies slowly recaptured in a long, bitter struggle.

ANALYZING THE MAP Locate the extent of the Japanese empire in 1942, and compare it to the Japanese-controlled territory at surrender in 1945. Where was the fighting in the Pacific concentrated?

CONNECTIONS How was the course of the war's end in Europe different from that of Asia, and what does this suggest about the difficulties that the Allies faced in fighting the Japanese?

The Japanese claimed they were freeing Asians from Western imperialism, and they called their empire the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere. Most local populations were glad to see the Western powers go, but Asian faith in "co-prosperity" and support for Japan steadily declined as the war progressed. Although the Japanese set up anticolonial governments and promised genuine independence, real power always rested with Japanese military commanders and their superiors in Tokyo. Moreover, the Japanese never treated local populations as equals, and the occupiers exploited local peoples for Japan's wartime needs.

The Japanese often exhibited great cruelty toward prisoners of war and civilians. Dutch, Indonesian, and perhaps as many as two hundred thousand Korean women were forced to provide sex for Japanese soldiers as "comfort women." Recurring cruel behavior aroused local populations against the invaders.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

Ultranationalist Pamphlet for Japanese Students

In August 1941, only four months before Japan’s coordinated attacks on Pearl Harbor and colonial empires in Southeast Asia, Japan’s Ministry of Education issued “The Way of Subjects.” Required reading for high school and university students, this twenty-page pamphlet summed up the basic tenets of Japanese ultranationalism, which had become dominant in the 1930s.

As this selection suggests, ultranationalism in Japan combined a sense of mission with intense group solidarity and unquestioning devotion to a semidivine emperor. Thus Japanese expansion into Manchuria and the war in China were part of Japan’s sacred calling to protect the throne and to free Asia from Western exploitation and misrule. Of course, an unknown percentage of students (and adults) did not believe that the myths of Japan’s state religion were literally true. Nevertheless, they were profoundly influenced by extremist nationalism: Japanese soldiers’ determination to fight to the death was a prime indicator of that influence.

The way of the subjects of the Emperor issues from the polity of the Emperor, and is to guard and maintain the Imperial Throne coexistent with the Heavens and the Earth. This is not the sphere of the abstract, but a way of daily practice based on history. The life and activities of the nation are all attuned to the task of giving great firmness to the foundation of the Empire. . . .

Modern history, in a nutshell, has been marked by the formation of unified nations in Europe and their contests for supremacy in the acquisition of colonies. Early in the modern period of history, the American continent was discovered and, stimulated by this, Europeans vigorously found their way to India and China by sounding the furrows of the oceans. Their march into all parts of the world paved the way for their subsequent world domination politically, economically, and culturally and led them to act freely as they pleased, and to believe that they alone were justified in their outrageous behavior. . . .

The industrial development propelled by invention of machines demanded a considerably large amount of materials and the consequent overseas markets for the disposal of manufactured goods. The result was that a severe contest for colonial acquisition and trade competition ensued naturally and that wars of the strong preying on the weak were repeated. The history of wars waged among Spain, Portugal, Holland, Britain, France, and other countries in the modern age, and the rise and fall of their influence, have close connections with their overseas aggression. . . .

The self-destruction in the shape of the World War finally followed.

It was only natural that cries were raised even among men of those countries after the war that the Occidental [Western] civilization was crumbling. A vigorous movement was started by Britain, France, and the United States to maintain the status quo by all means. Simultaneously, a movement aiming at social revolution through class conflict on the basis of thoroughgoing materialism like communism also was developed with unremitting vigor. On the other hand, Nazism and Fascism arose with great force. The basic theories of these new racial principles and the totalitarianism in Germany and Italy are to remove and improve the evils of individualism and liberalism.

That these [totalitarian] principles show great concern for Oriental [Eastern] culture and spirit is a noteworthy fact that suggests the future of the Occidental civilization and the creation of a new culture. Thus the orientation of world history has made the collapse of the world of the old order an assured conclusion. Japan has hereby opened the start for the construction of a new world order based on moral principles.

The Manchurian Affair was a violent outburst of Japanese national life long suppressed. Taking advantage of this, Japan in the glare of all the Powers stepped out for the creation of a world based on moral principles and the construction of a new order. This was a manifestation of the spirit, profound and lofty, embodied in the Empire-founding, and an unavoidable action for its national life and world mission. . . .

Japan has a political mission to help various regions in the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere [the Japanese term for Japan’s Asian empire], which are reduced to a state of quasi colony by Europe and America, so as to rescue them from their control. Economically, this country will have to eradicate the evils of their exploitation and then set up an economic structure for coexistence and co-prosperity. Culturally, Japan must strive to fashion East Asiatic nations to change their following of European and American culture and to develop Oriental culture for the purpose of contributing to the creation of a right world. The Orient has been left to destruction for the past several hundred years. Its rehabilitation is not an easy task. It is natural that unusual difficulties attend the establishment of a new order and the creation of a new culture. The conquest of these difficulties alone will do much to help in establishing a morally controlled world, in which all nations can cooperate and all people can secure their proper position. . . .

Japan, since the founding of the Empire, has been basking under a benign rule of a line of Emperors unbroken for ages eternal, and has been growing and developing in an atmosphere of great harmony as a nation, consisting of one large family. However diverse the Empire’s structures in politics, economy, culture, military affairs, and others may be, all finally are unified under the Emperor, the center. The country has lived under the Imperial rule and glory.

The ideals of Japan are to manifest to the entire world the spirit of her Empire-founding represented by the principle that “the benevolent rule of the Emperor may be extended so as to embrace the whole world.” There is virtually no country in the world other than Japan having such a superb and lofty mission bearing world significance. So it can be said that the construction of a new structure and a defense state is all in order that Japan may revive her proper national structure and come back to her original status of national strength and leaving no stone unturned in displaying her total power to the fullest extent. . . .

The Imperial Family is the fountain source of the Japanese nation, and national and private lives issue from this. . . .

The way of the subjects is to be loyal to the Emperor in disregard of self, thereby supporting the Imperial Throne coexistence with the Heaven and with the Earth. . . .

The great duty of the Japanese people to guard and maintain the Imperial Throne has lasted to the present since the Empire founding and will last forever and ever. To serve the Emperor is its key point. Our lives will become sincere and true when they are offered to the Emperor and the state. Our own private life is fulfillment of the way of the subjects; in other words, it is not private, but public, insofar as it is held by the subjects supporting the Throne.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. How does “The Way of Subjects” interpret modern history? In what ways do Western thought and action threaten Japan?
2. What is Japan’s mission in Asia?
3. What is the basis of Japanese sovereignty? What is the individual’s proper role in society?

Source: “The Way of Subjects,” in *Japan Times Advertiser,* August 1941. Reprinted in David J. Lu, *Japan: A Documentary History* (Armonk: N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1997), pp. 435–440.

The Grand Alliance

While the Nazis and the Japanese built their empires, Great Britain (the greatest colonial power), the United States (the greatest capitalist power), and the Soviet Union (the greatest Communist power) joined together in an unlikely military pact called the Grand Alliance. The vagaries of war, rather than choice, brought them together. Stalin had been cooperating with Hitler before Germany attacked Russia in June 1941, and the United States entered the war only after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December.

Grand Alliance leaders agreed to a **Europe first policy** set forth by Churchill and adopted by Roosevelt. Only after defeating Hitler would the Allies mount an all-out attack on Japan. To encourage mutual trust, the Allies adopted the principle of the unconditional surrender of Germany and Japan, and no unilateral treaties (as Russia had signed with Germany in World War I). This policy cemented the Grand Alliance because it denied Germany and Japan any hope of dividing their foes.

Europe first policy The military strategy, set forth by Churchill and adopted by Roosevelt, that called for the defeat of Hitler in Europe before the United States launched an all-out strike against Japan in the Pacific.

The Grand Alliance's military resources were awesome. The United States possessed a unique capacity to wage global war with its large population and mighty industry, which it harnessed in 1943 to outproduce not only the Axis powers but also the rest of the world combined.[30] The British economy was totally and effectively mobilized, and the country became an important staging area for the war in Europe. As for the Soviet Union, so great was its economic strength that it might well have defeated Germany without Western help. Stalin drew on the massive support of the people for what the Soviets called the "Great Patriotic War of the Fatherland."

The War in Europe, 1942–1945

Halted at the gates of Moscow and Leningrad in 1941, the Germans renewed their offensive against the Soviet Union in 1942 and attacked Stalingrad in July. The Soviet armies counterattacked, quickly surrounding the entire German Sixth Army of 300,000 men. By late January 1943 only 123,000 soldiers were left to surrender. In summer 1943 the larger, better-equipped Soviet armies took the offensive and began to push the Germans back (see Map 30.2).

Not yet prepared to attack Germany directly through France, the Western Allies engaged in heavy fighting in North Africa (see Map 30.2). In autumn 1942 British forces defeated German and Italian armies at the Battle of El Alamein (el a-luh-MAYN) in Egypt. Shortly thereafter an Anglo-American force took control of the Vichy French colonies of Morocco and Algeria.

Having driven the Axis powers from North Africa by spring 1943, Allied forces invaded Italy. War-weary Italians deposed Mussolini, and the new Italian government accepted unconditional surrender in September 1943. Italy, it seemed, was liberated. But German commandos rescued Mussolini and made him head of a puppet government. German armies seized Rome and all of northern Italy. They finally surrendered only on April 29, 1945. Two days earlier Mussolini had been captured by partisan forces, and he was executed the next day.

On June 6, 1944, American and British forces under General Dwight Eisenhower landed on the beaches of Normandy, France, in history's greatest naval invasion. More than 2 million men and almost 0.5 million vehicles pushed inland and broke through the German lines.

Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum/National Archives and Records Administration/U.S. National Archives/photo CT53-70:5

Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin at Yalta In February 1945, three months before his death, President Roosevelt met with the other two leaders of the Grand Alliance, Churchill and Stalin, at the Crimean resort town of Yalta. With victory against Germany clearly in sight, they met to discuss the reconstruction of war-torn Europe, the treatment and occupation of Germany and eastern Europe after the war, and the Soviet Union's entry into the war in the Pacific. Although Stalin made some important concessions, many historians argue that Roosevelt was already too ill to join Churchill in demanding stronger guarantees from Stalin regarding self-determination for eastern Europe.

In early February 1945 a sick and feeble Franklin Roosevelt met with Stalin and Churchill at Yalta in the Russian Crimea to negotiate plans for the remainder of the war in Europe, Russia's participation in the war in Asia, and the postwar world. Roosevelt was later severely criticized by some for supposedly "handing over" eastern Europe and northeast Asia (North Korea in particular) to the Soviet Union. Other scholars have noted, however, that Stalin made substantial concessions as well.

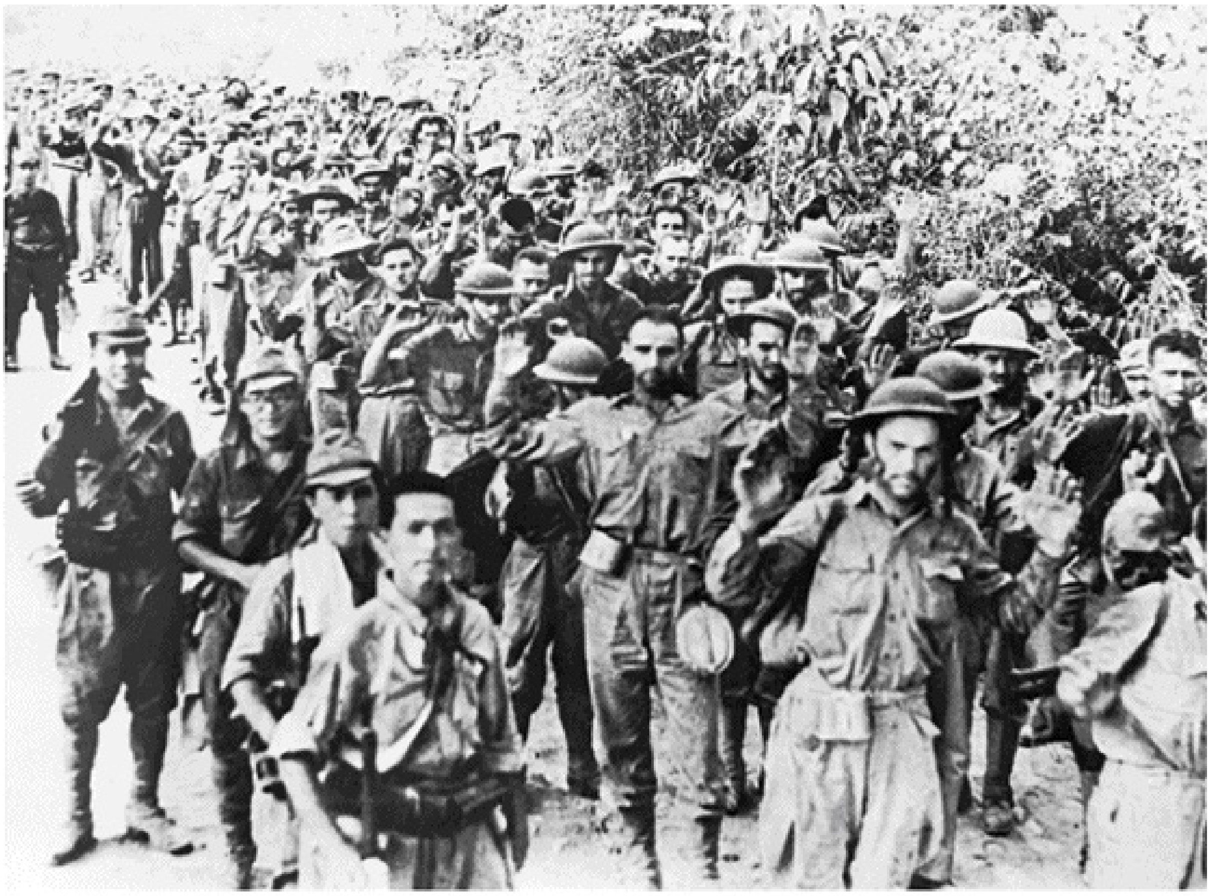
In March 1945 American troops crossed the Rhine and entered Germany. The Soviets had been advancing steadily since July 1943, and on April 26, 1945, the Red Army met American forces on the Elbe River in Germany. As Soviet forces fought their way into Berlin, Hitler committed suicide in his bunker on April 30. On May 7 the remaining German commanders capitulated.

The War in the Pacific, 1942–1945

While gigantic armies clashed on land in Europe, the greatest naval battles in history decided the fate of the war in Asia. In April 1942 the Japanese devised a plan to take Port Moresby in New Guinea and also destroy U.S. aircraft carriers in an attack on Midway Island (see Map 30.3). Having broken the secret Japanese code, the Americans skillfully won a series of decisive naval victories. First, in the Battle of the Coral Sea in May 1942, an American carrier force halted the Japanese advance on Port Moresby. Then, in the Battle of Midway in June 1942, American pilots sank all four of the attacking Japanese aircraft carriers and established overall naval equality with Japan in the Pacific.

The United States gradually won control of the sea and air as it geared up its war industry. By 1943 the United States was producing one hundred thousand aircraft a year, almost twice as many as Japan produced in the entire war. In July 1943 the Americans and their Australian allies opened an "island-hopping" campaign toward Japan. By 1944 hundreds of American submarines were hunting in "wolf packs," decimating shipping and destroying economic links in Japan's far-flung, overextended empire.

The Pacific war was brutal — a "war without mercy" — and atrocities were committed on both sides.[31] Aware of Japanese atrocities in China and the Philippines, the U.S. forces seldom took Japanese prisoners after the Battle of Guadalcanal in August 1942, killing even those rare Japanese soldiers who offered to surrender. American forces moving across the central and western Pacific in 1943 and 1944 faced unyielding resistance, and this resistance hardened soldiers as American casualties kept rising. A product of spiraling violence, mutual hatred, and dehumanizing racial stereotypes, the war without mercy intensified as it moved toward Japan.



Mansell/The LIFE Picture Collection/Getty Images

The War in the Philippines U.S. and Filipino forces held out on the Bataan peninsula until April 1942, when seventy-six thousand soldiers surrendered to the Japanese military. Most of the prisoners were sick, wounded, or suffering from malnutrition, and the Japanese systematically executed many of them. Other prisoners, such as those pictured here, were marched to exhaustion without water in the blazing sun on the infamous Bataan Death March, and many were bayoneted or beaten to death.

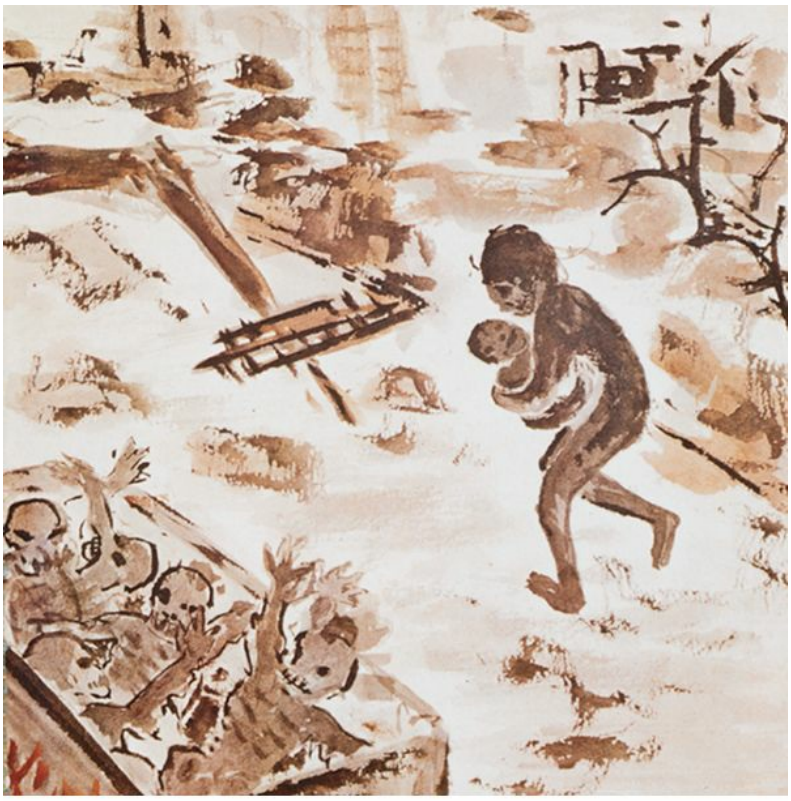
In June 1944 U.S. bombers began a relentless bombing campaign of the Japanese home islands. In October 1944 American forces under General Douglas MacArthur landed on Leyte Island in the Philippines. In the ensuing Battle of Leyte Gulf, the Japanese lost 13 large warships, including 4 aircraft carriers, while the Americans lost only 3 small ships.

The Japanese navy was practically finished.

In spite of massive defeats, Japanese troops continued to fight on. Indeed, the bloodiest battles of the Pacific war took place on Iwo Jima in February 1945 and on Okinawa in June 1945. American commanders believed that an invasion of Japan might cost 1 million American casualties and possibly 10 to 20 million Japanese lives. In fact, Japan was almost helpless, its industry and cities largely destroyed by intense American bombing. As the war in Europe ended in April 1945, Japanese leaders were divided. Hardliners argued that surrender was unthinkable; Japan had never been invaded or lost a war. A peace faction sought a negotiated end to the war.

On July 26 Truman, Churchill, and Stalin issued the Potsdam Declaration, which demanded unconditional surrender. The declaration left unclear whether the Japanese emperor would be treated as a war criminal. The Japanese, who considered Emperor Hirohito a god, sought clarification and amnesty for him. The Allies remained adamant that the surrender be unconditional. The Japanese felt compelled to fight on.

On August 6 and 9, 1945, the United States dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan. Also on August 9, Soviet troops launched an invasion of the Japanese puppet state of Manchukuo (Manchuria, China). To avoid a Soviet invasion and further atomic bombing, the Japanese announced their surrender on August 14, 1945. The Second World War, which had claimed the lives of more than 50 million soldiers and civilians, was over.



GE15-05 drawn by Yasuko Yamagata, Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum

A Hiroshima Survivor Remembers Yasuko Yamagata was seventeen when she saw the brilliant blue-white “lightning flash” that became a fiery orange ball consuming everything that would burn. Thirty years later Yamagata painted this scene, her most unforgettable memory of the atomic attack. An incinerated woman, poised as if running with her baby clutched to her breast, lies near a water tank piled high with charred corpses.

Chapter Summary

The 1929 American stock market crash triggered a global Great Depression. Western democracies expanded their powers and responded with relief programs. Authoritarian and Fascist regimes arose to replace some capitalist democracies. Only World War II ended the depression.

The radical totalitarian dictatorships of the 1920s and 1930s were repressive, profoundly antiliberal, and exceedingly violent. Mussolini set up the first Fascist government, a one-party dictatorship, but it was never truly a totalitarian state on the order of Hitler’s Germany or Stalin’s Soviet Union. In the Soviet Union Stalin launched a socialist “revolution from above” to modernize and industrialize the U.S.S.R. Mass purges of the Communist Party in the 1930s led to the imprisonment and deaths of millions.

Hitler and the Nazi elite rallied support by recalling the humiliation of World War I and the terms of the Versailles treaty, condemning Germany’s leaders, building on racist prejudices against “inferior” peoples, and warning of a vast Jewish conspiracy to harm Germany and the German race. The Great Depression caused German voters to turn to Hitler for relief. After he declared the Versailles treaty disarmament clause null and void, British and French leaders tried appeasement. On September 1, 1939, his unprovoked attack on Poland forced the Allies to declare war, starting World War II.

Nazi armies first seized Poland and Germany’s western neighbors and then turned east. Here Hitler planned to build a New Order based on racial imperialism. In the Holocaust that followed, millions of Jews and other “undesirables” were systematically exterminated. In Asia the Japanese created the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere. This was a sham, as “Asia for the Asians” meant nothing but Japanese domination and control. After Japan attacked Pearl Harbor, the United States entered the war. In 1945 the Grand Alliance of the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union defeated, outproduced, and outmanned Germany and Japan.

CONNECTIONS

If anyone still doubted the interconnectedness of all the world’s inhabitants following the Great War, those doubts faded as events on a truly global scale touched everyone as never before. First a Great Depression shook the financial foundations of the wealthiest capitalist economies and the poorest producers of raw materials and minerals. Another world war followed, bringing global death and destruction. At war’s end, as we shall see in Chapter 31, the world’s leaders revived Woodrow Wilson’s idea of a League of Nations and formed the United Nations in 1946 to prevent such tragedies from ever reoccurring.

Although the United Nations was an attempt to bring nations together, the postwar world became more divided than ever. Chapter 31 will describe how two new superpowers — the United States and the Soviet Union — emerged from World War II to engage one another in the Cold War for nearly the rest of the century. Then in Chapters 32 and 33 we will see how less developed nations in Asia, Africa, and Latin America emerged after the war. Many of them did so by turning the nineteenth-century European ideology of nationalism against its creators, breaking the bonds of colonialism.

CHAPTER 30 Review and Explore

Identify Key Terms

Identify and explain the significance of each item below.

New Deal (p. 887)
Popular Front (p. 888)
totalitarianism (p. 891)
fascism (p. 892)
five-year plan (p. 893)
New Economic Policy (NEP) (p. 893)
collectivization (p. 894)
Black Shirts (p. 899)
Lateran Agreement (p. 900)
Nazism (p. 900)
Enabling Act (p. 901)
blitzkrieg (p. 906)
New Order (p. 907)
Holocaust (p. 908)
Europe first policy (p. 912)

Review the Main Ideas

Answer the focus questions from each section of the chapter.

1. What caused the Great Depression, and what were its consequences? (p. 886)
2. What was the nature of the new totalitarian dictatorships, and how did they differ from conservative authoritarian states and from each other? (p. 890)
3. How did Stalin and the Communist Party build a totalitarian order in the Soviet Union? (p. 893)
4. How did Italian fascism develop? (p. 898)
5. Why were Hitler and his Nazi regime initially so popular, and how did their actions lead to World War II? (p. 900)
6. How did Germany and Japan build empires in Europe and Asia, and how did the Allies defeat them? (p. 905)

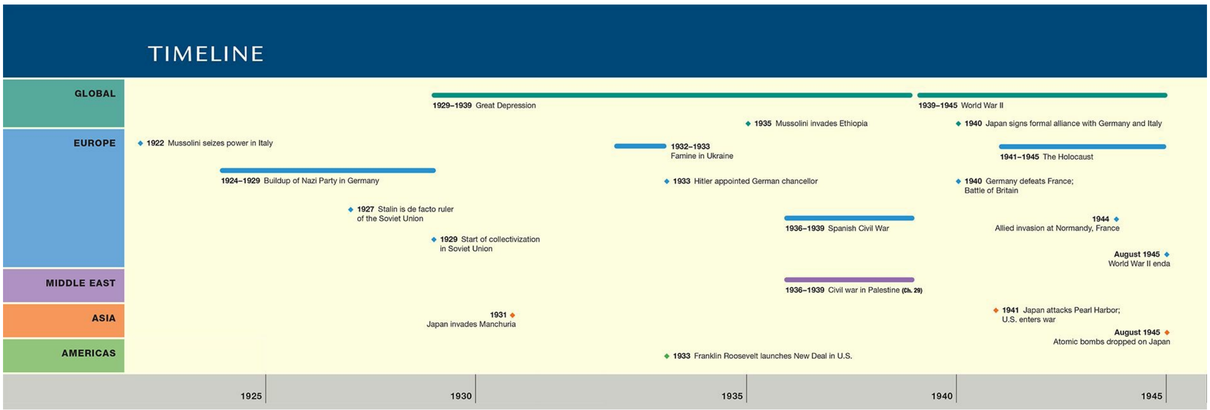
Make Comparisons and Connections

Analyze the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters.

1. Compare the effects of the Great Depression on the peoples and economies of Europe, Latin America, and East Asia. How did governments in these regions

and their citizens respond to this economic cataclysm?

2. Which ideologies of change from nineteenth-century Europe (Chapter 24) contributed to the outbreak of World War II? What new ideologies arose at this time that led the world to war?
3. Is it possible to compare the death and destruction of the Great War with that of World War II? Why or why not? Did the horrors of total war in World War I somehow make the greater scale of mass killing and devastation more acceptable in World War II? Explain.



Suggested Resources

Books

Brendon, Piers. *The Dark Valley: A Panorama of the 1930s*. 2002. Masterful, sweeping account of this tumultuous decade.

Brooker, Paul. *Twentieth-Century Dictatorships: The Ideological One-Party State*. 1995. A comparative analysis.

Crowe, David M. *The Holocaust: Roots, History, and Aftermath*. 2008. Analyzes the origins and ghastly implementation of Nazi racial politics.

Geyer, Michael, and Sheila Fitzpatrick. *Beyond Totalitarianism: Stalinism and Nazism Compared*. 2009. Comparative studies of the two dictatorships based on archival sources that have only recently become available to historians.

Gilbert, Martin. *The Second World War: A Complete History*, rev. ed. 2004. Massively detailed global survey.

Glantz, David M., and Jonathan M. House. *When Titans Clashed: How the Red Army Stopped Hitler*, rev. ed. 2015. Authoritative account of the eastern front in World War II.

Hasegawa, Tsuyoshi. *Racing the Enemy: Stalin, Truman, and the Surrender of Japan*. 2005. Masterful diplomatic history with a controversial new account of the end of the war.

Kindleberger, Charles P. *The World in Depression, 1929–1939*, 40th anniversary ed. 2013. Perhaps the best analytical account of the global origins, events, and aftermath of the Great Depression.

Parker, Selwyn. *The Great Crash: How the Stock Market Crash of 1929 Plunged the World into Depression*. 2008. A lively and readable account of the global consequences of the Great Depression.

Spector, Ronald H. *Eagle Against the Sun: The American War with Japan*. 1985. Although this book focuses primarily on the war from the Japanese and American perspectives, many consider it the best single-volume history of the war in the Pacific.

Weinberg, Gerhard. *A World at Arms: A Global History of World War II*, 2d ed. 2005. Global survey with a political-diplomatic emphasis.

Wright, Gordon. *The Ordeal of Total War*, rev. ed. 1997. Explores the scientific, psychological, and economic dimensions of the war.

Documentaries

Triumph of the Will (Leni Riefenstahl, 1935). The classic documentary/propaganda film directed by Hitler's cinema propagandist Leni Riefenstahl. It celebrates the birth of the thousand-year Reich through its portrayal of the 1934 Nuremberg Nazi rally.

The World at War (Thames Television, 1973–1974). Often called the definitive documentary on World War II, this twenty-six-episode chronicle of the war was produced in Britain and is narrated by Laurence Olivier.

Feature Films

Letters from Iwo Jima (Clint Eastwood, 2006). A joint Japanese-American production that tells the story of the Battle of Iwo Jima from the Japanese soldiers' perspective. Directed by American film director Clint Eastwood, the movie is in Japanese (with English subtitles) and has an all-Japanese cast. A companion film, *Flags of Our Fathers*, portrays the same battle from the American perspective.

Saving Private Ryan (Steven Spielberg, 1998). Generally recognized as one of the best war films of all time, this movie about the invasion of Normany is noted for its realistic portrayal of war, particularly the Allied assault on Omaha Beach on June 6, 1944.

Schindler's List (Steven Spielberg, 1993). Based on the true story of Oskar Schindler, a German businessman who rescued more than a thousand mainly Polish-Jewish refugees during the Holocaust.

Websites

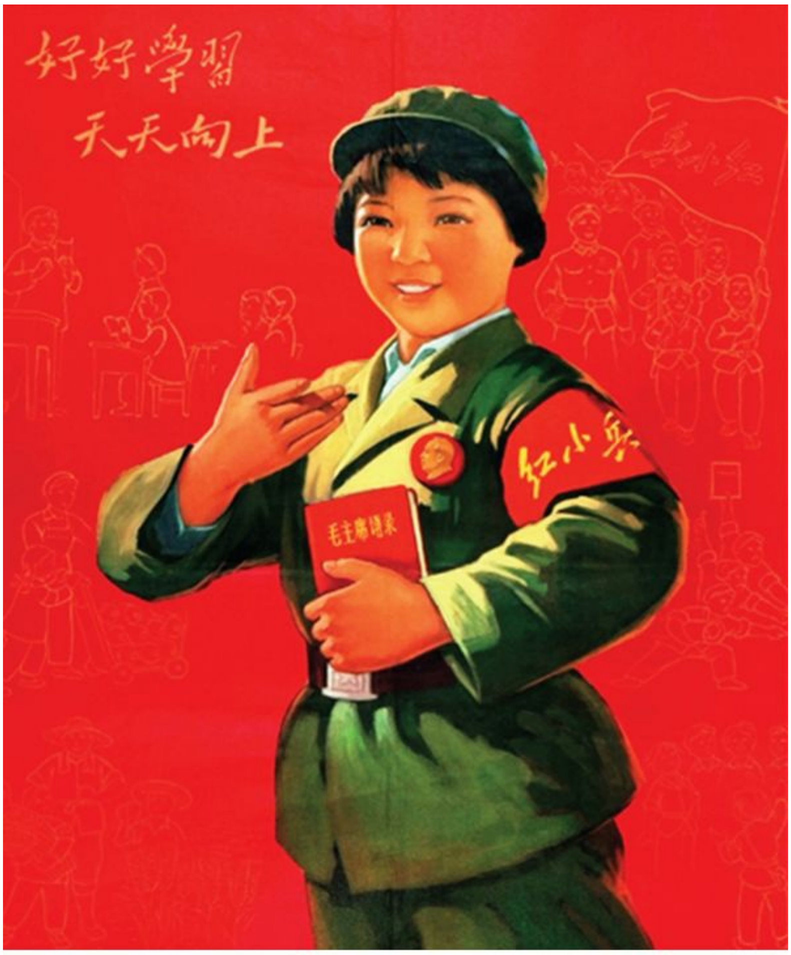
Spartacus Educational: The Second World War. One of the websites of the Spartacus Educational project, this site contains a large collection of entries about all aspects of World War II. **spartacus-educational.com/2WW.htm**

The World at War, History of WW 1939–1945. This well-organized and comprehensive website covers all aspects of World War II, includes a discussion forum and message board, and allows users to search the site by keyword. **www.euronet.nl/users/wilfried/ww2/ww2.htm**

31

Decolonization, Revolution, and the Cold War

1945–1968


好好學習
天天向上
红小兵
毛主席语录

Pictures from History/Bridgeman Images

China Charts a New Revolutionary Path

A member of the Red Guards, part of the mass

mobilization known as the Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which was directed by Chinese leader Mao Zedong between 1966 and 1976.

After the Second World War, the world faced deep and swift currents of change that swept from the decolonization of Asia and Africa to social revolutions such as those in China and Cuba. These transformations were the outcome of movements that began well before the Second World War and were accelerated by the war's upheaval. The transformations took place in the international context of the Cold War, a rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union.

As people in Asia and Africa pushed back against centuries of Western expansion and demanded national self-determination and racial equality, new nations emerged and nearly every colonial territory gained formal independence between 1945 and the early 1960s. A revolution in China consolidated Communist rule and initially followed the Soviet model, but then veered in new directions. Rather than form an allied Communist front, China and the Soviet Union became economic and political rivals.

The Cold War that emerged between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. following the world war did not involve armed conflict between the two nations. But it became a global experience in which each country backed rival factions in conflicts around the world. The Cold War also imposed a division between western European countries allied to the United States, and eastern European nations that the Soviet Union brought into its zone of influence.

CHAPTER PREVIEW

THE WORLD REMADE
How did the Cold War and decolonization shape the postwar world?

NATIONALISM IN SOUTH ASIA AND THE MIDDLE EAST
How did religion and the legacies of colonialism affect the formation of new nations in South Asia and the Middle East after World War II?

REVOLUTION AND RESURGENCE IN EAST AND SOUTHEAST ASIA
How did the Cold War shape reconstruction, revolution, and decolonization in East and Southeast Asia?

DECOLONIZATION IN AFRICA
What factors influenced decolonization in Africa after World War II?

POPULIST AND REVOLUTIONARY PATHWAYS IN LATIN AMERICA

Why did populism emerge as such a powerful political force in Latin America?

THE LIMITS OF POSTWAR PROSPERITY

Why did the world face growing social unrest in the 1960s?

The World Remade

How did the Cold War and decolonization shape the postwar world?

The rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union divided postwar Europe and became a long, tense standoff, the **Cold War**. As the Cold War took shape, three events separated by barely two years foreshadowed the changes that would take place in the world following the Second World War: the independence of India and Pakistan in 1947; the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948; and the Communist revolution in China in 1949. All had their roots in the decades preceding the Second World War — and even predating the First World War. Yet each was shaped by the war and its outcomes.

Cold War The post–World War II conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union.

The Cold War

The Cold War originated in disputes over the political outcome of the war. Soviet leader Joseph Stalin insisted that his country needed control of eastern Europe to guarantee military security from Germany. While U.S. president Franklin Roosevelt had been inclined to accommodate these demands, his successor, Harry Truman, demanded free elections throughout eastern Europe. Stalin refused.

The United States' status as the only country that possessed atomic weapons at the end of the war bolstered Truman's tough stance. Just as the U.S. sense of security came from having a monopoly on the atomic bomb, Stalin pursued security by militarily occupying eastern Europe and imposing compliant governments that would provide a buffer against the threat of western European aggression. These countries were considered Soviet satellites — nations whose politics and economics were modeled on and dictated by the Soviet Union.

President Truman misread these occupations as a campaign for world domination. Communist movements in Greece and China, beyond Stalin's occupation zone, fed these fears. In October 1945 Truman issued the **Truman Doctrine**, aimed at "containing" communism to areas already occupied by the Soviet army by providing military and economic support to governments threatened by Communist control. (His reference to regimes imposed by force applied only to Europe and countries threatened by communism, not to European colonial domination of Asia and Africa.)

Truman Doctrine The 1945 American policy of preventing the spread of Communist rule.

Truman asked Congress for military aid for Greece and Turkey to prevent the spread of communism. Soon after, Secretary of State George C. Marshall proposed a broader package of economic and food aid — the **Marshall Plan** — to help Europe rebuild. Stalin refused Marshall Plan assistance for eastern Europe. The Soviet Union’s support for the overthrow of the democratically elected Czechoslovakian government in 1948 and its replacement by a Communist government shocked the U.S. Congress into approving the Marshall Plan in April 1948.

Marshall Plan A 1948 American plan for providing economic aid to Europe to help it rebuild after World War II.

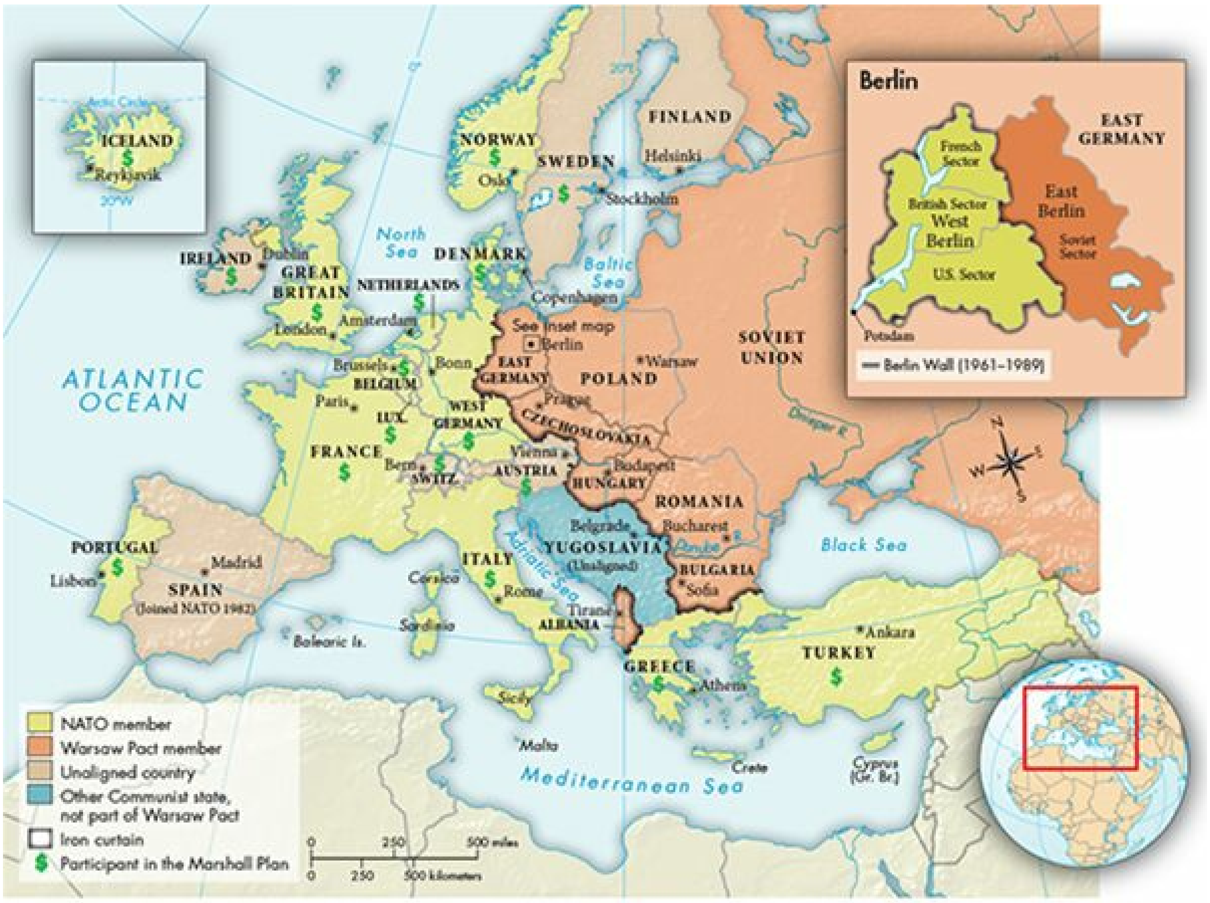
A lasting pattern of escalating reactions to real and perceived provocations was established between the U.S. and Soviet Union. Stalin retaliated by blocking road traffic through the Soviet zone of Germany to Berlin, prompting the U.S. and its allies to airlift millions of tons of provisions to the West Berliners. After 324 days the Soviets backed down: containment seemed to work. In 1949 the United States formed an anti-Soviet military alliance of Western governments: the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (**NATO**). Stalin countered by tightening his hold on his satellites, united in 1955 under the Warsaw Pact. Europe was divided into two hostile blocs. British prime minister Winston Churchill warned that an “iron curtain has descended across the Continent.”

NATO The North Atlantic Treaty Organization, an anti-Soviet military alliance of Western nations, formed in 1949.

Courtesy CSU Archives/The Everett Collection

Berlin Airlift Residents of Berlin watch a U.S. Air Force cargo plane land with supplies to support West Berliners during the Soviet blockade (1948–1949).

The Soviet Union, with its massive army arrayed across eastern Europe, and the United States, with its industrial strength and atomic weapons, emerged as superpowers whose might dwarfed that of other countries. Superpower status reached an awkward balance after the Soviet Union developed its own atomic weapons in 1949. Both nations pitched themselves into a military and geopolitical confrontation that stopped short of outright war: the Cold War (Map 31.1).


ICELAND
Reykjavik
Arctic Circle
30°W
NORWAY
Oslo
SWEDEN
Stockholm
FINLAND
Helsinki
IRELAND
Dublin
GREAT BRITAIN
London
North Sea
DENMARK
Copenhagen
Baltic Sea
NETHERLANDS
Amsterdam
See inset map
Berlin
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Brussels
BELGIUM
Bonn
EAST GERMANY
POLAND
Warsaw
SOVIET UNION
Paris
LUX.
WEST GERMANY
Prague
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
Dnieper R.
FRANCE
Bern
SWITZ.
Vienna
AUSTRIA
Budapest
HUNGARY
ROMANIA
Bucharest
Belgrade
YUGOSLAVIA
(Unaligned)
Danube
Black Sea
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
Madrid
SPAIN
(Joined NATO 1982)
ITALY
Corsica
Rome
Adriatic Sea
BULGARIA
Sofia
Tirane
ALBANIA
Sardinia
Balearic Is.
GREECE
Athens
TURKEY
Ankara
Sicily
Malta
Crete
Mediterranean Sea
Cyprus
(Gr. Br.)
N
E
S
W
Berlin
EAST GERMANY
French Sector
British Sector
West Berlin
East Berlin
Soviet Sector
U.S. Sector
Potsdam
Berlin Wall (1961–1989)
🟨 NATO member
🟧 Warsaw Pact member
▨ Unaligned country
🟦 Other Communist state, not part of Warsaw Pact
☐ Iron curtain
$ Participant in the Marshall Plan
0
250
500 miles
0
250
500 kilometers

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 31.1 Cold War Europe in the 1950s Europe was divided by an "iron curtain" during the Cold War. None of the Communist countries of eastern Europe were participants in the Marshall Plan.

An ideological divide defined the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union. The United States saw itself as the defender of a "free world" governed by liberal principles such as free markets, private property, and individual rights protected by democratic constitutions. The Soviet Union defined itself as the defender of the rights of workers and peasants against their exploiters, the rights of colonial peoples against their colonizers, and economic development based on planning and equitable distribution. The Cold War sharpened the distinctions between these models, creating opposing paths that the superpowers pressured other countries to follow.

The United Nations

In 1945 representatives of fifty nations met in San Francisco to draft a charter for a new intergovernmental organization called the United Nations. Like that of its predecessor, the League of Nations (see "The Paris Peace Treaties" in Chapter 28), the immediate goal of the United

Nations was to mediate international conflicts in order to preserve peace. But in 1945 the founders of the United Nations foresaw a more ambitious role than the League of Nations had played: the UN would also support decolonization; promote economic development; and expand access to health care, worker protections, environmental conservation, and gender equity.

© Amerika Haus/SZ Photo/The Image Works

United Nations Programs at Work, 1951 As part of a UN assistance program, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) provided milk to children in Greece in the aftermath of civil war in that country.

The United Nations was divided into two bodies: a General Assembly that met annually and included all nations that signed the UN Charter; and a Security Council made up of five regional powers, each of which held veto power over the council's decisions, making it a body that in effect functioned only through unanimous consent. Roosevelt intended the Security Council to include the United States, the Soviet Union, Great

Britain, China, and Brazil. Because of U.S. influence over Latin America, British and Soviet leaders feared the Brazilian seat would simply be a second vote for the United States, so they insisted that France instead be the fifth member of the Security Council. After the Chinese Revolution in 1949, the government of Taiwan held China's seat until the United Nations transferred it to the People's Republic of China in 1971.

The UN gave critical support to decolonization efforts. Its charter defended the right of self-determination, and it served as a forum for liberation movements to make claims or negotiate the terms of independence. The UN also provided a platform for opponents of colonialism to condemn those colonial powers that resisted their calls for self-determination. In addition, UN member nations volunteered military forces to serve around the world as peacekeepers, who have provided a buffer to ease violent disputes and served as observers to ensure that agreements were being met or that abuses were not being committed in conflict areas.

In its early years, the United Nations mediated Indonesia's demand for independence from the Netherlands, which fought a four-year war to reoccupy the former colony. The UN deployed peacekeepers in the newly created border between India and Pakistan, and it helped determine the terms under which Britain relinquished control of Palestine and Jordan, as well as the terms for the creation of Israel in 1948. The agenda of the United Nations evolved as new member states joined. In 1960 alone, eighteen African nations were seated at the UN, forming part of an "Afro-Asian bloc" committed to rapidly completing the decolonization process and advancing postcolonial economic development.

The Politics of Liberation

The term *Third World* emerged in the 1950s among obervers who viewed Africa, Asia, and Latin America as a single entity, different from both the capitalist, industrialized "First World" and the Communist, industrialized "Second World." The idea of a Third World had particular appeal amid the Cold War rivalry, because it allowed advocates to try to stake out an autonomous space outside of Cold War pressures. Despite deep differences between them, most so-called Third World countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America were poor and economically underdeveloped — meaning less industrialized — and were thus also referred to as "nonindustrial" or "industrializing" nations.

Many areas of the Third World were still colonies of European countries at the end of the Second World War, though this status was challenged by nationalist liberation movements. The roots of many liberation movements often reached back to the nineteenth century. Colonial powers repressed these movements, but after the Second World War those colonial powers were weaker and nationalist movements grew more insistent. The quest for liberation took many forms. Economically, nations emerging from colonialism sought industrialization and development to end dependence on former colonizers. Politically, they sought alliances with other industrializing nations to avoid the neocolonial influences of more powerful nations. Intellectually, they reacted against Western assumptions of white supremacy.

The former colonies faced intense pressure to align themselves ideologically and economically with either the United States or the Soviet Union, and few could resist the pressure or the incentives those powers brought to bear. Nonetheless, to varying degrees, they tried to operate independently from the two superpowers in a number of ways. In 1955 leaders of twenty-nine recently independent nations in Asia and Africa met in Bandung, Indonesia, to create a framework for political and economic cooperation so they could emerge from colonialism without having to resubordinate their nations either to their former colonizers or to pressures from the Cold War superpowers. The participants outlined principles for rejecting pressure from the superpowers and supporting decolonization. In 1961 nations participating in the Bandung Conference met in Yugoslavia, where Marxists who had come to power in the struggle against Nazi Germany zealously guarded their independence from the Soviet Union, to form a Non-Aligned Nations Movement.

Dependency and Development Theories

In 1948 the United Nations established the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) in Santiago, Chile, to study economic development. Under the direction of Argentine economist Raúl Prebisch, ECLA produced Latin America’s main intellectual contributions to the twentieth century: a diagnosis of reasons why less industrialized regions of the world lagged economically and technologically behind Europe and the United States. These ideas were known as **dependency theory**.

dependency theory The belief, formulated in Latin America in the mid-twentieth century, that development in some areas of the world locks other nations into underdevelopment.

According to dependency theory, the first regions to industrialize in the nineteenth century — western Europe and the United States — locked in a lasting economic advantage magnified by colonialism and neocolonialism. This advantage trapped countries in Latin America, Africa, and Asia in roles as exporters of agricultural and mineral commodities and importers of capital and technology. According to this analysis, the prosperity of Europe and the United States was built on the impoverishment of other regions, an inequality that increased over time as the value of commodities decreased relative to the value of manufactured and technological goods.

How could this pattern be broken? Could a country that grew coffee become a country that manufactured cars? This question would be asked many times around the world in the second half of the twentieth century, and it would be answered in many ways.

One approach was **modernization theory**, which suggested that societies passed through phases of development from primitive to modern, and that adopting the political, economic, or cultural practices of places like the United States was the best remedy for poverty. (See “Global Viewpoints: U.S. and Latin American Views on Development,” page 926.) This theory shaped U.S. foreign aid programs, which deployed armies of experts offering advice in areas ranging from revising legal codes to digging wells. These experts often did not understand local conditions, believing that the American way was always best. Regardless of their intentions, these projects were often riddled with unintended negative consequences, which led to mistrust of U.S. aid.

modernization theory The belief, held in countries such as the United States in the mid-twentieth century, that all countries evolved in a linear progression from traditional to mature.

For peoples emerging from colonialism, dependency theory was more appealing. Newly independent nations faced enormous pressures: rural poverty pushed millions into cities where good jobs were scarce. Cities and the countryside alike had insufficient schools and health care. Dependency theorists favored state planning to both induce industrialization and distribute resources more equitably. A common tool to do this was **import substitution industrialization (ISI)**. Under ISI policies, countries imposed trade barriers to keep certain foreign products out and provided subsidies for domestic industries to make the same goods. Dependency suggested that even ISI was not enough, and that deep social reforms were needed, such as the redistribution of large farming estates to rural workers, as well as state control of major industries and banks.

import substitution industrialization (ISI) The use of trade barriers to keep certain foreign products out of one’s country so that domestic industry can emerge and produce the same goods.

The governments that attempted land redistribution or the nationalization of foreign firms faced a backlash by landowners, foreign corporations, and political conservatives. In many cases, reformist governments were deposed in military coups supported by the United States. One example was Guatemala, where a democratically elected government pursued the redistribution of land held by large U.S. companies. The government was overthrown in 1954 in a coup organized by the U.S. government.

The experience in Guatemala hardened Cold War views. The events led the United States to expand its containment doctrine to Latin America, where it stepped in to block governments whose reforms it interpreted as Communist. For Latin American reformers, the events in Guatemala suggested that peaceful, gradual change would be blocked by the U.S. and that more radical paths were needed. One person drawing this lesson was an Argentine medical student volunteering in Guatemala at the time of the coup. Ernesto “Che” Guevara (CHAY goo-eh-vahrah) (1928–1967) developed an approach to revolution using tactics he outlined in a manual called *Guerilla Warfare*. Guevara believed that private property and wage labor were forms of exploitation that could be overthrown by free workers volunteering their labor to help liberate others.

Within Catholicism, ideas of social reform and liberation crystallized into a movement called **liberation theology**. The movement emerged in Latin America amid reforms of the Catholic Church by Pope John XXIII (pontificate 1958–1963), who called on clergy to engage with the contemporary world — a world characterized by poverty and exclusion. In 1968 the Latin American Council of Bishops gathered in Medellín, Colombia, and invoked dependency theory as it called on clergy to exercise a “preferential option for the poor” by working toward “social justice,” including land redistribution, the recognition of peasants’ and labor unions, and condemnation of economic dependency and neocolonialism.

liberation theology A movement within the Catholic Church to support the poor in situations of exploitation that emerged with particular force in Latin America in the 1960s.

Drawing on dependency theory and sometimes verging on revolutionary Marxism, priests attracted to liberation theology challenged governments, fought against landowners and business owners they saw as oppressors, and formed community organizations, or ecclesiastical base communities, where the residents of poor neighborhoods could gather to discuss their problems and devise solutions. After the 1970s Popes John Paul II (pontificate 1978–2005) and Benedict XVI (pontificate 2005–2013) suppressed liberation theology and silenced its most outspoken thinkers. Advocates of liberation theology greeted the naming of a pope from Latin America, Francis, in 2013 as a return to the focus on fighting poverty and social exclusion within the Catholic Church.

AMERICA LATINA
ALTAR DE MARTIRES
O SEU SANGUE FECUNDA NOSSAS CEBs

Bernard Bisson/Sygma via Getty Images

Liberation Theology Participants at a meeting of ecclesiastical base communities in Brazil gather under a banner reading “Altar of Martyrs: Your Blood Nourishes Our Base Communities.” This 1986 meeting, eighteen years after the Medellín Conference, shows the lasting impact of liberation theology in Latin America.

GLOBAL VIEWPOINTS

U.S. and Latin American Views on Development

Is economic development something all nations share democratically as it spreads from Great Powers to the industrializing world? By outlining a linear progression of economic growth, the American economist Walt Whitman Rostow used modernization theory to create a road map for countries to follow as they evolved from “traditional” to “mature” states. Brazilian dependency theorist Celso Furtado disagreed. For Furtado, economic development in the United States and Europe made the rest of the world dependent upon those regions and inhibited the spread of development. A key difference in these economists’ interpretations concerns countries’ relationships to the international economy.

Walt Whitman Rostow, 1960

■ It is possible to identify all societies, in their economic dimensions, as lying within one of five categories: the traditional society, the preconditions for take-off, the take-off, the drive to maturity, and the age of high mass-consumption. . . .

First, the traditional society. A traditional society is one whose structure is developed within limited production functions, based on pre-Newtonian science and technology, and on pre-Newtonian attitudes towards the physical world. Newton is here used as a symbol for that watershed in history when men came widely to believe that the external world was subject to a few knowable laws. . . .

The second stage of growth embraces societies in the process of transition; . . . it takes time to transform a traditional society in the ways necessary for it to exploit the fruits of modern science, to fend off diminishing returns, and thus to enjoy the blessings and choices opened up by the march of compound interest. . . .

We now come to the great watershed in the life of modern societies: . . . the take-off. . . . The forces making for economic progress, which yielded limited bursts and enclaves of modern activity, expand and come to dominate the society. . . .

After take-off there follows a long interval of sustained if fluctuating progress, as the now regularly growing economy drives to extend modern technology over the whole front of its economic activity. . . . The economy finds its place in the international economy: goods formerly imported are produced at home; new import requirements develop, and new export commodities to match them. . . .

We now come to the age of high mass-consumption, where, in time, the leading sectors shift towards durable consumers’ goods and services:

a phase from which Americans are beginning to emerge; whose not unequivocal joys Western Europe and Japan are beginning energetically to probe; and with which Soviet society is engaged in an uneasy flirtation. . . .

When technological maturity is reached, and the nation has at its command a modernized and differentiated industrial machine, to what ends should it be put, and in what proportions: to increase social security, through the welfare state; to expand mass-consumption into the range of durable consumers' goods and services; to increase the nation's stature and power on the world scene; or to increase leisure?

Celso Furtado, 1970

■ As a consequence of the rapid spread of new production methods from a small number of centers radiating technological innovations, there has come into existence a process tending to create a world-wide economic system. It is thus that underdevelopment is considered a creature of development, or rather, as a consequence of the impact of the technical processes and the international division of labor commanded by the small number of societies that espoused the Industrial Revolution of the nineteenth century. The resulting relations between these societies and the underdeveloped areas involve forms of dependence that can hardly be overcome. . . . [D]ependence [is] maintained by controlling the assimilation of new technological processes through the installation of productive activities within the dependent economies, all under the control of groups integrated into the dominant economies.

On the assumption of the foregoing, we infer that underdevelopment cannot be studied as a "phase" of the development process since such a "phase" would be overcome if certain factors came into play simultaneously. And, since the underdeveloped economies are contemporaries of — and in one way or another, dependent on — their developed counterparts, the former cannot retrace the experiences of the latter. Therefore, development and underdevelopment should be considered as two aspects of the same historical process involving the creation and the spread of modern technology.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Which model of economic development better explains the historical experiences of developing countries as described in this chapter, and why?
2. What alternative interpretations might better explain the histories of underdeveloped countries?

Sources: W. W. Rostow, *The Stages of Economic Growth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), pp. 4–10, 16. © Cambridge University Press, 1960. Reprinted with permission of Cambridge University Press; Celso Furtado, *Obstacles to Development in Latin America,* trans. Charles Ekker (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1970), p. xvi.

Interpreting the Postcolonial Experience

Many intellectuals who came of age during and after the struggle for political emancipation embraced a vision of solidarity among peoples oppressed by colonialism and racism. Some argued that genuine freedom required a total rejection of Western values in addition to an economic and political break with the former colonial powers. Frantz Fanon (1925–1961) expressed these views in his powerful study of colonial peoples, *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961).

According to Fanon, a French-trained black psychiatrist from the Caribbean island of Martinique, decolonization is always a violent process whereby colonizers are replaced by an absolutely different species — the colonized, those he called "the wretched of the earth." During decolonization the colonized masses mock colonial values, "insult them, and vomit them up" in a psychic purge. Fanon believed that throughout Africa and Asia the former imperialists and their local collaborators — the "white men with black faces" — remained the enemy:

> During the colonial period the people are called upon to fight against oppression; after national liberation, they are called upon to fight against poverty, illiteracy, and underdevelopment. The struggle, they say, goes on. . . . We are not blinded by the moral reparation of national independence; nor are we fed by it. The wealth of the imperial countries is our wealth too. . . . Europe is literally the creation of the Third World. The wealth which smothers her is that which was stolen from the underdeveloped peoples.[1]

Fanon gave voice to radicals attacking imperialism and struggling for liberation.

As countries gained independence, some writers looked beyond wholesale rejection of the industrialized powers. They, too, were anti-imperialist, but they were often also activists and cultural nationalists who celebrated the histories and cultures of their peoples. Many did not hesitate to criticize their own leaders or fight oppression and corruption.

The Nigerian writer Chinua Achebe (chee-NOO-ah ah-CHAY-beh) (1930–2013) sought to restore his people's self-confidence by reinterpreting the past. For Achebe, the "writer in a new nation" had first to embrace the "fundamental theme" that Africans had their own culture before the Europeans came and that it was the duty of writers to help Africans reclaim their past. In his 1958 novel *Things Fall Apart*, Achebe brings to life the men and women of an Ibo village at the beginning of the twentieth century, with all their virtues and frailties. Woven into the story are the proverbs and wisdom of a sophisticated people and the beauty of a vanishing world:

> [The white man] says that our customs are bad; and our own brothers who have taken up his religion also say that our customs are bad. How do you think we can fight when our own brothers have turned against us? The white man is very clever. He came quietly and peaceably with his religion. We were amused at his foolishness and allowed him to stay. Now he has won our brothers, and our clan can no longer act like one. He has put a knife on the things that held us together and we have fallen apart.[2]

In later novels Achebe portrayed the postindependence disillusionment of many writers and intellectuals, which reflected trends in many developing nations in the 1960s and 1970s. He developed a sharp critique of rulers who seemed increasingly estranged from national realities and corrupted by Western luxury.

Novelist V. S. Naipaul, born in Trinidad in 1932 of Indian parents, also castigated governments in the developing countries for corruption, ineptitude, and self-deception. Another of Naipaul’s recurring themes is the poignant loneliness and homelessness of people uprooted by colonialism and Western expansion.

For peoples emerging from colonial domination, or confronting the poverty and social exclusion that was commonplace outside of industrialized nations, the postwar challenge of liberation was not simply political and economic, but also cultural and spiritual. The middle decades of the twentieth century saw a broad awakening of voices among peoples who had been rendered voiceless by their marginalization.

Nationalism in South Asia and the Middle East

How did religion and the legacies of colonialism affect the formation of new nations in South Asia and the Middle East after World War II?

The three South Asian countries created through independence from Britain and subsequent partition, India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh, reflected the dominant themes of cultural and economic nationalism that characterized the end of colonialism, but ethnic and religious rivalries greatly complicated their renewal and development.

Throughout the vast *umma* (world of Islam), nationalism became a powerful force after 1945, stressing modernization and the end of subordination to Western nations. The nationalists who guided the formation of modern states in the Arab world struggled to balance Cold War pressures from the United States and the Soviet Union, as well as the tension between secular modernization and Islam. At the heart of this world, Jewish nationalists founded the state of Israel following the Second World War. The Zionist claim to a homeland came into sharp, and often violent, conflict with the rights and claims of the Palestinian people displaced by the creation of Israel.

Independence in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh

World War II accelerated the drive toward Indian independence begun by Mohandas Gandhi (see “Gandhi’s Resistance Campaign in India” in Chapter 29). In 1942 Gandhi called on the British to “quit India” and threatened another civil disobedience campaign. He and the other Indian National Congress Party leaders were soon after arrested and were jailed for much of the war. Thus India’s wartime support for Britain was substantial but not always enthusiastic. Meanwhile, the Congress Party’s prime rival skillfully seized the opportunity to increase its influence.

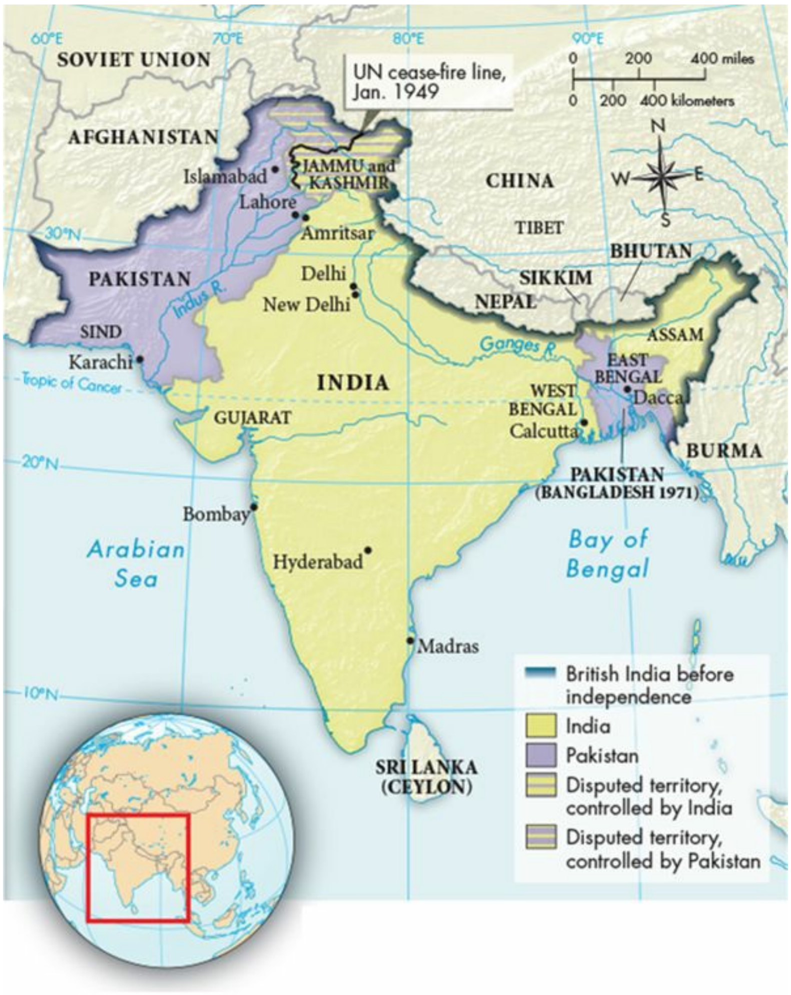
The Congress Party’s rival was the **Muslim League**, led by lawyer Muhammad Ali Jinnah (1876–1948). Jinnah feared that India’s Hindu majority would dominate national power at the expense of Muslims. He proposed the creation of two separate countries divided along religious lines:

Muslim League Political party founded in 1906 in colonial India that advocated for a separate Muslim homeland after independence.

> The Hindus and Muslims have two different religions, philosophies, social customs, literatures. They neither inter-marry, nor dine together, and indeed, they belong to two different civilizations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. . . . To yoke together two such nations under a single State, one as a numerical minority and the other as majority, must lead to growing discontent and final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a State.[3]

Gandhi disagreed with Jinnah’s two-nation theory, which he believed would lead to ethnic sectarianism rather than collaboration.

Britain agreed to speedy independence for India after 1945, but conflicts between Hindu and Muslim nationalists led to murderous clashes in 1946. When it became clear that Jinnah and the Muslim League would accept nothing less than an independent state of Pakistan, the British government mediated a partition that created a predominantly Hindu nation and a predominantly Muslim nation. In 1947 India and Pakistan gained political independence from Britain as two separate nations (Map 31.2).


60°E
70°E
80°E
90°E
SOVIET UNION
UN cease-fire line, Jan. 1949
0 200 400 miles
0 200 400 kilometers
N
W
E
S
AFGHANISTAN
Islamabad
JAMMU and KASHMIR
Lahore
Amritsar
CHINA
TIBET
30°N
BHUTAN
PAKISTAN
Delhi
New Delhi
SIKKIM
NEPAL
Indus R.
Ganges R.
ASSAM
SIND
Karachi
Tropic of Cancer
INDIA
EAST BENGAL
WEST BENGAL
Dacca
GUJARAT
Calcutta
BURMA
20°N
PAKISTAN (BANGLADESH 1971)
Bombay
Arabian Sea
Hyderabad
Bay of Bengal
Madras
10°N
SRI LANKA (CEYLON)
British India before independence
India
Pakistan
Disputed territory, controlled by India
Disputed territory, controlled by Pakistan

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin’s

MAP 31.2 The Partition of British India, 1947 Violence and fighting were most intense where there were large Hindu and Muslim minorities — in Kashmir, the Punjab, and Bengal. The tragic result of partition, which occurred repeatedly throughout the world in the twentieth century, was a forced exchange of populations and greater homogeneity on both sides of the border.

Violence and mass expulsions followed independence. Perhaps a hundred thousand Hindus and Muslims were slaughtered, and an estimated 5 million became refugees. "What is there to celebrate?" exclaimed Gandhi in reference to independence, "I see nothing but rivers of blood."[4] Gandhi labored to ease tensions between Hindus and Muslims, but in the aftermath of riots in January 1948, he was killed by a Hindu gunman who resented what he saw as Gandhi's appeasement of Muslims.

After the ordeal of independence, relations between India and Pakistan remained tense. Fighting over the disputed area of Kashmir, a strategically important northwestern border state with a Muslim majority annexed by India, lasted until 1949 and broke out again in 1965–1966, 1971, and 1999 as tensions continued.

In India, Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964) and the Indian National Congress Party ruled for a generation and introduced major social reforms. Hindu women gained legal equality, including the right to vote, to seek divorce, and to marry outside their castes. The constitution abolished the untouchable caste. In practice, less discriminatory attitudes toward women and untouchables evolved slowly — especially in rural villages, where 85 percent of the people lived.

The Congress Party pursued state-driven economic development, but population growth of about 2.4 percent per year consumed much of the increased output of economic expansion. The relocation of millions during the partition of India and Pakistan exacerbated poverty. The Congress Party maintained neutrality in the Cold War, distancing itself from both the United States and the Soviet Union. Instead India became one of the leading voices in the Non-Aligned Nations Movement.

At independence, Pakistan was divided between eastern and western provinces separated by more than a thousand miles of Indian territory, as well as by language, ethnic background, and social custom. The Bengalis of East Pakistan constituted a majority of Pakistan's population as a whole, but were neglected by the central government, which remained in the hands of West Pakistan's elite after Jinnah's death. In 1971 the Bengalis revolted and won their independence as the new nation of Bangladesh after a violent civil war. Bangladesh, a secular parliamentary democracy, struggled to find political and economic stability amid famines that resulted from monsoon floods, tornadoes, and cyclones in the vast, low-lying, and intensely farmed Ganges Delta.

© Sueddeutsche Zeitung Photo/The Image Works

The Non-Aligned Movement Indira Gandhi, daughter of Jawaharlal Nehru, became prime minister of India in 1966. She is shown here at a 1966 meeting of the Non-Aligned Nations Movement, seated between Yugoslav president Josip Tito (left) and Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser (right).

Arab Socialism in the Middle East

In the postwar period, new Arab states in the Middle East emerged from colonial rule. For centuries the region had been dominated by the Ottoman Empire. After the First World War, France and Britain claimed protectorates in the former Ottoman territories. Britain already claimed Egypt as a protectorate and France controlled Algeria. New nations emerging from colonial rule in the Middle East embraced **Arab socialism**, a modernizing, secular, and nationalist project of nation building aimed at economic development, a strong military, and Pan-Arab unity.

Arab socialism A modernizing, secular, and nationalist project of nation building in the Middle East aimed at economic development and the development of a strong military.

Arab socialism held particular significance for women in Middle

Eastern societies. It cast aside religious restrictions on women’s education, occupations, public activities, and fashions. In countries like Egypt and Iraq, the openness of education and access to professions enjoyed by urban, typically affluent women symbolized an embrace of Western modernity, although senior posts in government, the professions, and business were still dominated by men.

In 1952 army officers overthrew Egypt’s monarchy and expelled the British military force that occupied the country. The movement’s leader, Gamal Abdel Nasser (1918–1970), built a nationalist regime aimed at eradicating the vestiges of colonialism. Applying the principles of Arab socialism, Nasser pursued the secularization of Egyptian society, created an extensive social welfare network, redistributed rural lands, and promoted industrialization.

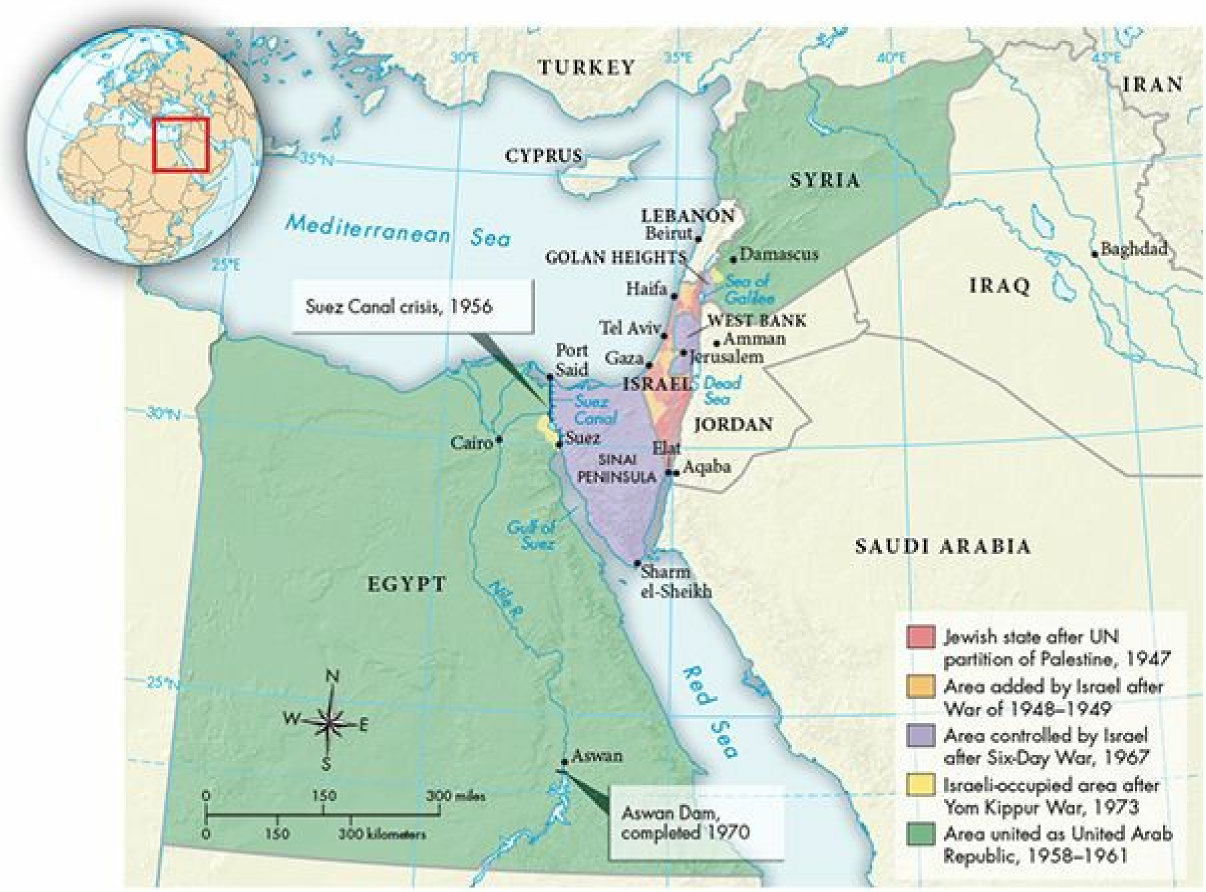
Nasser’s National Charter called for the nationalization of transportation, mining, dams, banks, utilities, insurance, and heavy industry. In the countryside the size of landholdings was limited and estates were broken up. As Nasser declared, “When we started this revolution, we wanted to put an end to exploitation. Hence our struggle to put capital at the service of man, and to put land at the service of man, instead of leaving man at the service of the feudalist who owns the land.”[5]

In 1956 Nasser took a symbolic and strategic step toward national sovereignty when he ordered the army to take control of the Suez Canal, still held by Britain and France. A coalition of British, French, and Israeli forces invaded to retake the canal. The Soviet Union offered support to Egypt. To prevent Soviet intervention and a Soviet-Egyptian alliance, the United States negotiated a cease-fire that granted Egypt control of the canal. Alongside control of the canal, Nasser’s other main economic accomplishment was the Aswan Dam on the Nile River, which generated electricity for industrialization in northern Egypt while allowing southern Egypt to control flooding and increase agricultural production. Nasser negotiated the funding and technical expertise for the dam with both the United States and the Soviet Union, eventually settling on Soviet aid. The Suez crisis and the Aswan Dam were examples in which a nationalist leader like Nasser successfully played the superpowers against each other.

Military officers in other Arab countries emulated Nasser’s nationalism and socialist developmentalism. In Syria and Iraq these nationalists formed the Pan-Arab socialist Ba’ath Party. For members of national Ba’ath parties, Egypt was a model for developing a single-party state that implemented nationalist and development aspirations. Syria briefly merged with Egypt from 1958 until 1961, forming the United Arab Republic. Officers who resented Nasser’s control of Syria revolted against Egypt and established a separate Syrian government dominated by the Ba’ath Party. In Iraq the Ba’ath Party helped overthrow the British-backed monarchy in 1958, leading to Ba’ath Party rule that ended when a U.S. military invasion toppled Saddam Hussein in 2003.

The Arab-Israeli Conflict

Before the Second World War, Arab nationalists were loosely united in their opposition to the colonial powers and to Jewish migration to Palestine. In the aftermath of the Second World War, Palestinians and new Arab states emerging from British and French domination strenuously opposed Jewish settlement in Palestine (see “Arab-Jewish Tensions in Palestine” in Chapter 29). In 1947 the British government announced its intention to withdraw from Palestine in 1948. The difficult problem of a Jewish homeland was placed in the hands of the United Nations, which passed a plan to partition Palestine into two separate states — one Arab and one Jewish (Map 31.3). The Jews accepted, and the Arabs rejected, the partition of Palestine.


TURKEY
IRAN
CYPRUS
SYRIA
LEBANON
Beirut
Mediterranean Sea
GOLAN HEIGHTS
Damascus
Baghdad
IRAQ
Sea of Galilee
Haifa
Suez Canal crisis, 1956
Tel Aviv
WEST BANK
Amman
Jerusalem
Port Said
Gaza
ISRAEL
Dead Sea
Suez Canal
JORDAN
Cairo
Suez
Elat
SINAI PENINSULA
Aqaba
Gulf of Suez
SAUDI ARABIA
Sharm el-Sheikh
EGYPT
Nile R.
Red Sea
Aswan
Aswan Dam, completed 1970
N
W
E
S
0
150
300 miles
0
150
300 kilometers
30°E
35°E
40°E
45°E
35°N
30°N
25°N
25°E
Jewish state after UN partition of Palestine, 1947
Area added by Israel after War of 1948–1949
Area controlled by Israel after Six-Day War, 1967
Israeli-occupied area after Yom Kippur War, 1973
Area united as United Arab Republic, 1958–1961

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin’s

MAP 31.3 The Middle East After 1947 The partition of Palestine by the United Nations resulted in the creation in 1948 of Israel, which faced repeated conflicts with rival Arab states.

By early 1948 an undeclared civil war raged in Palestine. When the British mandate ended on May 14, 1948, the Jews proclaimed the state of Israel. Arab countries immediately attacked the new state, but Israeli forces drove off the invaders and conquered more territory. Roughly nine hundred thousand Palestinian refugees fled or were expelled from old Palestine. The war left an enormous legacy of Arab bitterness toward Israel and its political allies, Great Britain and the United States. In 1964 a loose union of Palestinian refugee groups opposed to Israel and seeking a Palestinian state joined together, under the leadership of Yasir Arafat (1929–2004), to form the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)**.

Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) Created in 1964, a loose union of Palestinian refugee groups opposed to Israel and united in the goal of establishing a Palestinian state.

Nationalist leaders in neighboring Syria and Egypt cultivated political support at home through opposition to Israel and threats to crush it militarily. This tension repeatedly erupted into war. On June 1, 1967, when Syrian and Egyptian armies massed on Israel’s borders, the Israeli government went to war, launching air strikes that destroyed most of the Egyptian, Syrian, and Jordanian air forces. Over the next five days Israeli armies defeated Egyptian, Syrian, Jordanian, and Palestinian forces and took control of the Sinai Peninsula and the Gaza Strip from Egypt, the West Bank and East Jerusalem from Jordan, and the Golan Heights from Syria. In the Six-Day War (also known as the 1967 Arab-Israeli War), Israel proved itself to be the pre-eminent military force in the region, and it expanded the territory under its control threefold.

After the war Israel began to build large Jewish settlements in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, home to millions of Palestinians. On November 22, 1967, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 242, which contained a “land for peace” formula by which Israel was called upon to withdraw from the occupied territories, and in return the Arab states were to withdraw all claims to Israeli territory, cease hostilities, and recognize the sovereignty of the Israeli state. The tension between rival territorial claims persisted.

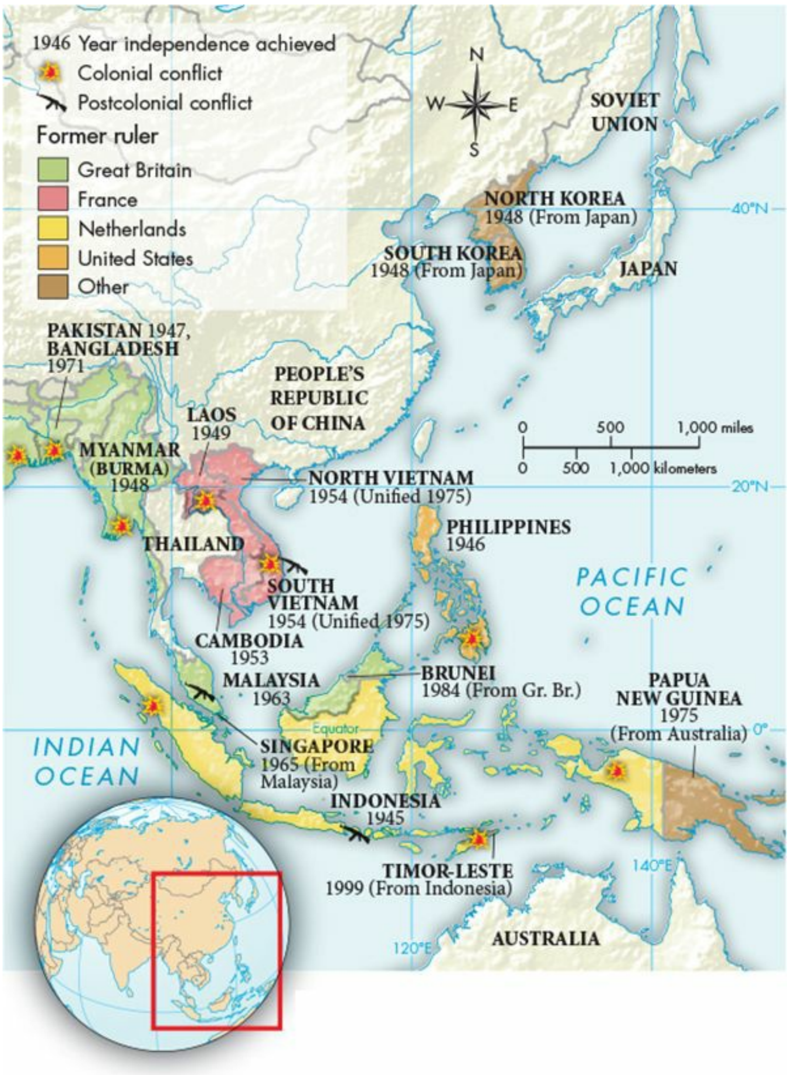
Revolution and Resurgence in East and Southeast Asia

How did the Cold War shape reconstruction, revolution, and decolonization in East and Southeast Asia?

In Asia Japan’s defeat ended the Second World War, but other conflicts continued: nationalists in European colonies intensified their struggle for independence, and in China Nationalist and Communist armies that had cooperated against the Japanese invaders now confronted each other in a renewed civil war. In 1949 Communist forces under Mao Zedong triumphed and established the People’s Republic of China. The Communist victory in China shaped the nature of Japan’s reconstruction, as its U.S. occupiers determined that an industrially and economically strong Japan would serve as a counterweight to Mao. U.S. fear of the spread of communism drew the country into conflicts in Korea and Vietnam, intensifying the stakes in the decolonization struggle across East and Southeast Asia.

The Communist Victory in China

When Japan surrendered to the Allies in August 1945, Communists and Nationalists both rushed to seize evacuated territory. Communists and Nationalists had fought each other before the Second World War, but had put aside their struggle to resist Japanese invasion. With the war over, the Nationalists and Communists resumed their conflict. By 1948 the Nationalist forces had disintegrated before the better-led, more determined Communists. The following year Nationalist leader Jiang Jieshi and 2 million mainland Chinese fled to Taiwan, and in October 1949 Mao Zedong proclaimed the People’s Republic of China (Map 31.4).


1946 Year independence achieved
Colonial conflict
Postcolonial conflict
Former ruler
Great Britain
France
Netherlands
United States
Other
N
W
E
S
SOVIET UNION
NORTH KOREA 1948 (From Japan)
SOUTH KOREA 1948 (From Japan)
JAPAN
40°N
PAKISTAN 1947, BANGLADESH 1971
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA
LAOS 1949
MYANMAR (BURMA) 1948
NORTH VIETNAM 1954 (Unified 1975)
0 500 1,000 miles
0 500 1,000 kilometers
20°N
THAILAND
PHILIPPINES 1946
PACIFIC OCEAN
SOUTH VIETNAM 1954 (Unified 1975)
CAMBODIA 1953
MALAYSIA 1963
BRUNEI 1984 (From Gr. Br.)
PAPUA NEW GUINEA 1975 (From Australia)
0°
Equator
INDIAN OCEAN
SINGAPORE 1965 (From Malaysia)
INDONESIA 1945
140°E
TIMOR-LESTE 1999 (From Indonesia)
120°E
AUSTRALIA

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 31.4 **Decolonization in Asia** After the Second World War, countries colonized by Britain, France, the Netherlands, Japan, Australia, and the United States gained their independence. In cases such as Vietnam and Indonesia, independence came through armed struggles against colonizers who were reluctant to leave.

Communism triumphed in China for many reasons. Mao Zedong and the Communists had avoided pitched battles and concentrated on winning peasant support and forming a broad anti-Japanese coalition. By reducing rents and promising land redistribution, they emerged in peasant eyes as China's true patriots. (See "Analyzing the Evidence: Poster Art in Communist China," at right.)

Between 1949 and 1954 the Communists consolidated their rule. They seized the vast landholdings of a minority of landlords and rich peasants and redistributed the land to 300 million poor peasants. Meanwhile, as Mao admitted in 1957, mass arrests led to the summary execution of eight hundred thousand “class enemies”; the true figure is probably much higher. Millions more were deported to forced-labor camps.

Mao and the party looked to the Soviet Union for inspiration in the early 1950s. China adopted collective agriculture and Soviet-style five-year plans to promote industrialization. The Soviet Union provided considerable economic aid, and Soviet technicians built factories. In the cultural and intellectual realms, too, the Chinese followed the Soviet example. Basic civil and political rights were abolished. Temples and churches were closed. The Chinese enthusiastically promoted Soviet Marxist ideas concerning women and the family. Full equality, work outside the home, and state-supported child care became primary goals.

In 1958 China broke from the Marxist-Leninist course of development and began to go its own way. Mao proclaimed a **Great Leap Forward** in which industrial growth would be based on small-scale backyard workshops and steel mills run by peasants living in gigantic self-contained communes. The plan led to economic disaster, as land in the countryside went untilled when peasants turned to industrial production. As many as 30 million people died in famines that swept the country in 1960–1961. When Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev criticized Chinese policy in 1960, Mao condemned him and his Soviet colleagues as detestable “modern revisionists.” Khrushchev cut off aid, splitting the Communist world apart.

Great Leap Forward Mao Zedong’s acceleration of Chinese development in which industrial growth was to be based on small-scale backyard workshops run by peasants living in gigantic self-contained communes.

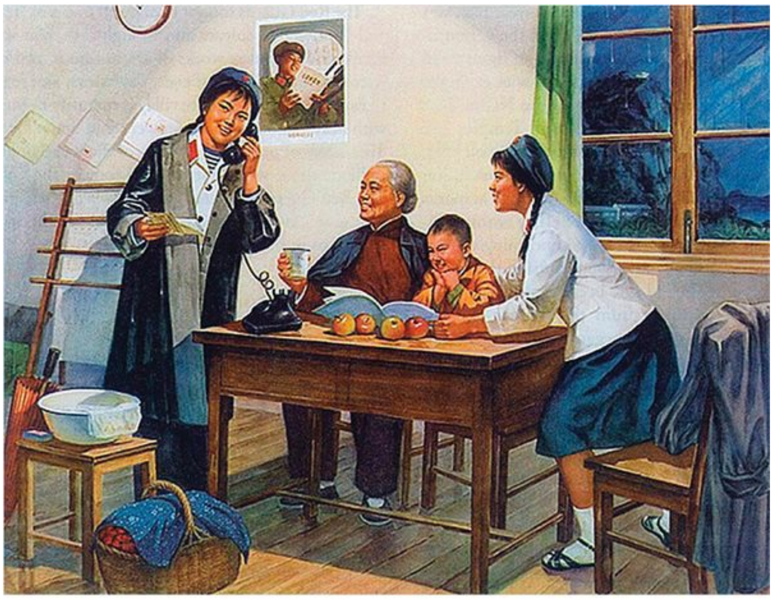
Mao lost influence in the party after the Great Leap Forward fiasco and the Sino-Soviet split, but in 1965 he staged a dramatic comeback, launching the **Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution**. He sought to purge the party and to recapture the revolutionary fervor of the guerrilla struggle. The army and the nation’s young people responded enthusiastically, organizing themselves into radical cadres called Red Guards. Students denounced their teachers and practiced rebellion in the name of revolution. Mao’s thoughts, through his speeches and writings, were collected in the *Little Red Book*, which became scripture to the Red Guards. Here the young Red Guards learned the underlying maxim of Mao’s revolution: “Every communist must grasp the truth, ‘Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.’ ”[6]

Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution A movement launched in 1965 by Mao Zedong that attempted to recapture the revolutionary fervor of his guerrilla struggle.

The Red Guards sought to erase all traces of “feudal” and “bourgeois” culture and thought. Ancient monuments and countless works of art, antiques, and books were destroyed. Party officials, professors, and intellectuals were exiled to remote villages to purify themselves with heavy labor. Universities were shut down for years. Thousands of people died, many of them executed, and millions more were sent to rural forced-labor camps. The Red Guards attracted enormous worldwide attention and served as an extreme model for the student rebellions in the West in the late 1960s.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

Poster Art in Communist China



© Pictures from History/The Image Works

One of the most popular art forms in Communist China was poster art, millions of copies of which were printed to adorn the walls of homes, offices, factories, and businesses. This uniquely Chinese form did not contain abstract, modern, or bourgeois elements and did not reflect classical Chinese art styles. Instead, such posters glorified the state, its leaders, and the heroes of the revolution. The two young women in this poster wear uniforms and caps bearing the Communist red star, the five points of which represent the five components of Communist society: the youth, the army, the peasants, the workers, and the intellectuals.

This poster, called “Lei Feng Is Everywhere,” was part of an early 1960s campaign by China’s People’s Liberation Army. The campaign featured an ordinary soldier, Lei Feng, and celebrated his virtues of selflessness, modesty, and dedication to the Communist Party. Lei Feng appears in the small poster behind the woman on the telephone. By emphasizing the virtues of ordinary people, the campaign modeled behaviors for the public to follow. In this poster of a family, the presence of a poster about Lei Feng was meant to show how these messages are brought into the family’s home. The main poster also shows us images of order and prosperity in family life under the Communist Party.

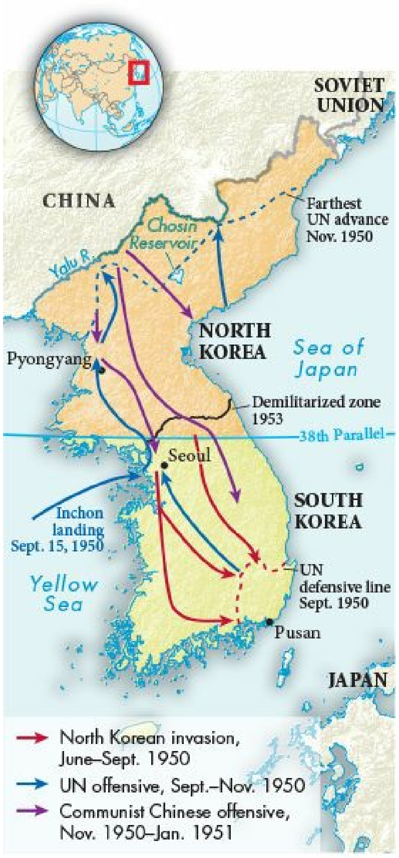
QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Who is depicted, and what are they doing? Describe the space the four figures are in and what appears in the space. What message do you think the artist seeks to convey with this image?
2. What social function or application might posters such as this one have?
3. Consider the people who are represented in the poster. What is the choice of figures intended to show? What roles do women play, based on their dress? And what do you infer from the different ages represented?

Conflict in Korea

As Japanese forces were withdrawn after 1945, Korea was divided into Soviet and American zones of occupation, which in 1948 became Communist North Korea and anticommunist South Korea. When the Communists triumphed in China in late 1949, many fearful Americans saw new evidence of a powerful worldwide Communist conspiracy. When the Russian-backed Communist forces of North Korea invaded South Korea in 1950, President Truman sent U.S. troops to lead a UN coalition force to stop what he interpreted as a coordinated Communist effort to dominate Asia.

The Korean War (1950–1953) ended in a stalemate with little more than symbolic gains for either side. North Korea conquered most of the peninsula, but the South Korean, American, and UN troops repelled their foes north to the Chinese border. At that point China intervened and pushed the South Koreans and Americans back south. In 1953 a fragile truce was negotiated, and the fighting stopped. The United States had extended its policy of containing communism to Asia, but drew back from invading Communist China and possibly provoking nuclear war.


SOVIET UNION
CHINA
Chosin Reservoir
Yalu R.
Farthest UN advance Nov. 1950
NORTH KOREA
Pyongyang
Sea of Japan
Demilitarized zone 1953
38th Parallel
Seoul
Inchon landing Sept. 15, 1950
SOUTH KOREA
Yellow Sea
UN defensive line Sept. 1950
Pusan
JAPAN
North Korean invasion, June–Sept. 1950
UN offensive, Sept.–Nov. 1950
Communist Chinese offensive, Nov. 1950–Jan. 1951

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Japan’s American Reconstruction

When American occupation forces landed in the Tokyo-Yokohama area after Japan’s surrender in August 1945, they found only smokestacks and large steel safes standing amid miles of rubble in what had been the heart of industrial Japan. Japan, like Germany, was formally occupied by all the Allies, but real power resided in American hands. U.S. general Douglas MacArthur exercised almost absolute authority. MacArthur and the Americans had a revolutionary plan for defeated Japan, introducing reforms designed to make Japan a free, democratic society along American lines.

Japan’s sweeping American revolution began with demilitarization and a systematic purge of convicted war criminals and wartime collaborators. The American-dictated constitution of 1946 allowed the emperor to remain the “symbol of the State.” Real power resided in the Japanese Diet, whose members were popularly elected. A bill of rights granted basic civil liberties and freed all political prisoners, including Communists. Article 9 of the new constitution abolished the Japanese armed forces and renounced war. The American occupation left Japan’s powerful bureaucracy largely intact and used it to implement fundamental social and economic reforms. The occupation promoted the Japanese labor movement, introduced American-style antitrust laws, and “emancipated” Japanese women, granting them equality before the law. The occupation also imposed land reform that strengthened the small independent farmers, who became staunch defenders of postwar democracy.

BEARS
BEARS
SAPP

Courtesy CSU Archives/The Everett Collection

Baseball in Japan Though baseball arrived in Japan in the late nineteenth century, it increased in popularity during U.S. occupation. This photo from 1950 shows children in their baseball uniforms, with a U.S. Jeep in the background.

America's efforts to remake Japan in its own image were powerful but short-lived. As Mao's forces prevailed in China, American leaders began to see Japan as a potential ally, not as an object of social reform. The American command began purging leftists and rehabilitating prewar nationalists. The Japanese prime minister during much of the occupation and early post-occupation period was Shigeru Yoshida. A former diplomat with a facility for negotiating with Western nations, Yoshida was the ideal leader in Western eyes for postwar Japan. He channeled all available resources to the rebuilding of Japan's industrial infrastructure, while he left the military defense of the country to the American occupying forces.

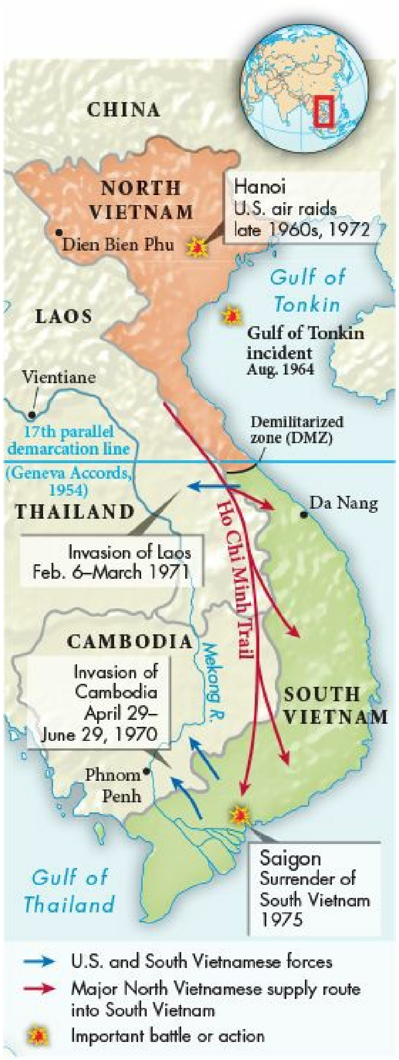
The occupation ended in 1952 with a treaty that restored Japan's independence and a role for Japan as the chief Asian ally of the United States in its efforts to contain the spread of communism. Japan's industry provided matériel used by the U.S. armed forces in Korea and Vietnam, and a Security Treaty provided territory for U.S. military installations, particularly the island of Okinawa.

The Vietnam War

French Indochina experienced the bitterest struggle for independence in Southeast Asia. With financial backing from the United States, France tried to reimpose imperial rule there after the Communist and nationalist guerrilla leader Ho Chi Minh (1890–1969) declared an independent republic in 1945. French forces were decisively defeated in the 1954 Battle of Dien Bien Phu. At an international peace conference later that year, French Indochina gained independence. Laos and Cambodia became separate states, and Vietnam was temporarily divided into separately governed northern and southern regions pending elections to select a single unified government within two years. The South Vietnamese government refused to hold the elections, and civil war between it and the Communist Democratic Republic of Vietnam, or North Vietnam, broke out in 1959.

Cold War fears and U.S. commitment to the ideology of containment drove the United States to get involved in Vietnam. The administration of President Dwight D. Eisenhower (elected in 1952) refused to sign the Geneva Accords that temporarily divided the country, and provided military aid to help the south resist North Vietnam. Eisenhower's successor, John F. Kennedy, increased the number of American "military advisers."

In 1964 U.S. president Lyndon Johnson greatly expanded America's role in the Vietnam conflict, seeking to "escalate" the war sufficiently to break the will of the North Vietnamese and their southern allies without resorting to "overkill," which might risk war with the entire Communist bloc. South Vietnam received massive U.S. military aid, and large numbers of American forces joined in combat. The United States bombed North Vietnam with ever-greater intensity, but it did not invade North Vietnam or launch a naval blockade of its ports.


CHINA
NORTH VIETNAM
Hanoi
U.S. air raids late 1960s, 1972
Dien Bien Phu
Gulf of Tonkin
LAOS
Gulf of Tonkin incident Aug. 1964
Vientiane
17th parallel demarcation line (Geneva Accords, 1954)
Demilitarized zone (DMZ)
THAILAND
Da Nang
Invasion of Laos Feb. 6–March 1971
Ho Chi Minh Trail
CAMBODIA
Mekong R.
Invasion of Cambodia April 29–June 29, 1970
SOUTH VIETNAM
Phnom Penh
Gulf of Thailand
Saigon Surrender of South Vietnam 1975
U.S. and South Vietnamese forces
Major North Vietnamese supply route into South Vietnam
Important battle or action

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

The Vietnam War

Most Americans first saw the war as a legitimate defense against communism, but the combined effect of watching the results of the violent conflict on the nightly television news and experiencing the widening military draft spurred a growing antiwar movement on U.S. college campuses. By the late 1960s growing numbers of critics in the U.S. and around the world denounced American involvement in the conflict. The north's Tet Offensive in January 1968, a major attack on South Vietnamese cities, shook Americans' confidence in their government's ability to manage the conflict. Within months President Johnson announced he would not stand for re-election, and he called for negotiations with North Vietnam. (See "Thinking Like a Historian: Global Perspectives on the Vietnam War," page 936.)

Elected in 1968, President Richard Nixon sought to disengage America from Vietnam. He intensified the bombardment of the enemy while simultaneously pursuing peace talks with the North Vietnamese. He also began a slow process of withdrawal from Vietnam in a process called “Vietnamization,” which transferred the burden of the war to the South Vietnamese army, cutting American forces from 550,000 to 24,000 in four years. Nixon finally reached a peace agreement with North Vietnam in 1973 that allowed the remaining American forces to withdraw by 1975.

Despite U.S. efforts, the Communists proved victorious in 1975 and created a unified Marxist Vietnam. After more than thirty-five years of battle, the Communists turned to a nation-building process that had been delayed by decades of war against colonial rule and the U.S. effort to force a political and economic model on the country as part of its doctrine of containment of communism. Millions of Vietnamese civilians faced reprisals for aligning with the United States, including Hmong (ha-MUHNG) and Degar peoples, such as the Mnong (MUH-nong), and other ethnic minorities. They first fled to refugee camps elsewhere in Southeast Asia and later settled as refugees in the United States. (See “Individuals in Society: Sieng, a Mnong Refugee in an American High School” in Chapter 33.)

THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN

Global Perspectives on the Vietnam War

The war between North and South Vietnam was both a local and a global struggle. The Vietnam War followed the Vietnamese fight for independence from France. It saw combat involving forces from the United States, South Korea, Australia, and New Zealand pitted against North Vietnam, which received aid from China and the Soviet Union. The conflict spurred antiwar movements around the world that melded with other struggles against imperialism or racism, or for the rights of women and minorities.

1 **Ho Chi Minh, Declaration of Independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, 1945.** In 1945, after decades of French colonialism and Japanese occupation, Ho, a Marxist revolutionary and North Vietnam’s prime minister, read Vietnam’s Declaration of Independence to a Hanoi audience. Ho’s declaration places the independence of Vietnam in the context of a global history of self-determination of peoples.

■ All men are created equal. They are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness. This immortal statement was made in the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America in 1776. In a broader sense, this means: All the peoples on the earth are equal from birth, all the peoples have a right to live, to be happy and free.

The Declaration of the French Revolution made in 1791 on the Rights of Man and the Citizen also states: “All men are born free and with equal rights and must always remain free and have equal rights.” Those are undeniable truths.

Nevertheless, for more than eighty years, the French imperialists, abusing the standard of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, have violated our Fatherland and oppressed our fellow-citizens. . . .

A people who have courageously opposed French domination for more than eighty years, a people who have fought side by side with the Allies against the Fascists during these last years, such a people must be free and independent. For these reasons, we . . . solemnly declare to the world that Vietnam has the right to be a free and independent country.

2 **Protesters in Japan, 1971.** Members of the Anti-Imperial Student Council participate in an anti–Vietnam War demonstration in Tokyo, in which activists combined protests against the U.S. role in Vietnam, opposition to the U.S. Security Treaty, and demands for university reforms.

Interfoto/akg-images

3 **Lyndon Johnson, address to Congress regarding the Tonkin Gulf Resolution, 1964.** President Lyndon Johnson’s request to Congress brought the deployment of U.S. troops in Vietnam. Over the following decade, the deployment of over five hundred thousand troops would not be enough for the United States to prevail militarily.

■ Our policy in southeast Asia has been consistent and unchanged since 1954. [It has] four simple propositions:

1. *America keeps her word*. Here as elsewhere, we must and shall honor our commitments.
2. *The issue is the future of southeast Asia as a whole.* A threat to any nation in that region is a threat to all, and a threat to us.
3. *Our purpose is peace.* We have no military, political, or territorial ambitions in the area.
4. *This is not just a jungle war, but a struggle for freedom on every front of human activity*.

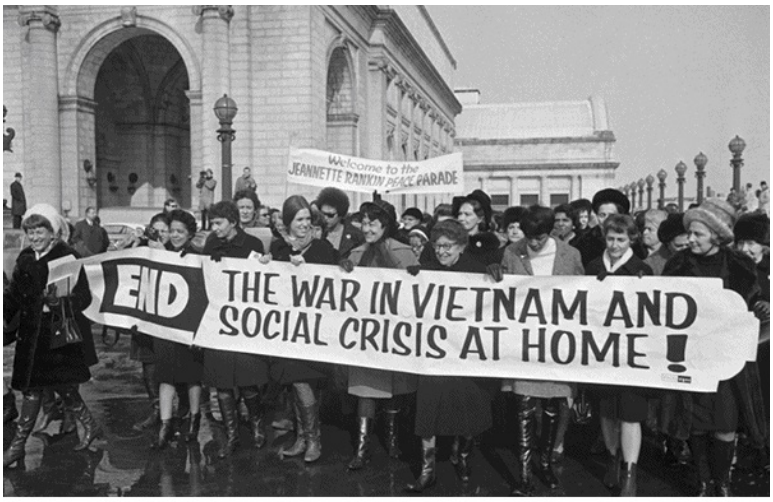
. . . As President of the United States I . . . now ask the Congress, to join in affirming the national determination . . . that the United States will continue in its basic policy of assisting the free nations of the area to defend their freedom.

Oda Makoto on opposition in Japan to the U.S. conflict in Vietnam, 1967. The

4 movement in Japan against the Vietnam War gave voice to the generation that reached adulthood after the Second World War. Opposition to the war created a space to question broader aspects of postwar Japan, such as the agreement that granted military bases to the United States as well as the profits Japanese companies garnered from supplying the U.S. armed forces. Antiwar movement leader Oda Makoto draws the connections between the war and Japanese society.

■ Realistically speaking, we are all guilty of complicity in the Vietnam War. We must recognize that each of us is among the perpetrators. In my opinion, this is why we must conduct our opposition movement all the more forcefully. But to put it less practically and more in terms of basic principles, if we don’t take a clear position against the war and seek peace here and now, perhaps the hand [holding the gun] will be ours one day. To the extent that we don’t firmly nail down our basic principles as individuals, perhaps we will have to fire the bullet on orders from the state.

5 **Jeannette Rankin Brigade march in Washington, 1968.** In the United States the antiwar movement converged with other struggles such as the African American, American Indian, and Latino civil rights movements, as well as the movement for women’s rights. The Jeannette Rankin Brigade brought together several antiwar groups formed by women, whose activism extended from opposition to the war to support for women’s rights. The brigade took the name of the first woman elected to Congress, in 1916, a lifelong pacifist. Jeannette Rankin, age eighty-seven, holds the banner in the center.


Welcome to the JEANNETTE RANKIN PEACE PARADE
END THE WAR IN VIETNAM AND SOCIAL CRISIS AT HOME!

Bettmann/Getty Images

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. Explain the rationale for Vietnam’s independence offered by Ho Chi Minh in Source 1. What kinds of global connections does he make, and how do these support his argument?
2. What were the basic propositions underlying American policy in Southeast Asia according to Lyndon Johnson in Source 3?
3. How did Ho, Johnson, and Oda, like the protesters pictured in Sources 2 and 5, connect their stances to broader historic and contemporary struggles?

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

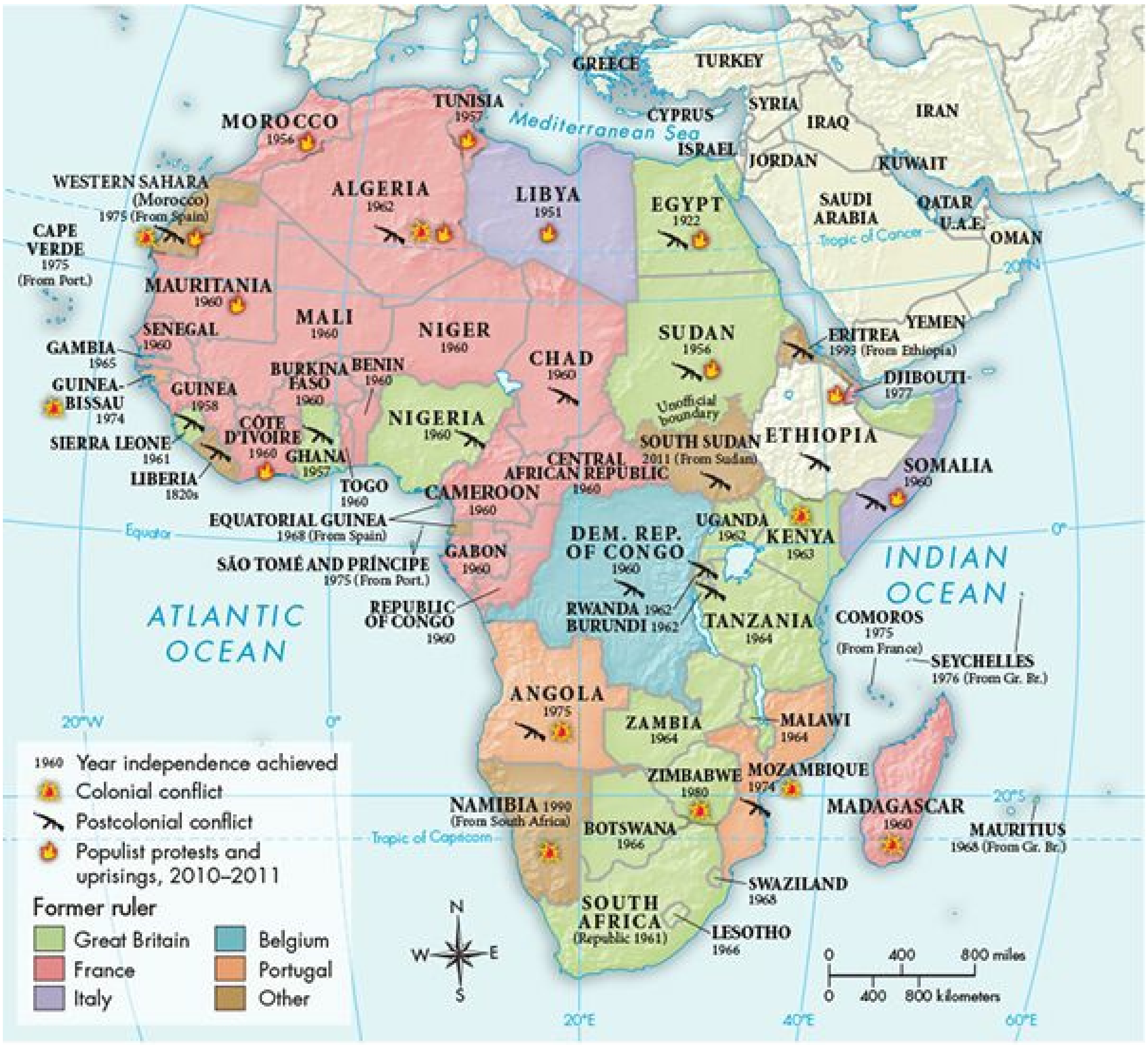
Using the sources above, along with what you have learned in class and in this chapter, write a short essay on how Ho Chi Minh’s arguments for independence from France and Lyndon Johnson’s rationale for military intervention in Vietnam relate to opposition to Japan’s support for U.S. military involvement, such as that expressed by Oda Makoto.

Sources: (1) Ho Chi Minh, *Selected Works*, vol. 3 (Hanoi, 1960–1962), pp. 17–21; (3) Lyndon B. Johnson, “Special Message to the Congress on U.S. Policy in Southeast Asia, August 5, 1964,” in *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Lyndon B. Johnson, 1963–1964*. Vol. 2: *July 1 to December 31, 1964* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1965), pp. 930–932; (4) Quoted in Thomas Havens, *Fire Across the Sea: The Vietnam War and Japan, 1965–1975* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987), p. 120.

Decolonization in Africa

What factors influenced decolonization in Africa after World War II?

By 1964 most of Africa had gained independence (Map 31.5). Only Portugal’s colonies and southern Africa remained under white minority rule, gaining their independence after long armed struggles that ended in 1975. Many national leaders saw socialism as the best way to sever colonial ties and erase exploitation within their new borders. But institutional barriers left over from the colonial era hampered these efforts: new nations inherited inefficient colonial bureaucracies, economic systems that privileged the export of commodities, and colonial educational systems intended to build servants of empire. The range of actions available to new leaders was narrowed by former colonizers’ efforts to retain their economic influence and by the political and ideological divisions of the Cold War.


GREECE
TURKEY
TUNISIA 1957
CYPRUS
SYRIA
IRAQ
IRAN
Mediterranean Sea
ISRAEL
JORDAN
KUWAIT
MOROCCO 1956
WESTERN SAHARA (Morocco) 1975 (From Spain)
ALGERIA 1962
LIBYA 1951
EGYPT 1922
SAUDI ARABIA
QATAR
U.A.E.
OMAN
Tropic of Cancer
20°N
CAPE VERDE 1975 (From Port.)
MAURITANIA 1960
MALI 1960
NIGER 1960
SUDAN 1956
YEMEN
ERITREA 1993 (From Ethiopia)
SENEGAL 1960
GAMBIA 1965
CHAD 1960
DJIBOUTI 1977
GUINEA-BISSAU 1974
GUINEA 1958
BURKINA FASO 1960
BENIN 1960
Unofficial boundary
NIGERIA 1960
SIERRA LEONE 1961
CÔTE D'IVOIRE 1960
GHANA 1957
SOUTH SUDAN 2011 (From Sudan)
ETHIOPIA
LIBERIA 1820s
TOGO 1960
CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC 1960
SOMALIA 1960
CAMEROON 1960
EQUATORIAL GUINEA 1968 (From Spain)
Equator
UGANDA 1962
KENYA 1963
0°
DEM. REP. OF CONGO 1960
SÃO TOMÉ AND PRÍNCIPE 1975 (From Port.)
GABON 1960
INDIAN OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
REPUBLIC OF CONGO 1960
RWANDA 1962
BURUNDI 1962
TANZANIA 1964
COMOROS 1975 (From France)
SEYCHELLES 1976 (From Gr. Br.)
ANGOLA 1975
20°W
0°
ZAMBIA 1964
MALAWI 1964
ZIMBABWE 1980
MOZAMBIQUE 1974
MADAGASCAR 1960
20°S
NAMIBIA 1990 (From South Africa)
Tropic of Capricorn
BOTSWANA 1966
MAURITIUS 1968 (From Gr. Br.)
SWAZILAND 1968
SOUTH AFRICA (Republic 1961)
LESOTHO 1966
N
W
E
S
0 400 800 miles
0 400 800 kilometers
20°E
40°E
60°E
1960 Year independence achieved
Colonial conflict
Postcolonial conflict
Populist protests and uprisings, 2010–2011
Former ruler
Great Britain
France
Italy
Belgium
Portugal
Other

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Mapping the Past

MAP 31.5 Decolonization in Africa, 1947 to the Present Most African territories achieved statehood by the mid-1960s, as European empires passed away, unlamented.

ANALYZING THE MAP How many African states achieved independence after 1945? How many experienced some sort of postcolonial conflict?

CONNECTIONS How did the imperialist legacy serve to complicate the transition to stable, independent nations in Africa, Asia, and Latin America?

The Growth of African Nationalism

African nationalism resembled similar movements in Asia and the Middle East in its reaction against colonialism, but there were important differences. First, because the imperial system and Western education did not solidify in Africa until after 1900 (see "Colonialism's Impact After 1900" in Chapter 25), national movements came of age in the 1920s and reached maturity after 1945. Second, Africa's multiplicity of ethnic groups, coupled with colonial boundaries that often bore no resemblance to existing ethnic geography, greatly complicated the development of political — as distinct from cultural — nationalism. Was a modern national state based on ethnic or clan loyalties? Was it to be a continent-wide union? Would the multiethnic territories carved out by European empires become the new African nations? Such questions were not fully addressed until after 1945. (See "Analyzing the Evidence: C. L. R. James on Pan-African Liberation," page 941.)

The first nationalist impetus came from the United States and the Caribbean. The most renowned participant in this "black nationalism" was W. E. B. Du Bois (1868–1963). Du Bois (doo-BOISS) was a cofounder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in the United States and organized Pan-African congresses in Paris during the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 and in Brussels in 1921. **Pan-Africanists** sought black solidarity and a self-governing union of all African peoples. Jamaican-born Marcus Garvey (1887–1940) was the most influential Pan-Africanist, rallying young, educated Africans to his call of "Africa for the Africans."

Pan-Africanists People who, through a movement beginning in 1919, sought black solidarity and envisioned a vast self-governing union of all African peoples.

In the 1920s a surge of anticolonial nationalism swept educated Africans in French and British colonies. African intellectuals in Europe formulated and articulated *négritude*, or blackness: pride, self-confidence, and joy in black creativity and the black spirit. This westernized African elite pressed for better access to government jobs, steps toward self-government, and an end to discrimination. They claimed the right to speak for ordinary Africans and denounced government-supported chiefs for subordinating themselves to white colonial leaders.

The mass protests that accompanied the deprivations of the Great Depression, in particular the **cocoa holdups** of 1930–1931 and 1937–1938, fueled the new nationalism. Cocoa dominated the British colonial economy in the Gold Coast (which became Ghana). As prices plummeted after 1929, cocoa farmers refused to sell their beans to the British firms that fixed prices and monopolized exports. Farmers organized cooperatives to cut back production and sell their crops directly to European and

American chocolate manufacturers. The cocoa holdups mobilized the population against the foreign companies and demonstrated the power of mass organization and protest.

cocoa holdups Mass protests in Africa's Gold Coast in the 1930s by producers of cocoa who refused to sell their beans to British firms and instead sold them directly to European and American chocolate manufacturers.

The repercussions of the Second World War in Africa greatly accelerated the changes begun in the 1930s. Many African soldiers who served in India had been powerfully impressed by Indian nationalism. As African mines and plantations strained to meet wartime demands, towns mushroomed into cities, which became centers of discontent and hardship.

Western imperialism also changed. The principle of self-government was written into the United Nations charter and was supported by Great Britain's postwar Labour government. Thus the key question for Great Britain's various African colonies became the terms of self-government. Britiain and France were in no rush. But a new type of African leader was emerging. Impatient and insistent, these spokesmen for modern African nationalism were remarkably successful. These postwar African leaders formed an elite by virtue of their advanced European or American education, and they were influenced by Western thought. But compared with the interwar generation of educated Africans, they were more radical and had humbler social origins. Among them were former schoolteachers, union leaders, government clerks, lawyers, and poets.

Postwar African nationalists pragmatically accepted prevailing colonial boundaries to avoid border disputes and achieve freedom as soon as possible. Sensing a loss of power, traditional rulers sometimes became the new leaders' worst political enemies. Skillfully, the new leaders channeled postwar hope and discontent into support for mass political organizations that offset this traditional authority. These organizations staged gigantic protests and became political parties.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

C. L. R. James on Pan-African Liberation

Trinidadian historian Cyril Lionel Robert James (1901–1989) was one of the most influential intellectual advocates of Pan-Africanism as a solution for colonialism and racial discrimination. In 1938 he published a moving, powerful, and meticulously documented history of the Haitian Revolution, *The Black Jacobins*, to present a history of successful black resistance to white domination that could inspire others. His aim was to demonstrate to his contemporary brethren that they stood atop a proud tradition of resistance as they fought for decolonization in the twentieth century. In 1969 James published *A History of Pan-African Revolt*, a revised edition of his 1938 *History of Negro Revolt*, to engage with the black freedom struggles reshaping Africa and the Americas. In the 1969 edition of *A History of Pan-African Revolt*, James reflected on the significance of black liberation movements and civil rights movements around the world.

Africa

The dozen years that have unfolded since the winning of independence by the Gold Coast in 1957 are some of the most far-ranging and politically intense that history has known. African state after African state has gained political independence in a tumultuous rush that was not envisaged by even the most sanguine of the early advocates of independence. . . . What is to be noted is that Kenyatta, Nkrumah, Banda, to take the best-known names, were all imprisoned by the British Government and *had to be released to head the independent states*. The British Government, as did the French and the Belgian, found that despite their soldiers, their guns and planes, they could not rule. The colonial mentality having been broken, the only way to restore some sort of order . . . was to transfer the man in jail to be the head of state. In no other way could the African people once more accommodate themselves to any social structure.

They accepted the African leader and his African colleagues. But that is precisely why in African state after African state, with almost the rapidity with which independence was gained, military dictatorship after military dictatorship has succeeded to power. . . . What are the reasons for this rapid decay and decline of African nationalism? . . .

The states which the African nationalist leaders inherited were not in any sense African. With the disintegration of the political power of the imperialist states in Africa, and the rise of militancy of the African masses, a certain political pattern took shape. Nationalist political leaders built a following, they or their opponents gained support among the African civil servants who had administered the imperialist state, and the newly independent African state was little more than the old imperialist state only now administered and controlled by Black nationalists. That these men, western-educated and western-oriented, had or would have little that was nationalist or African to contribute to the establishment of a truly new and truly African order was seen most clearly by the late Frantz Fanon. . . .

The United States

Summer after summer has seen tremendous struggles by the Black masses, led by unknown, obscure, local leaders. Perhaps the most significant was that which followed the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, the world-famous Black leader. The American government placed a cordon of troops around the White House and government buildings and areas in Washington. They then abandoned the city, the capital of the United States, to the embittered and insurgent Blacks, who constitute a majority of the Washington population. The question to be asked: what else could the government have done?

One can only record the question most often and most seriously asked: can any government mobilize the white population, or a great majority of it, in defence of white racism against militant Blacks? The only legitimate answer lies in the continuing militancy or retreat of the Black population. This population is at least 30 million in number, strategically situated in the heart of many of the most important cities in the United States. If the Black population continues to resist racism, the militants and youth actively and the middle classes sympathetic or neutral, then the physical defeat of the Black struggle against racism will involve the destruction of the United States as it has held together since 1776.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. How does James explain the rise of military dictators in Africa?
2. How does James equate the struggles in Africa and the United States?
3. What does James mean when he says that a defeat in the civil rights struggle would mean the destruction of the United States?

Source: C. L. R. James, *A History of Pan-African Revolt* (1969; repr. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr, 2005), pp. 127–129, 135–136. Used by permission of PM Press, Inc.

Ghana Shows the Way

The most charismatic of this generation of African leaders was Kwame Nkrumah (KWA-may ihn-CROO-mah) (1909–1972). Nkrumah spent ten years studying in the United States, where he was influenced by European socialists and Marcus Garvey. He returned to the Gold Coast after the Second World War and entered politics. Under his leadership the Gold Coast — which he renamed “Ghana” — became the first sub-Saharan state to emerge from colonialism.

Keystone-France/Gamma-Rapho via Getty Images

Kwame Nkrumah Visits China Ghana’s first prime minister, Kwame Nkrumah, faced challenges similar to those confronted by other leaders of newly independent African nations, which included building new nation-states, emerging from the structures of colonialism, and navigating the pressures of the Cold War. The experiences of other societies that underwent revolution or liberation offered a guide. Nkrumah, accompanied here by Chinese premier Zhou Enlai, visited China in 1961 to study its economic system.

Nkrumah built a radical party that appealed particularly to modern groups such as veterans, merchant women, union members, and cocoa farmers. He and his party injected the enthusiasm of religious revivals into their rallies and propaganda as they called for “Self-Government Now.” Rejecting halfway measures, Nkrumah and his Convention People’s Party staged strikes and riots.

After he was arrested in 1950, the “Deliverer of Ghana” campaigned from jail and saw his party win a smashing victory in the 1951 national elections. He was released from prison to head the transitional government. By 1957 now Prime Minister Nkrumah had achieved worldwide fame and influence as Ghana became independent. After Ghana's breakthrough, independence for other African colonies followed. The main problem in some colonies was the permanent white settlers, not the colonial officials: wherever white settlers were numerous, as in Algeria, Kenya, and Rhodesia, they fought to preserve their privileged position.

French-Speaking Regions

Decolonization took a different course in French-speaking Africa. The events in the French North African colony of Algeria in the 1950s and early 1960s help clarify France's attitude toward its sub-Saharan African colonies.

France attempted to retain Algeria, home to a large, mostly Catholic, European settler population, known as the pieds-noirs (black feet) because its members wore black shoes instead of sandals. In 1954 Algeria's anticolonial movement, the **National Liberation Front** (FLN), began a war for independence, which the French colonial police and armed forces bitterly contested, leaving over 500,000 Algerians dead and millions more displaced. After the FLN won and created an independent Algerian state in 1962, an estimated 900,000 of the 1.25 million Europeans and indigenous Jews fled.

National Liberation Front The anticolonial movement in Algeria, which began a war against the French in 1954 and won independence in 1962.

The war in Algeria and Indochina's military victory divided France and undermined its political stability. As a result, it was difficult for France to respond to nationalists in its other African colonies until Charles de Gaulle returned to power in 1958. Seeking to maximize France's influence over the future independent nations, de Gaulle devised a divide-and-rule strategy. He divided the French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa federations into thirteen separate governments, thus creating a "French commonwealth." Plebiscites were called in each territory to ratify the new arrangement. An affirmative vote meant continued ties with France; a negative vote signified immediate independence and a complete break with France.

De Gaulle's gamble was shrewd. The educated black elite — as personified by the influential poet-politician Léopold Sédar Senghor

(LAY-o-pold SAY-dar SEHN-gohr) (1906–2001), who led Senegal’s government — identified with France and dreaded an abrupt separation. They also wanted French aid to continue. France, in keeping with its ideology of assimilation, had given the vote to the educated colonial elite after the Second World War, and about forty Africans held French parliamentary seats after 1946. These factors moderated French African leaders’ pursuit of independence.

In Guinea, however, a young nationalist named Sékou Touré (SAY-koo too-RAY) (1922–1984) led his people to overwhelmingly reject the new constitution in 1958. Inspired by Ghana’s Nkrumah, Touré laid it out to de Gaulle face-to-face: “We have one prime and essential need: our dignity. But there is no dignity without freedom. . . . We prefer freedom in poverty to opulence in slavery.”[7]

Weaker European nations such as Belgium and Portugal responded to decolonization in ways that were more destabilizing. Portugal’s dictatorship fought to keep its colonies, such as Angola and Mozambique. To ensure this, the Portuguese regime intensified white settlement and repression of nationalist groups. Belgium, which had discouraged the development of an educated elite in the Congo, abruptly granted independence in 1959, leaving in place a weak government. Independence resulted in violent ethnic conflict and foreign intervention. The United States backed a dictatorship by Mobutu Sese Seko (Muh-BOO-too SEH-seh SEH-koh), who renamed the country Zaire. Poverty deepened as the tremendous wealth generated from mining went into the hands of foreign companies and Mobutu’s family and cronies.

Populist and Revolutionary Pathways in Latin America

Why did populism emerge as such a powerful political force in Latin America?

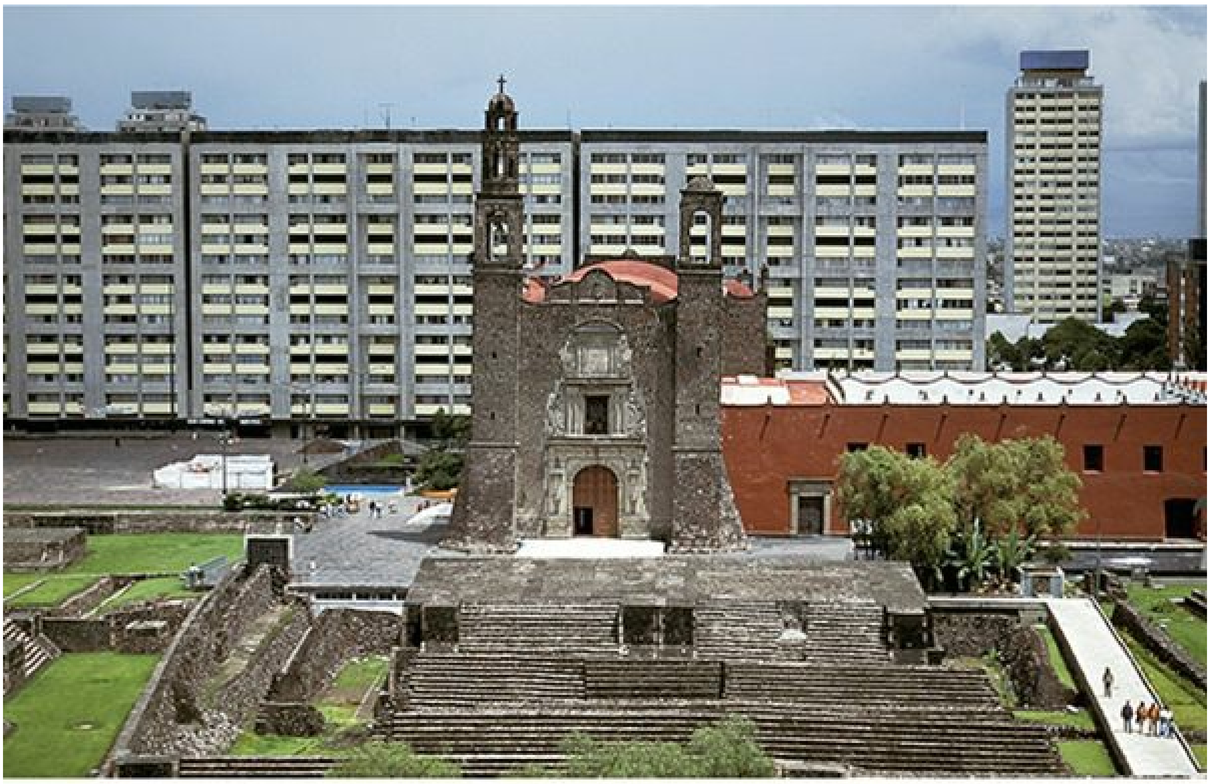
In the decades after the Second World War, Latin American nations struggled to find a political balance that integrated long-excluded groups such as women, workers, and peasants. Populist politicians built a base of support among the urban and rural poor. They often combined charisma with promises of social change, particularly through national economic development that would create more and better job opportunities. In many cases, the conservative reaction against populists led the armed forces to seize power. Revolutionary leader Fidel Castro carved an alternative path in Cuba. Castro went beyond the reforms advocated by populists and sought an outright revolutionary transformation of Cuban society.

Economic Nationalism in Mexico

In the decades following the Mexican Revolution, a durable political and economic formula emerged under the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), which dominated public life while adhering to the social goals demanded by the movements that had fought in the revolution, especially the redistribution of land. By the end of the Second World War, Mexico had embraced economic nationalism — the effort to promote economic development through substitution of imports with domestic manufacturing and through state control of key industries like the oil sector.

As before the revolution, Mexicans faced a curtailed democracy, though in this case the government was controlled by a single party rather than a single individual. The PRI came to control elected office at every level, as well as networks of patronage. The party was also an omnipresent intermediary between business and labor. Mexico’s economy also grew consistently through the 1970s, in what was termed an “economic miracle.” This was a time of rapid urbanization, with people leaving rural areas for jobs in factories or for lower-paying service jobs, such as maids and janitors. The embrace of economic nationalism softened some of the edges of economic change that Mexicans had experienced in the liberal era, but social inequities remained. The upper and middle classes reaped the lion’s share of the benefits of this economic growth.

A housing and civic complex in the Tlatelolco (tlah-tehl-OL-koh) district of Mexico City symbolized both the promise of the Mexican economic miracle and also the limits to democracy in Mexico. In the 1960s the Mexican government built dozens of modernist apartment buildings and government ministries. Their centerpiece was the Plaza of the Three Cultures, which contained ruins from the Aztec Empire, a colonial Spanish church, and the contemporary nation reflected in modernist architecture. It was in Tlatelolco where government forces silenced political dissent in advance of the 1968 Olympics by opening fire on a student march.



© Macduff Everton/The Image Works

The Plaza of the Three Cultures in Tlatelolco, Mexico City Modern apartment buildings rise behind Aztec ruins and a Spanish church built in 1536. Mexican authorities massacred student protesters at this plaza to suppress unrest before the 1968 Summer Olympics in the city.

Populism in Argentina and Brazil

Argentina and Brazil’s postwar economic development was shaped by populist politicians who championed economic nationalism. These politicians sought support from millions of people who gained the right to vote for the first time as universal suffrage spread through Latin America. Universal male suffrage was achieved in Argentina in 1912 and in Mexico in 1917. Women gained the right to vote across Latin America in the decades that followed, beginning with Ecuador in 1929 and Brazil in 1932. In most cases voters still needed to be literate to vote. To appeal to these millions of new voters, populist candidates promised schools and hospitals, higher wages, and nationalist projects that would create more industrial jobs.

At the turn of the century Argentina’s economy prospered through its liberal export boom (see “Latin America Re-enters the World Economy” in Chapter 27), but industrialization followed only haltingly and the economy faltered. Populist Juan Perón, an army colonel, was elected president in 1946 with the support of Argentina’s unions. Juan Perón was charismatic, but his wife, Eva, known as Evita, was even more so, and played a vital role in promoting Perón. Once in power, Perón embarked on an ambitious scheme to transform Argentina’s economy: The government would purchase all the country’s agricultural exports in order to negotiate their sale abroad at a higher price. Perón would then reinvest the profits in industry and raise worker wages to stimulate demand.

Perón’s scheme worked in the immediate postwar period, when European agricultural production had not yet recovered from the war. But as commodity prices declined, Perón reduced government payments to farmers, who ceased to bring their harvests to market. In the coming decades Argentina never returned to the high rates of economic growth it had enjoyed at the beginning of the century. Many blamed Perón for distorting the economy for his own political gain. Others saw Perón’s efforts as halting a worse decline: Argentina’s economy had long been dependent on Britain, and as Britain’s capacity to import declined, so did Argentina’s fortunes.

Despite these economic setbacks, Perón initially remained highly popular, buoyed by the public appeals made by Evita. (See “Individuals in Society: Eva Perón,” above.) After Evita died of cancer in 1952, much of the magic slipped away. Amid the stagnating economy even Perón’s union supporters faltered, and he responded harshly to press criticism. In 1955 the armed forces deposed and exiled Perón. The military ruled Argentina for the next three years, conducting a process of “de-Perónization.” It banned Perón’s party and even forbade mention of his name. But Perón remained the most popular politician in the country. Presidential candidates could not win without discreetly winning the exiled Perón’s endorsement, and this veiled support for Perón by civilian leaders prompted repeated military interventions in politics.

In Brazil, reacting against the economic and political liberalism through which coffee planters dominated the country, the armed forces installed Getúlio Vargas as president in 1930. Vargas initiated democratic reforms but veered into a nationalist dictatorship known as the “New State” (1937–1945), inspired by European fascism. Despite his harsh treatment of opponents, he was popular with workers and was elected in 1950 to a new term as president, now reinvented as a populist who promised nationalist economic reforms. The armed forces and conservatives mistrusted Vargas's appeals to workers and organized to depose him in 1954. Before they could act, Vargas killed himself.

The Vargas era saw rapid industrialization, the legalization of labor unions, and the creation of a minimum wage. Juscelino Kubitschek, elected in 1955, continued to build upon Vargas's populism and nationalism. Between 1956 and 1960 Kubitschek's government borrowed heavily from abroad to promote industry and build the futuristic new capital of Brasília in the midst of a wilderness. Kubitschek's slogan was "Fifty Years' Progress in Five."

© Rene Burri/Magnum Photos

Building a Modern Capital Architect Oscar Niemeyer at the site of the construction of the futuristic National Congress building in Brazil's new planned capital, Brasília, in 1960.

In 1961 leftist populist João Goulart became Brazil's president. Goulart sought deeper reforms, including the redistribution of land and limits on the profits multinational corporations could take out of the country. In 1964 the armed forces, backed by the United States, deposed Goulart and held on to power for the next twenty-one years.

INDIVIDUALS IN SOCIETY

Eva Perón

Archivo Clarin/AP Photo/AP Images

Eva Perón waves to supporters from the balcony of the presidential palace, Casa Rosada, in Buenos Aires, on October 17, 1951.

OFTEN CALLED EVITA (THE SPANISH diminutive of Eva), Eva Duarte de Perón (1919–1952) was one of five children born outside of marriage to Juan Duarte and Juana Ibarguren, near Buenos Aires. Duarte returned to his legitimate wife and children when Eva was a year old, leaving Juana and her children destitute and dependent on Juana's sewing for their existence. As they grew older, all the children had to work.

At fifteen Eva Duarte moved to the cosmopolitan city of Buenos Aires. Although she had little formal education and no connections, she possessed beauty and charisma, and soon she joined a professional theater group. She also modeled, appeared in a few movies, and acted in a radio series. By 1943, although only twenty-three years old, she was one of the highest-paid actresses in the country.

In 1943 Eva met widowed Colonel Juan Perón, then secretary of labor and social welfare in the military government that had seized power that year. Juan Perón had grand ambitions, intending to run for president. Eva Duarte became his partner and confidante, and she won him support among the Argentine masses. In 1945 Juan Perón and Eva Duarte married.

A year later Perón won the presidency. Eva had campaigned for her husband and had organized support from *los descamisados* (the shirtless ones), her name for Argentina’s poor. When Perón assumed the presidency, Eva, though not officially appointed, became the secretary of labor. Having come from a childhood of poverty herself, she now worked tirelessly for the poor, for the working classes, and with organized labor. She instituted a number of social welfare measures and promoted a new Ministry of Health, which resulted in the creation of new hospitals and disease-treatment programs. In 1948 she established the Eva Perón Welfare Foundation, which grew into an immense semiofficial welfare agency, helping the poor throughout Argentina.

From early on, Eva Perón had supported women’s suffrage, and in September 1947 Argentine women won the right to vote. Eva then formed the Female Perónist Party, which by 1951 had five hundred thousand members. In 1951 she seemed ready to run for vice president beside her husband. Her declining health, however, forced her to turn down the nomination. Juan Perón won the election by over 30 percent, but when Eva died the following year, his authoritarian rule and bad economic policies lost him support, and a military junta forced him into exile.

Eva Perón’s life story is an amazing one, but what happened following her death is just as extraordinary. Before the massive monument intended to hold her embalmed body could be built, the military seized power and her body disappeared. Seventeen years later the generals finally revealed that it was in a tomb in Milan, Italy. Juan Perón, living in Spain with his third wife, had the body exhumed and brought to Spain, where he kept it in his house. Perón returned to Argentina in 1973 and won the presidential election, but died the following year. His wife, Isabelita Perón, succeeded him as president. Juan and Eva’s bodies were briefly displayed together at his funeral and then, finally, buried.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

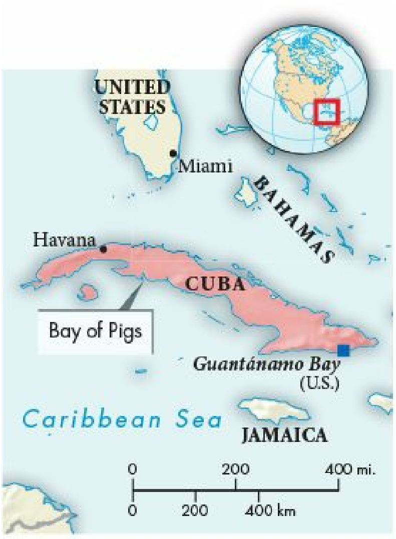
1. Why do you think Eva Perón was adored by many Argentines when she died?
2. What were some of the welfare and government programs that Eva Perón promoted?

Source: Nicholas Fraser and Marysa Navarro, *Evita: The Real Life of Eva Perón* (New York: Norton, 1976).

Communist Revolution in Cuba

Cuba remained practically an American colony until the 1930s, when a series of rulers with socialist and Communist leanings seized and lost power. Cuba’s political institutions were weak and its politicians corrupt. In March 1952 Fulgencio Batista (1901–1973) staged a coup with American support and instituted an authoritarian regime that favored wealthy Cubans and U.S. businesses.

The Cuban Revolution (1953–1959) brought Fidel Castro (1927–2016) to power through an armed insurgency that used guerrilla tactics crafted by Argentine revolutionary Ernesto “Che” Guevara. Castro pursued deep economic reforms such as land redistribution and rent caps to help the urban poor. Because Castro’s nationalization of utilities and industries as well as land reform came at the expense of U.S. businesses, U.S. president John F. Kennedy staged an invasion of Cuba to topple Castro. When the invasion force, composed of Cuban exiles, landed at the Bay of Pigs, the Cuban revolutionary army, commanded by Castro, repelled it in an embarrassment to the United States.

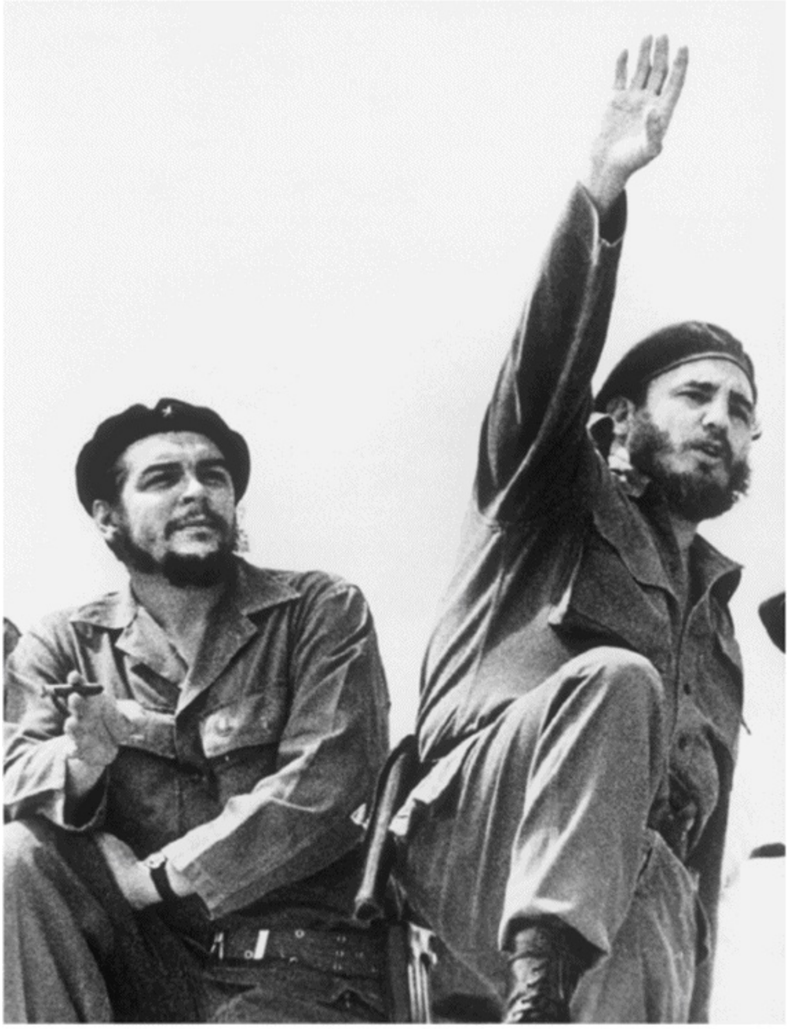


Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin’s

Cuba

Castro had not come to power as a Communist: his main aim had been to regain control of Cuba’s economy and politics from the United States. But U.S. efforts to overthrow him and to starve the Cuban economy drove him to form an alliance with the Soviet Union, which agreed to place nuclear missiles in Cuba to protect against another U.S. invasion. When Kennedy demanded the missiles be removed, the military and diplomatic brinksmanship of the 1962 Cuban missile crisis ensued. In 1963 the U.S. placed a complete commercial embargo on Cuba that remains in place although diplomatic relations were restored in 2015.

Castro now declared himself a Marxist-Leninist and relied on Soviet military and economic support, though Cuba retained a revolutionary mind-set that differed from the rest of the Soviet bloc. Castro was committed to spreading revolution to the rest of Latin America, and Guevara participated in armed struggles in the Congo and Bolivia before being assassinated by U.S.-trained Bolivian forces in 1967. Within Cuba activists swept into the countryside and taught people who were illiterate. Medical attention and education became free and widely accessible. The Cuban Revolution inspired young radicals across Latin America to believe in the possibility of swift revolution and brisk reforms to combat historic inequalities. But these reforms were achieved at great cost and through the suppression of political dissent. Castro declared in 1961, “Inside of the revolution anything, outside the revolution, nothing.”[8] Political opponents were jailed or exiled.



© United Archives/Topfoto/The Image Works

Revolutionaries in Cuba Che Guevara (left) and Fidel Castro (right), whose successful revolution in Cuba inspired armed movements across Latin America.

The Limits of Postwar Prosperity

Why did the world face growing social unrest in the 1960s?

In the 1950s and 1960s the United States and the Soviet Union, as well as both western and eastern Europe, rebounded economically from the combined strains of the Great Depression and the Second World War. The postwar return of prosperity increased living standards but did not resolve underlying tensions and conflicts.

The Soviet Union Struggles to Move Beyond Stalin

The Cold War provided Stalin with the opportunity to revive many of the harshest aspects of the repression citizens of the Soviet Union had experienced in the 1930s, such as purges of soldiers and civilian officials and the revival of forced-labor camps. Stalin reasserted control of the government and society by reintroducing five-year plans to cope with the enormous task of reconstruction. He exported this system to eastern Europe. Rigid indoctrination, attacks on religion, and a lack of civil liberties became facts of life in the region's one-party states. Only Yugoslavia's Josip Tito (1892–1980), the popular resistance leader and Communist Party chief, could resist Soviet domination successfully because there was no Russian army in Yugoslavia.

After Stalin died in 1953, his successor Nikita Khrushchev (CROO-shehv) (1894–1971) realized that reforms were necessary because of widespread fear and hatred of Stalin's political terrorism. Khrushchev and the reformers in his administration curbed the secret police and gradually closed many forced-labor camps. Change was also necessary for economic reasons. Agriculture struggled, and shortages of consumer goods discouraged hard work. Moreover, Stalin's foreign policy had provoked a strong Western alliance, isolating the Soviet Union.

Khrushchev denounced Stalin and his crimes in a "secret speech" delivered to a closed session of the Twentieth Party Congress in 1956:

> It is clear that . . . Stalin showed in a whole series of cases his intolerance, his brutality, and his abuse of power. Instead of proving his political correctness and mobilizing the masses, he often chose the path of repression and physical annihilation, not only against actual enemies, but also against individuals who had not committed any crimes against the party and the Soviet Government.[9]

The liberalization of the Soviet Union — labeled de-Stalinization in the West — was genuine. Khrushchev declared that "peaceful coexistence" with capitalism was possible. The government shifted some economic resources to production of consumer goods, improving standards of living throughout the booming 1960s. De-Stalinization opened new space for creative work and for expressing dissent. The writer Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn (1918–2008) created a sensation when his *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* was published in the Soviet Union in 1962. Solzhenitsyn's novel portrayed life in a Stalinist concentration camp in grim detail and was a damning indictment of the Stalinist past.

De-Stalinization stimulated rebelliousness in the eastern European satellites. Poland won greater autonomy in 1956 after extensive protests forced the Soviets to allow a new Communist government. Led by students and workers, the people of Budapest, Hungary, installed a liberal Communist reformer as their new chief in October 1956. The rebellion was short-lived. After the government promised open elections and renounced Hungary's military alliance with Moscow, the Soviet army invaded and crushed the revolution, killing thousands. When the United States did not come to Hungary's aid, many eastern European reformers concluded that their best hope was to strive for incremental gains rather than broad change.

In August 1961 the East German government began construction of a twenty-seven-mile wall between East and West Berlin. It also built a ninety-mile-long barrier between the three allied sectors of West Berlin and East Germany, thereby completely cutting off West Berlin. Officially the wall was called the "Anti-Fascist Protection Wall." In reality the Berlin Wall prevented East Germans from "voting with their feet" by defecting to the West.

By late 1962 opponents had come to see Khrushchev's policies as a dangerous threat to party authority. Moreover, Khrushchev did not succeed in alleviating tensions with the West. In 1962 Khrushchev ordered missiles with nuclear warheads installed in Cuba to shield it from U.S. invasion, triggering the Cuban missile crisis. The hard line taken by the U.S. over the placement of the missiles put the superpowers on the brink of war until Khrushchev backed down and removed the missiles. Two years later, Communist Party leaders removed him. After Leonid Brezhnev (1906–1982) and his supporters took over in 1964, they stopped further liberalization and launched an arms buildup, determined not to repeat Khrushchev's humiliation by the United States.

Postwar Challenges in Western Europe and the United States

In 1945 much of western Europe was devastated by the war, and it faced mass unemployment, shortages of food and fuel, and the dislocation of millions of people. But in the decades that followed, western Europe experienced a dramatic recovery. Democratic governments thrived in an atmosphere of broadening civil liberties. Progressive Catholics and their Christian Democratic political parties were particularly influential. Socialists and Communists active in the resistance against Hitler returned with renewed prestige. In the immediate postwar years welfare measures such as family stipends, health insurance, and expanded public housing were enacted throughout much of Europe.

An immediate result of the Cold War was the partition between a Soviet-controlled German Democratic Republic (East Germany) and a Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) that had been occupied by the United States, Britain, and France. With the support of the United States, which wanted to turn an economically resurgent West Germany into a bulwark against Soviet expansion, Chancellor Konrad Adenauer (1881–1967), brought Germany firmly into the Western capitalist camp. He forged close ties with the United States, Great Britain, and France. He also initiated dialogues with leaders of Europe's Jewish community and with Israel to encourage a reconciliation following the Holocaust. As Germany recovered from the war, it became Europe's leading economic power, a member of NATO, and an architect of efforts at European unity.

Amid the destruction and uncertainty brought by two world wars caused by Europeans and fought in Europe, many Europeans believed that only unity could forestall future European conflicts. The first steps toward economic unity were taken through close cooperation over Marshall Plan aid. These were followed by the creation in 1952 of a Coal and Steel Community, made up of France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg. In 1957 these nations signed the Treaty of Rome, creating the European Economic Community, popularly known as the **Common Market**. The treaty's primary goal was to eliminate trade barriers between them and create a single market almost as large as that of the United States.

Common Market The European Economic Community created in 1957.

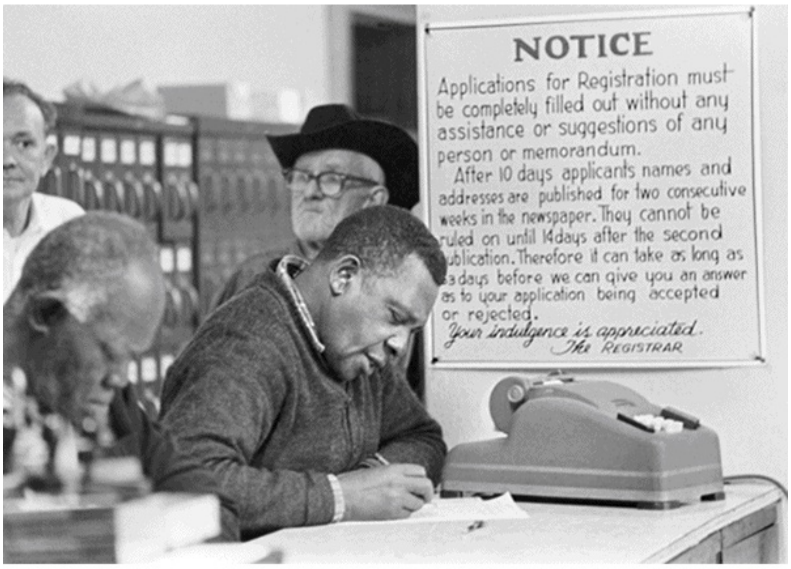
Migrant laborers, mainly from southern Italy, North Africa, Turkey, Greece, and Yugoslavia, also shaped western European societies and drove their economic recovery. Tens of millions of migrant workers made it possible for western European economies to continue to grow beyond their postwar labor capacity. This was especially important in Germany, where they filled gaps left by the wartime loss of a large proportion of the adult male population. Governments at first labeled the migrants as “guest workers” to signal their temporary status, though in practice many would remain in their new homes. As their communities became more settled, migrants faced a backlash from majority populations and came to resent and resist their treatment as second-class citizens.

Max Scheler/Suddeutsche Zeitung Photo/Alamy Stock Photo

Guest Workers in Europe In the 1950s and 1960s thousands of workers from Spain, Portugal, Italy, Greece, and Turkey immigrated into parts of Europe where the postwar growth in industrial production had created a scarcity of labor. Workers like this Italian seamstress and supervisor in a German factory fled a weak economy and high unemployment in their country of origin, seeking work in countries like Germany and France.

In the United States the postwar era was also shaped by economic recovery and social pressures. The Second World War ended the Great Depression in the United States, bringing about an economic boom that increased living standards dramatically. By the end of the war, the United States had the strongest economy and held an advantage over its past commercial rivals: its industry and infrastructure had not been damaged by war. After the war, U.S. manufactured goods saturated markets around the world that had previously been dominated by Britain, France, and Germany.

Postwar America experienced a social revolution as well: after a long struggle African Americans began to experience major victories against the deeply entrenched system of segregation and discrimination. This civil rights movement advanced on several fronts, none more prominent than legal victories that ended the statutory segregation of schools. African American civil rights activists challenged inequality by using Gandhian methods of nonviolent resistance: as civil rights leader Martin Luther King, Jr. (1929–1968), said, “Christ furnished the spirit and motivation, while Gandhi furnished the method.” He told the white power structure, “We will not hate you, but we will not obey your evil laws.”[10]


NOTICE
Applications for Registration must be completely filled out without any assistance or suggestions of any person or memorandum.
After 10 days applicants names and addresses are published for two consecutive weeks in the newspaper. They cannot be ruled on until 14days after the second publication. Therefore it can take as long as 3 days before we can give you an answer as to your application being accepted or rejected.
Your indulgence is appreciated.
The REGISTRAR

© 1976 Matt Herron/Take Stock/The Image Works

Registering to Vote African American residents of Hattiesburg, Mississippi, register to vote in 1964. The sign on the wall indicates that their names will be published in the newspaper for two consecutive weeks, making African Americans vulnerable to violent reprisals for registering to vote. (© 1976 Matt Herron/Take Stock/The Image Works)

The World in 1968

In 1968 pressures for social change boiled over into protests worldwide. The preceding two decades offered the world an example of how much people could change as decolonization swept much of the world. Revolutionary struggles stretched from Cuba to the remaining colonies in Africa and the war in Southeast Asia. The architecture of white supremacism and racial segregation was being dismantled in the United States. Young protesters drew upon recent history to appreciate how much could be achieved and looked at their world to see how much more was needed. Around the world, streets and squares filled with protesters.

In Czechoslovakia the “Prague Spring” — a brief period of liberal reform and loosening of political controls — unfolded as reformers in the Czechoslovakian Communist Party gained a majority and replaced a long-time Stalinist leader with Alexander Dubček (DOOB-chehk), whose new government launched dramatic reforms. Dubček and his allies called for “socialism with a human face,” which meant rolling back many of the strictures imposed by Stalin. He restored freedom of speech and freedom of the press. Communist leaders in the Soviet Union and other eastern European states feared that they would face similar demands for reform from their own citizens. Protests against the excesses of Communist rule erupted in Poland and Yugoslavia.

In France students went on strike over poor university conditions. When government responded with harsh punishments, larger and more radical student protests erupted. Labor unions called a general strike. The strikes captured the anxieties of the generation that had been raised in postwar Europe. For many of them, their governments' postwar socialist reforms were incomplete and the time was now ripe for more far-ranging change — if not outright revolution. Similar student movements erupted across western Europe.

In Latin America students rose in protest as well. In Argentina students in the industrial city of Córdoba went on strike against the military dictatorship that had been in place since 1966. Joined by factory workers, the protesters took control of the city in an event known as the Cordobazo. In Brazil a national student strike challenged the military dictatorship that had been in power since 1964. In Mexico City, where the 1968 Olympic games would be held, students used the international visibility of the event to protest the heavy-handed ruling PRI Party. The Latin American students challenging their regimes were motivated by the example offered by revolutionary Cuba, which they saw as a model of swift social transformation.

The ongoing U.S. military intervention in Vietnam met with growing opposition worldwide. In Japan protesters denounced what they saw as the complicity of their government and businesses in the U.S. military intervention in Vietnam, and challenged the Security Treaty that bound Japan and the United States. As the continuation of the war depended increasingly on military drafts, protests against the Vietnam War and against the draft erupted on college campuses across the United States and in its ally in the conflict, Australia.

In the United States the antiwar movement marked an increase in popular mobilization: civil rights marches in the South now extended to protests against discrimination and police violence in cities like Boston and Chicago. Protesters around the world were aware of each other and felt empowered by the sense that they were participating in a worldwide movement against the abuses of the established order. Their actions echoed Che Guevara's call for "two, three or many Vietnams" of resistance against imperialism.

In 1968 it seemed that social movements worldwide were on the verge of opening the floodgates to a wave of radical change, but the opposite was more true. Protesters and reformers faced violent reactions from the powerful political and economic groups they challenged. Conservatives reacted against more than the protests of 1968: they sought to slow or sometimes reverse the dramatic changes that had taken place in the postwar era.

Libo Hajsky/AFP/Getty Images

The Soviet Invasion of Prague, 1968 Czech demonstrators throw torches and wave flags in an attempt to stop a tank as the Soviet army crushes the protests of the Prague Spring in 1968.

Around the world, protests were followed by violent crackdowns such as the Soviet deployment of tanks in Czechoslovakia in October 1968, which crushed the Prague Spring, unseated Dubček, and led to harsh persecutions of the Prague Spring’s supporters. In Mexico, Argentina, and Brazil, military and paramilitary groups launched violent campaigns against protesting students and workers, such as the Mexican government’s shooting of protesters in Tlatelolco before the Olympics. In the United States assassins killed Martin Luther King, Jr., and other civil rights leaders. In 1967 Che Guevara was executed by Bolivian troops trained and led by the U.S. government. Around the world, revolutionary violence was met with increasingly violent repression.

Chapter Summary

The decades after the Second World War were an era of rebuilding, a term that had different meanings for different peoples. In Europe, the Soviet Union, and Japan, rebuilding literally meant clearing the rubble from wartime devastation and restoring what had been destroyed. In Germany and Japan in particular, rebuilding meant charting political and economic paths different from the ones that nationalist fervor had forged.

For the United States and the Soviet Union, rebuilding meant developing a military and ideological complex with which to confront each other in the Cold War. In each country individually, rebuilding took other forms: in the Soviet Union it meant finding ways to reform the system of political terror and coercion through which Stalin had ruled; in the United States it meant struggling to overcome the structures of white supremacism and other forms of racial discrimination.

The idea of rebuilding took on its deepest meaning in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East, where rebuilding meant dismantling European colonialism to establish independent states. This required replacing not just colonial institutions but colonial mentalities, patterns of production, and forms of education, and developing ways of relating that were not based on terms dictated by colonizers. Intellectuals and artists strove to decolonize the mind as politicians worked to decolonize the state in a process that proved slow and difficult. In Latin America rebuilding meant finding the means to overcome patterns of social exclusion that were legacies of colonialism and neocolonialism. It also meant finding the means to industrialize, overcoming the patterns of dependency and underdevelopment diagnosed by Latin American intellectuals and social scientists.

The decades after 1945 showed how much was possible through mass movements, advancing industrialization, and political self-determination. But the balance of these years also showed how much more work remained to overcome poverty, underdevelopment, and neocolonialism.

CONNECTIONS

The great transformations experienced by peoples around the world following the Second World War can best be compared to the age of revolution in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (see Chapter 22). In both eras peoples rose up to undertake the political, economic, social, and cultural transformation of their societies. In both eras, history seemed to accelerate, driven by events that had impacts across the globe. As in the age of revolution, which saw the independence of the United States and most of Spanish America as well as the Haitian and French Revolutions, people swept aside old notions of authority tied to kings and empires. In Asia the Chinese Revolution and the independence of India and Pakistan marked the accelerating pace of liberation movements that dismantled European colonialism and ushered in new political ideologies and economic systems.

Liberation movements spanning the globe sought not only to end imperial domination and remove social boundaries imposed by white racism, but also to make deeper changes in how peoples perceived themselves and their societies. As radical and new as these ideas were, they nonetheless owed much to the Enlightenment ideals about liberal individual rights that were promoted by the ideologues of the French and American Revolutions.

Though the social revolutions in countries like China and Cuba and the independence movements across Africa, Asia, and the Middle East brought unprecedented deep and fast changes, they were only the first steps in remaking societies that had been created by centuries of colonialism. Uprooting the legacies of colonialism — in the form of poverty, continued domination of economies by foreign powers, limited industrialization, and weak states — remained a daunting challenge that societies continued to face in the future.

CHAPTER 31 Review and Explore

Identify Key Terms

Identify and explain the significance of each item below.

Cold War (p. 922)
Truman Doctrine (p. 922)
Marshall Plan (p. 922)
NATO (p. 923)
dependency theory (p. 925)
modernization theory (p. 925)
import substitution industrialization (ISI) (p. 925)
liberation theology (p. 927)
Muslim League (p. 929)
Arab socialism (p. 930)
Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) (p. 931)
Great Leap Forward (p. 932)
Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (p. 934)
Pan-Africanists (p. 938)
cocoa holdups (p. 938)
National Liberation Front (p. 940)
Common Market (p. 948)

Review the Main Ideas

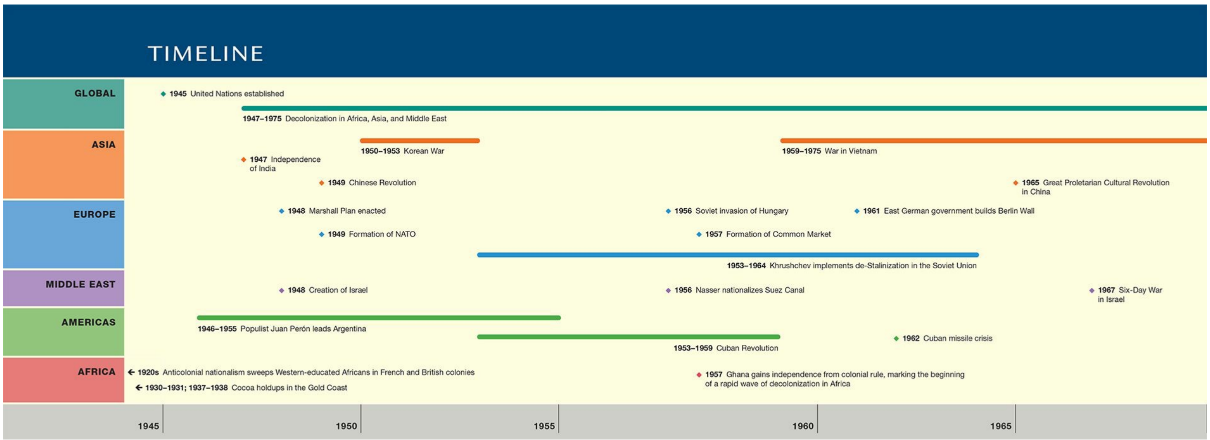
Answer the focus questions from each section of the chapter.

1. How did the Cold War and decolonization shape the postwar world? (p. 922)
2. How did religion and the legacies of colonialism affect the formation of new nations in South Asia and the Middle East after World War II? (p. 928)
3. How did the Cold War shape reconstruction, revolution, and decolonization in East and Southeast Asia? (p. 932)
4. What factors influenced decolonization in Africa after World War II? (p. 938)
5. Why did populism emerge as such a powerful political force in Latin America? (p. 942)
6. Why did the world face growing social unrest in the 1960s? (p. 946)

Make Comparisons and Connections

Analyze the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters.

1. What changes in the postwar world had their roots in developments that predated the war? How did the Second World War (Chapter 30) itself accelerate or spur changes in the postwar era?
2. What effect did the Cold War have on the process of decolonization?
3. How might the postwar era be compared to the age of revolution (Chapter 22)?



Suggested Resources

Books

Borstelmann, Thomas. *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena*. 2003. An incisive discussion of the connections between racial thought and policy.

Cleveland, William L., and Martin Bunton. *A History of the Modern Middle East*, 6th ed. 2016. Well-crafted survey introduction to the modern history and politics of the Middle East.

Collins, Robert O., and James M. Burns. *A History of Sub-Saharan Africa*. 2007. Clearly written introduction to the continent's history.

Gaddis, John Lewis. *The Cold War: A New History*. 2005. A concise, authoritative, and accessible account of the Cold War by one of its leading historians.

Guha, Ramachandra. *India After Gandhi: The History of the World's Largest Democracy*. 2007. In-depth study of the last sixty years of Indian history and development.

Halberstam, David. *The Coldest Winter: America and the Korean War*. 2007. The last, and perhaps best, history written by one of America's finest journalist-historians.

Kamrava, Mehran. *The Modern Middle East: A Political History Since the First World War*, 3d ed. 2013. A concise overview of modern Middle East history, economics, and politics.

Keddie, Nikki R. *Modern Iran: Roots and Results of Revolution*. 2006. A classic survey of Iranian history and politics by a leading scholar of modern Iran.

Meade, Teresa A. *A History of Modern Latin America, 1800 to the Present*. 2009. A comprehensive history and analysis of the continent and its peoples.

Meredith, Martin. *The Fate of Africa: A History of Fifty Years of Independence*. 2006. A very accessible study of modern independent Africa that spans the entire continent.

Moaddel, Mansoor. *Islamic Modernism, Nationalism, and Fundamentalism*. 2005. A scholarly historical introduction to the society and politics of the Middle East.

Osborne, Milton. *Southeast Asia: An Introductory History*, 12th ed. 2016. Classic introduction to the region.

Documentaries

China: A Century of Revolution (Sue Williams, 1997). This six-episode documentary explores the roots and course of China's Communist revolution.

The Cold War (CNN, 1998). A twenty-four-episode series that takes a detailed look at the Cold War's European origins, global reach, and resolution.

The 50 Years War: Israel and the Arabs (PBS/BBC, 1998). Examines the Arab-Israeli conflict beginning with the 1947 UN partition of Palestine.

Feature Films and Television Dramas

The Battle of Algiers (Gillo Pontecorvo, 1966). Chronicling the Algerian war for independence from France, this film is a rich reflection on the practices of guerrilla warfare and the anticolonial struggle.

Fail Safe (Sidney Lumet, 1964). A thriller centered on the phone conversations between the U.S. president and Soviet premier as they seek to defuse a nuclear crisis.

Z and *State of Siege* (Costa-Gavras, 1969 and 1972). Two powerful films that explore Greece's descent into dictatorship in the 1960s and U.S. support for torture and repression in Latin America.

Websites

Africana Age: African & African Diasporan Transformations in the 20th Century. The Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture at the New York Public Library offers essays and research materials on topics such as "Négritude," "Black Power," and "African Decolonization." **exhibitions.nypl.org/africanaage/essay-landing.xhtml**

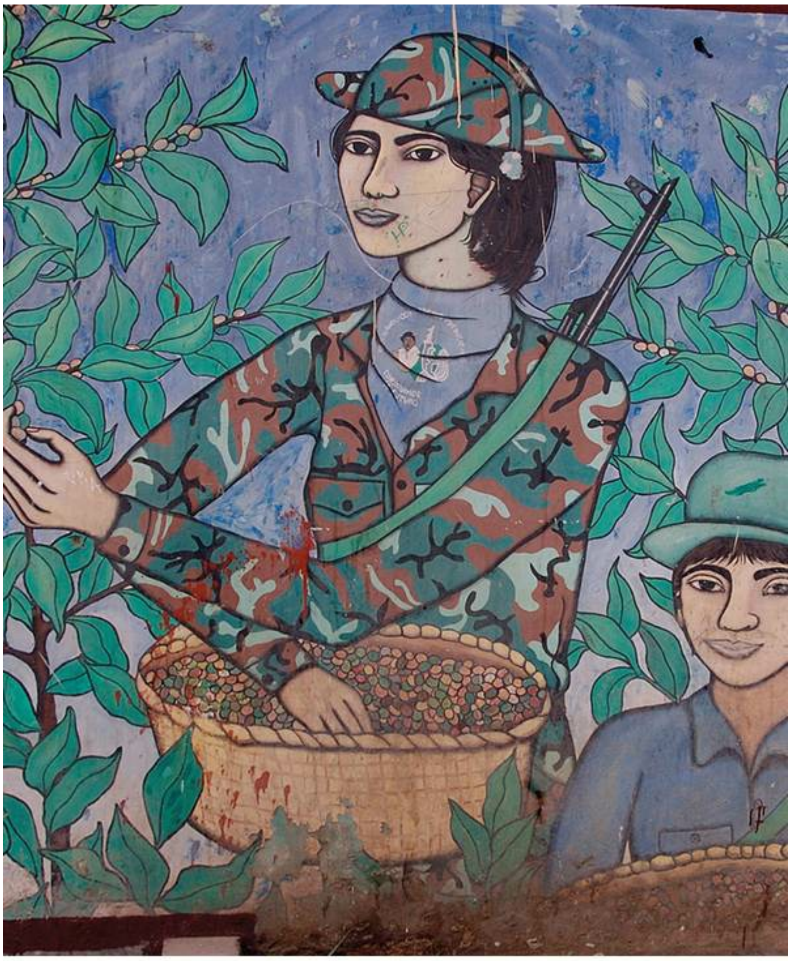
The United Nations and Decolonization. Documents on the founding of the United Nations and the question of decolonization. **www.un.org/en/decolonization/**

Universal Newsreels. The Internet Archive contains many newsreels on subjects in this chapter. **archive.orgdetailsuniversal_newsreels?&sort=-downloads&page=2**

32

Liberalization

1968–2000s



Thalia Watmough/aliki image library/Alamy Stock Photo

Sandinista Soldier in Nicaragua

Street art in Jinotega, Nicaragua, shows an armed female soldier of the Sandinista National Liberation Front picking coffee beans in her military camouflage. The Sandinistas overthrew the U.S.-backed dictator Anastasio Somoza in 1979. After their victory, the socialist Sandinistas ruled Nicaragua until 1990 and then returned to power

in 2006.

In the 1970s two currents ran against each other in much of the world. The radicalism of liberation in decolonization, revolutions, and mass social movements continued. Women’s movements achieved important successes in pressing for reproductive rights and equity in education, employment, and compensation, both in the West and in nationalist regimes around the world. The most dramatic phase of decolonization in Africa and black civil rights mobilization in the United States had succeeded, but the hard work of making new nations function, or of achieving racial equality, continued.

But alongside this current ran a different one whose influence was not easily apparent in the early 1970s but was undeniable by the 1990s: liberalization. Liberal political and economic ideology experienced a resurgence. After the Second World War, the United States had championed liberal economic policies and global free trade, but this objective ran against the desires of other countries to protect and promote their own industrialization and economic development. But in the last decades of the century, the U.S. drive for global liberalization of trade experienced greater success, while reform movements in the Eastern bloc and in Latin America pursued human rights and political liberalization.

CHAPTER PREVIEW

OIL SHOCKS AND LIBERALIZATION

What were the short-term and long-term consequences of the OPEC oil embargo?

WAR AND REVOLUTION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

How did war and revolution reshape the Middle East?

LATIN AMERICA: DICTATORSHIP, DEBT, AND DEMOCRATIZATION

What effect did the Cold War and debt crisis have on Latin America?

RESISTANCE TO WHITE RULE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

How did white-minority rule end in southern Africa?

GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT IN ASIA

How have East and South Asian nations pursued economic development, and how have political regimes shaped those efforts?

THE END OF THE COLD WAR

How did decolonization and the end of the Cold War change Europe?

Oil Shocks and Liberalization

What were the short-term and long-term consequences of the OPEC oil embargo?

In 1973 war erupted again between Israel and its neighbors Egypt and Syria. The conflict became known both as the Yom Kippur War because it coincided with the Jewish religious holiday of atonement, and as the Ramadan War because it occurred during the Muslim month of fasting. Armed with advanced weapons from the Soviet Union, Egyptian and Syrian armies came close to defeating Israel before the U.S. government airlifted sophisticated arms to Israel. Israel counterattacked, reaching the outskirts of both Cairo and Damascus before the fighting ended.

Arab oil-exporting countries retaliated against U.S. support for Israel by imposing an embargo on oil sales to countries that had aided Israel during the war. Amid the oil embargo, the war in Vietnam, and political conflict within the United States, U.S. political and economic influence as a global superpower seemed to decline.

The OPEC Oil Embargo

In 1960 oil-exporting countries formed a cartel called the **Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)** to coordinate production and raise prices. They aimed to increase national revenue to support economic development. Until the early 1970s OPEC had failed to control the market for oil. But in 1973 OPEC countries agreed to an embargo, withholding oil sales to the United States and western Europe in response to their support for Israel in the Yom Kippur War.

Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) A cartel formed in 1960 by oil-exporting countries designed to coordinate oil production and raise prices, giving those countries greater capacity for economic development and greater leverage in world affairs.

Since oil is a commodity that is traded globally, it remained available in Europe and the United States despite the embargo. But the embargo disrupted the market and caused panic. The price of oil increased almost overnight from $3 to $12 per barrel, quadrupling energy costs. OPEC’s ability to disrupt the world economy, and the U.S. government’s powerlessness to reverse the disruption, suggested a new world order.

Brazil's military leaders, for example, distanced themselves from their traditional alliance with the United States and built relations with OPEC countries. Fearing reprisal from Arab countries, Brazil quietly halted exports to Israel, while promoting arms sales and engineering services to Libya and Iraq. Brazil's foreign minister told U.S. secretary of state Henry Kissinger, "If you could supply us with a million barrels of oil a day, perhaps this shift would not be so abrupt."[1]

Oil prices remained high and peaked again in the second oil shock of 1979, which resulted from the Iranian revolution that ousted the secular government and brought religious leaders to power. In the United States energy costs sapped economic growth and triggered inflation, a combination dubbed stagflation. Europe and Japan, heavily dependent on oil imports, resorted to bicycles and mass transit to reduce their energy needs, as well as intense development of nuclear energy.

In the decade after the first oil shock, OPEC countries such as Saudi Arabia deposited their profits in international banks, particularly in the United States, which in turn reinvested these deposits as loans that governments around the world used to finance development. This money was known as **petrodollars**. In this economic cycle, consumers around the world paid higher prices for fuel, which generated profits for oil exporters, who invested the profits in large banks. In turn, these banks loaned this capital out to foreign governments. Many industrializing countries faced both high energy costs and heavy debts amassed through petrodollar loans.

petrodollars The global recirculation by international banks of profits from the higher price of oil following the 1973 OPEC oil embargo.

In the United States, as stagflation and the 1979 second oil shock fueled inflation, the Federal Reserve Bank raised interest rates. Increased interest rates in the United States made it more expensive to borrow money, which slowed economic activity and led to an economic recession. The recession diminished consumer demand for goods, which reduced inflation. But the United States was not the only country to experience this recession: countries that exported to the United States faced reduced demand for their goods, and countries that borrowed from U.S. banks found that the interest on their debts increased as well. In industrializing nations the rapid increase in interest on their heavy debts became a crippling burden, triggering a global crisis. Countries facing soaring debts and interest rates became dependent on U.S. assistance to restructure unsustainable loans, allowing the U.S. government to dictate terms that imposed neoliberal free-market reforms.

Beginning in the 1980s neoliberal policies increasingly shaped the world economy. **Neoliberalism** promoted free-market policies and the free circulation of capital across national borders. Debtor countries needed to continue to borrow in order to pay the interest on the debts they held, and their ability to secure loans now depended on their adherence to a set of liberal principles known as the **Washington Consensus**: policies that restricted public spending, lowered import barriers, privatized state enterprises, and deregulated markets.

neoliberalism A return beginning in the 1980s to policies intended to promote free markets and the free circulation of capital across national borders.

Washington Consensus Policies restricting public spending, lowering import barriers, privatizing state enterprises, and deregulating markets in response to the 1980s debt crisis in Latin America.

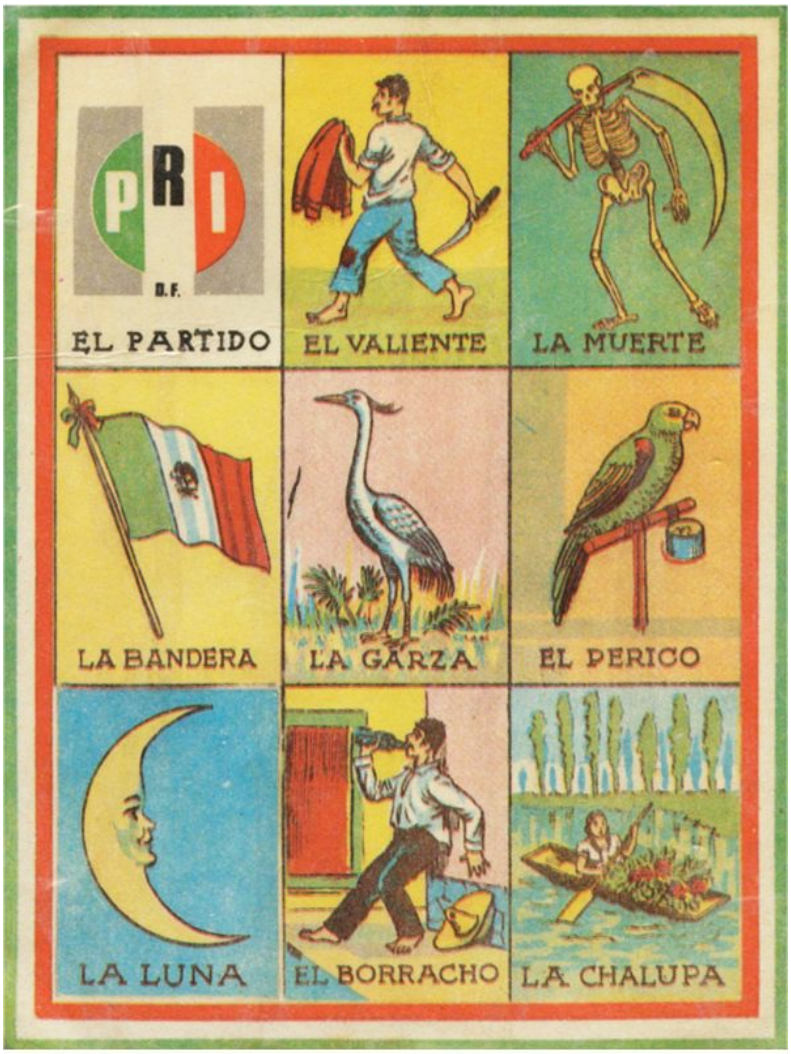
The forces unleashed by the Yom Kippur War and the OPEC oil embargo of 1973 at first tipped the scale in favor of less industrialized nations, but by the 1980s the scale had swung back as debt and liberalization returned power to the most economically powerful countries, in particular the United States. The experiences of Mexico and Nigeria reflect the effects of the boom-and-bust cycle ignited by the oil embargo. In both cases, the oil boom of the 1970s fueled long-standing projects for development and industrialization. But as boom turned to bust, both countries were left with enduring challenges: ethnic and religious divisions continued to undermine Nigeria, while Mexico’s one-party state struggled to retain power as it yielded to liberalizing pressure from the United States.

Mexico Under the PRI

By the 1970s Mexico’s Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) had been in power since the revolution. PRI candidates held nearly every public office. The PRI controlled both labor unions and federations of businessmen. More than a party, it was a vast system of patronage. It was also the party of land reform, universal public education, industrialization, and state ownership of the country’s oil reserves. Mexico’s road from economic nationalism to the liberal reforms of the 1970s and 1980s is also the story of the PRI.

In the aftermath of the 1968 Tlatelolco massacre, the PRI chose and elected as president populist Luis Echeverría, who sought to reclaim the mantle of revolutionary reform by nationalizing utilities and increasing social spending. He and his successor, José López Portillo, embarked on development projects financed through projected future earnings of the state oil monopoly PEMEX. Amid the decline of oil prices during the global recession, in 1982 the Mexican government stopped payments on its foreign debt, nationalized the banks, and steeply devalued the peso.

The PRI was further undermined by its inept and corrupt response to a devastating earthquake that struck Mexico City in 1986. Two years later the PRI faced its first real presidential election challenge. Cuauhtémoc (kwow-TAY-mokh) Cárdenas, who was the son of populist Lázaro Cárdenas and was named after the last Aztec ruler, ran against PRI candidate Carlos Salinas de Gortari. On election night, as the vote counting favored Cárdenas, the government declared that the computers tabulating the votes had crashed and declared Salinas the winner. The PRI-controlled congress ordered the ballots burned afterward.



Courtesy, MODO, Museo del Objeto del Objeto, Mexico City

The Power of the PRI A lottery board game with the Mexican Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) logo in the top left corner indicates its widespread presence in everyday Mexican life.

As Mexican leaders found themselves hemmed in by the debt crisis, they were compelled to embrace the Washington Consensus, which meant restricted spending, opening trade borders, and privatization. They abandoned the economic nationalism that had driven development, and negotiated a free-trade agreement with the United States and Canada, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which went into effect in 1994.

Nigeria, Africa’s Giant

Nigeria’s boom-and-bust oil economy aggravated the challenges of nation building after independence. The British imposed the name “Nigeria” on a region of many ancient kingdoms and hundreds of ethnic groups (see Map

31.5, page 939). After the country gained independence from Britain in 1960, Nigeria’s key constitutional question was the relationship between the central government and its ethnically distinct regions. Under the federal system created after independence, each region had a dominant ethnic group and a corresponding political party. After independence Nigeria’s ethnic rivalries intensified, and in 1967 they erupted in the Biafran war in which the Igbo ethnic group in southeastern Nigeria fought unsuccessfully to form a separate nation. The war lasted three years and resulted in famine that left millions dead.

George Ojodi/Bloomberg via Getty Images

Oil in Nigeria Nigeria’s oil has brought great profits to some, but poorer Nigerians have been excluded from the profits and have borne the costs of oil production. This fisherman displays his nets, which have been fouled by spilled oil. (George Ojodi/Bloomberg via Getty Images)

The wealth generated by oil exports in the 1970s had contradictory effects on Nigerian society. On one hand, a succession of military leaders who held power after a 1966 coup grew increasingly corrupt throughout the 1970s. When the dictator General Murtala Muhammad (1938–1976) sought to eradicate corruption, fellow officers assassinated him. On the other hand, oil wealth allowed the country to rebuild after the Biafran war. By the mid-1970s Nigeria had the largest middle and professional classes on the continent outside of South Africa. Nigeria’s oil boom in the 1970s resembled Mexico’s experience: the expectation of future riches led to growing indebtedness, and when global demand and oil prices collapsed amid the global recession of the early 1980s, Nigeria faced a debt crisis.

Oil wealth allowed Nigeria to develop one innovative solution to its ethnic divisions: the construction of a modernist new capital, Abuja, modeled on Brazil’s project in Brasília (see “Populism in Argentina and Brazil” in Chapter 31). Located in the center of the country at the confluence of major regional and ethnic boundaries, Abuja symbolized equal representation in government. Urban planning reflected both the reality of ethnic divisions and the objective of integration: residential areas were divided by ethnicity, but shopping and services were located between them to encourage commingling.

Except for an early period of civilian rule, Muslim army officers ruled Nigeria until 1998, when the dictator General Sani Abacha suddenly died. Nigerians adopted a new constitution in 1999, and that same year they voted in free elections and re-established civilian rule. Subsequent elections in 2007 marked the first civilian-to-civilian transfer of power. Ethnic tensions remained. Since 2000 ethnic riots and violence by the fundamentalist Islamic group Boko Haram have left thousands dead in the predominantly Muslim northern Nigerian states. Much of the violence can be attributed to conflicts between Muslims and non-Muslim groups that resented the introduction of shari’a (Islamic law) in the state of Zamfara in 1999. Since then, another eleven northern Nigerian states have adopted shari’a, spurring resentment from the non-Muslim populations in these states.

War and Revolution in the Middle East

How did war and revolution reshape the Middle East?

The 1973 Yom Kippur War had a lasting effect across the Middle East. Egypt and Syria had again been defeated, but Israelis also felt more vulnerable after the war. The oil embargo empowered oil-exporting nations like Saudi Arabia, Libya, and Iraq. The Middle East faced deepening divisions, which added to the conflict between Israel and its neighbors. The region was reshaped by the increasing wealth of oil producers relative to other Arab states. Rising Islamic militancy led to revolution in Iran, as well as religious challenges to the rule of secular, modernizing dictatorships in countries like Egypt.

The Palestinian-Israeli Conflict

After the 1973 war, the United States intensified efforts to mediate a resolution to conflicts in the Middle East. Peacemaking efforts by U.S. president Jimmy Carter led to the 1978 Camp David Accords, which normalized relations between Israel and its neighbors Egypt and Jordan. With the prospect of border wars between Israel and its neighbors diminished, political attention turned to the conflict between Israel and Palestinian nationalist organizations. Tensions between Syria and Israel shifted from their border into Lebanon, where Syria backed the militia Hezbollah, or Party of God. Hezbollah condemned the 1978 and 1982 Israeli invasions of Lebanon aimed at eradicating the Palestine Liberation Organization's control of southern Lebanon, and had as one of its stated objectives the complete destruction of the state of Israel.

In 1987 young Palestinians in the occupied territories of the Gaza Strip and the West Bank began the **intifada**, a prolonged campaign of civil disobedience against Israeli soldiers. Inspired increasingly by Islamic fundamentalists, the Palestinian uprising eventually posed a serious challenge not only to Israel but also to the secular Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), long led from abroad by Yasir Arafat. The result was an unexpected and mutually beneficial agreement in 1993 between Israel and the PLO. Israel agreed to recognize Arafat's organization and start a peace process that granted Palestinian self-rule in Gaza and called for self-rule throughout the West Bank in five years. In return, Arafat renounced violence and abandoned the demand that Israel must withdraw from all land occupied in the 1967 war.

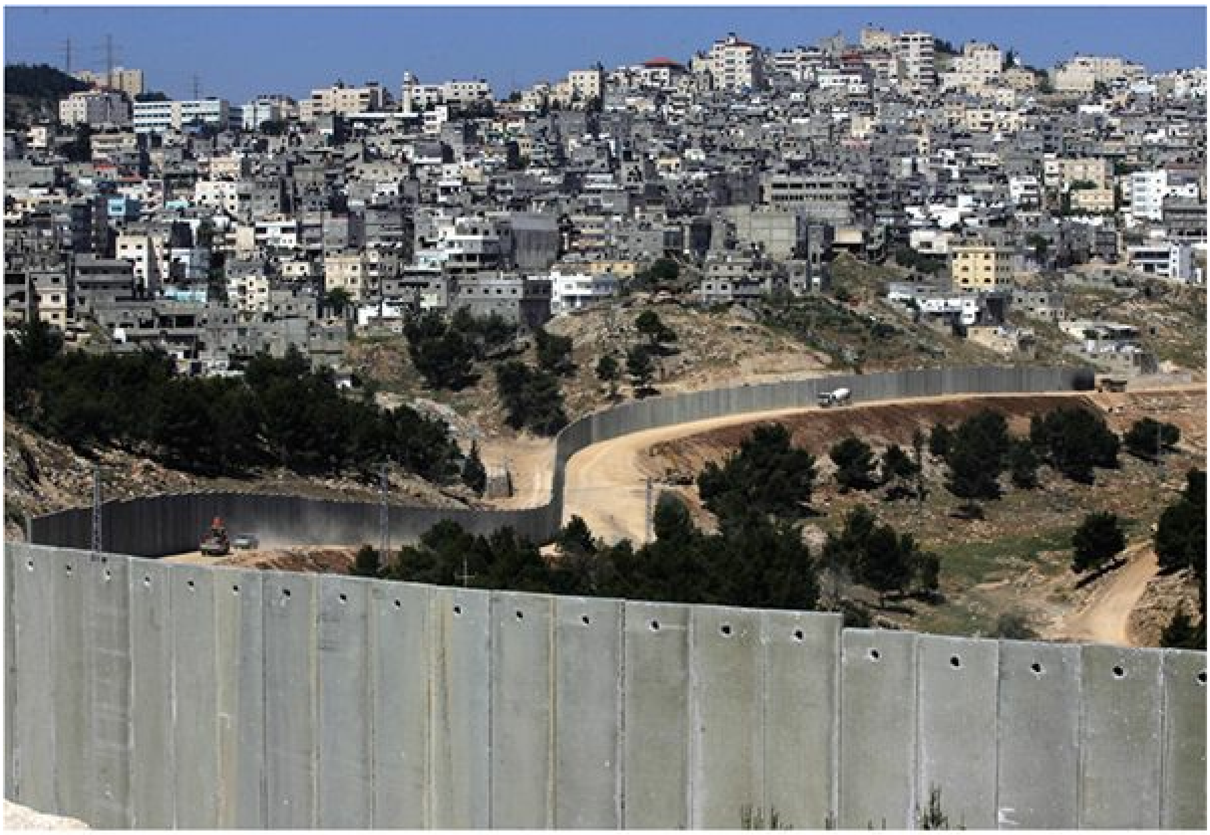
intifada Beginning in 1987, a prolonged campaign of civil disobedience by Palestinian youth against Israeli soldiers; the Arabic word *intifada* means “shaking off.”

The peace process increasingly divided Israel. In 1995 a right-wing Jewish extremist assassinated Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. In 1996 a coalition of opposition parties won a slender majority, charging the Palestinian leadership with condoning anti-Jewish violence. The new Israeli government limited Palestinian self-rule and expanded Jewish settlements in the West Bank. On the Palestinian side, dissatisfaction with the peace process grew. Between 1993 and 2000 the number of Jewish settlers in the West Bank doubled to two hundred thousand, and Palestinian per capita income declined by 20 to 25 percent.

Failed negotiations between Arafat and Israel in 2000 unleashed an explosion of violence between Israelis and Palestinians known as the Second Intifada. In 2003 the Israeli government began to build a barrier around the West Bank, which met with opposition from Israelis and Palestinians alike.

The death of Yasir Arafat, the PLO’s long-time leader, in November 2004 marked a turning point in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Mahmoud Abbas, Arafat’s pragmatic successor, found little room for negotiation. In January 2006 Hamas, a Sunni Muslim political party, won 72 of the 136 seats in the Palestinian legislature, seizing control from Abbas and the PLO. Considered by Israel to be a terrorist organization, Hamas had gained widespread support from many Palestinians for the welfare programs it established in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Immediately after the Hamas victory, Israel, the United States, and the European Union suspended aid to the Palestinian Authority, the governing body of the West Bank and Gaza Strip established by the 1994 peace agreement. Since then, economic and humanitarian conditions for Palestinians living in the Gaza Strip have deteriorated. In 2007 Hamas, a political organization committed to building an Islamic state in the area now composed of Israel, Gaza, and the West Bank, assumed control of the Gaza Strip, deepening political divisions in Palestinian territory. In 2010, 63 percent of the 1.5 million citizens of Gaza lived below the United Nations–defined poverty line.



AWAD/Getty Images

Israel's Wall of Separation This wall, shown under construction in 2006, blocks off a Palestinian refugee camp in Arab East Jerusalem, limiting the camp inhabitants' access to the city they call home. (AWAD/Getty Images)

Egypt: Arab World Leader

From the time of Gamal Nasser's seizure of power in 1956 to the mid-1970s, Egypt, due to its large military, its anti-imperialist rhetoric, and its support for Arab unity, was recognized as the leader of the Arab world. In 1978 Egypt's president, Anwar Sadat (1918–1981), negotiated a peace settlement with Israel known as the Camp David Accords. Though Egypt gained the return of the Sinai Peninsula from Israel, some Arab leaders denounced Sadat's initiative as treason.

After Sadat was assassinated by religious radicals in 1981, Egyptian relations with Israel deteriorated, but Egypt and Israel maintained their fragile peace as Sadat's successor, Hosni Mubarak, took office. Mubarak remained a consistent supporter of Israel and a mediator between Israel and the Arab world. In return for helping to stabilize the region, the United States gave Egypt billions of dollars in development, humanitarian, and military aid. Domestically, this aid failed to yield economic development, and Mubarak ruled with an increasingly dictatorial hand. Many of the government's critics charged that massive fraud and corruption funneled

Egypt’s wealth to a privileged few. Over 40 percent of Egyptians lived in poverty.

Under Mubarak’s thirty-year regime, an emergency law that had been in place since 1967 legalized censorship, suspended limited freedom of expression and assembly, allowed for the establishment of a special security court, and gave the government the right to arrest people without charge and detain prisoners indefinitely. Mubarak used the emergency law to create a wholly separate justice system in order to silence opposition and repress anyone perceived as a threat to his rule. Demonstrations, political organizations, and even financial donations that were not approved by the government were banned under the law. Thousands of people were arrested.

In December 2010 demonstrations broke out in Tunisia against the twenty-three-year authoritarian rule of President Zine Ben Ali, leading to his downfall in January 2011. This populist revolt soon spread across North Africa and the Middle East, including to the streets of Cairo and other cities in Egypt as Egyptians of all ages united in revolt against Mubarak’s dictatorial rule. After three weeks of growing demonstrations, coordinated through Facebook, Twitter, and other communications networks, Mubarak stepped down as president in 2011 and was arrested soon after. Libya, located between Tunisia and Egypt, also witnessed an uprising against its dictatorial leader of forty-two years, Muammar Gaddafi. Gaddafi struggled violently to remain in power, but was deposed and killed amid European and U.S. air strikes. That same year, a lengthy and intense civil war erupted in Syria, pitting opponents of ruler Bashar al-Assad against an army equipped and trained to oppose Israel.

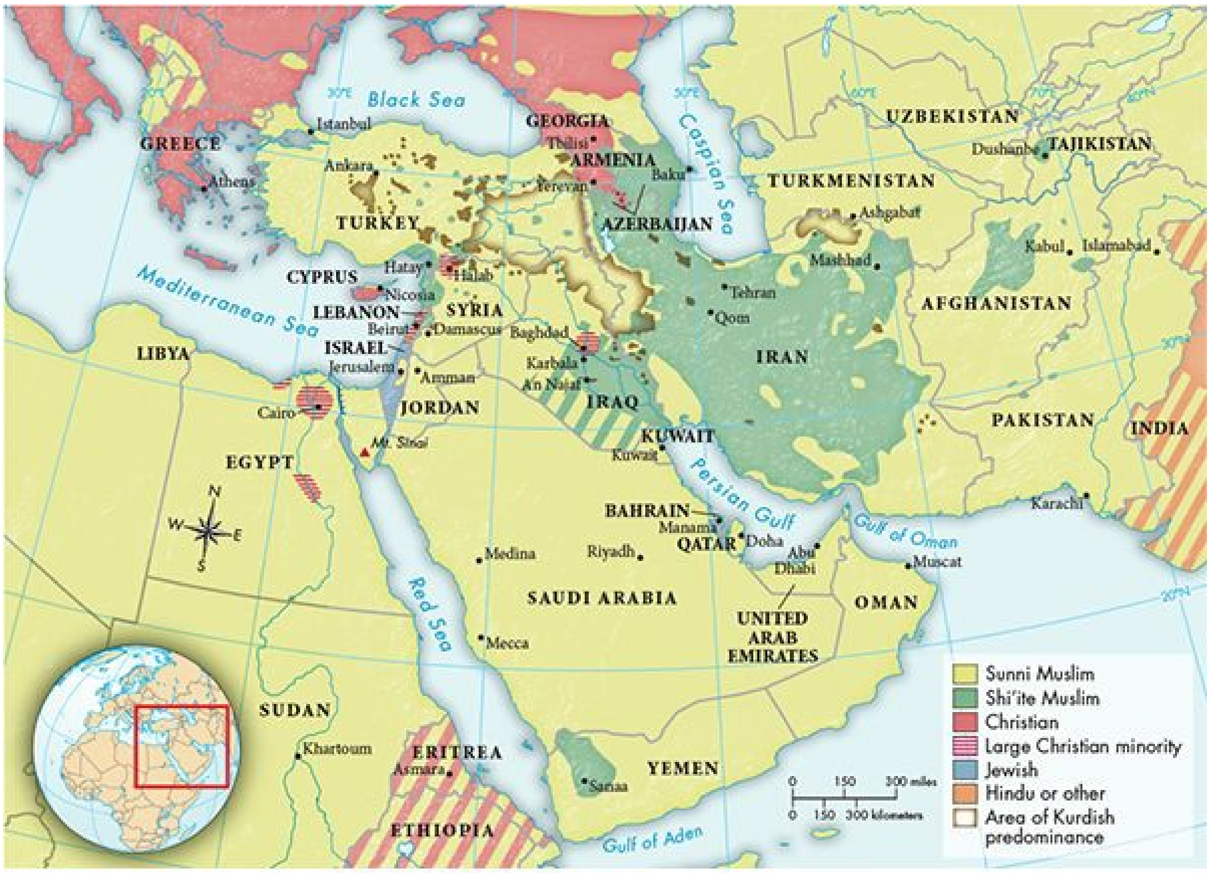
The “Arab Spring” uprisings that swept the Middle East shook a political order that had rested in the hands of the armed forces and pursued secular, nationalist objectives. The deposed leaders were the ideological descendants of Nasser, though their regimes had come to rely more on force than on modernizing social reform. The reaction against these regimes was often religious and culturally conservative. The political transitions resulting from this upheaval tended to pit secular and religious factions against each other amid debates over the nature of government and social change. Among the countries where regimes were brought down by Arab Spring protesters, Egypt alone reversed course, returning to rule by the secular armed forces under the leadership of General Abdel Fattah el-Sisi.

Revolution and War in Iran and Iraq

In oil-rich Iran foreign powers competed for political influence in the decades after the Second World War, and the influence of the United States in particular helped trigger a revolutionary backlash. In 1953 Iran's prime minister, Muhammad Mossadegh (MOH-sah-dehk) (1882–1967), tried to nationalize the British-owned Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, forcing the pro-Western shah Muhammad Reza Pahlavi (r. 1941–1979) to flee to Europe. Mossadegh's victory was short-lived. Loyal army officers, with the help of the American CIA, quickly restored the shah to his throne.

Pahlavi set out to build a powerful modern nation to ensure his rule, and Iran's gigantic oil revenues provided the necessary cash. The shah pursued land reform, secular education, and increased power for the central government. Modernization was accompanied by corruption and dictatorship. The result was a violent reaction against secular values: an Islamic revolution in 1979 aimed at infusing Islamic principles into all aspects of personal and public life. Led by the cleric Ayatollah Ruholla Khomeini, the fundamentalists deposed the shah and tried to build their vision of a true Islamic state.

Iran's revolution frightened its neighbors. Iraq, especially, feared that Iran — a nation of Shi'ite (SHEE-ight) Muslims — would succeed in getting Iraq's Shi'ite majority to revolt against its Sunni leaders (Map 32.1). In September 1980 Iraq's ruler, Ba'ath Party leader Saddam Hussein (1937–2006), launched a surprise attack against Iran. With their enormous oil revenues and powerful armed forces, Iran and Iraq — Persians and Arabs, Islamists and nationalists — clashed in an eight-year conflict that killed hundreds of thousands of soldiers on both sides before ending in a modest victory for Iran in 1988.


Black Sea
Istanbul
GREECE
Athens
Ankara
TURKEY
GEORGIA
Tbilisi
ARMENIA
Yerevan
Baku
AZERBAIJAN
Caspian Sea
TURKMENISTAN
Ashgabat
UZBEKISTAN
Dushanbe
TAJIKISTAN
Kabul
Islamabad
Mashhad
AFGHANISTAN
CYPRUS
Nicosia
Hatay
Halab
Mediterranean Sea
LEBANON
Beirut
SYRIA
Damascus
ISRAEL
Jerusalem
Amman
Baghdad
Karbala
An Najaf
Tehran
Qom
IRAN
LIBYA
Cairo
JORDAN
IRAQ
KUWAIT
Kuwait
PAKISTAN
INDIA
EGYPT
Mt. Sinai
Persian Gulf
BAHRAIN
Manama
QATAR
Doha
Abu Dhabi
Gulf of Oman
Muscat
Karachi
Medina
Riyadh
SAUDI ARABIA
Red Sea
Mecca
UNITED ARAB EMIRATES
OMAN
SUDAN
Khartoum
ERITREA
Asmara
YEMEN
Sanaa
ETHIOPIA
Gulf of Aden
N
S
E
W
30°E
50°E
60°E
30°N
20°N
0 150 300 miles
0 150 300 kilometers
Sunni Muslim
Shi'ite Muslim
Christian
Large Christian minority
Jewish
Hindu or other
Area of Kurdish predominance

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Mapping the Past

MAP 32.1 Abrahamic Religions in the Middle East and Surrounding Regions Islam, Judaism, and Christianity, which all trace their origins back to the patriarch Abraham, have significant populations in the Middle East. Since the 1979 Iranian revolution, Shi'ites throughout the region have become more vocal in their demands for equality and power. One of the largest stateless ethnic groups, the Kurds, who follow various religions, has become a major player in the politics of the region, especially in Iraq and Turkey, where the group seeks Kurdish independence.

ANALYZING THE MAP Which religion dominates? Where are the largest concentrations of Jews and Christians in the Middle East located?

CONNECTIONS How have divisions between Shi'ite and Sunni Muslims contributed to war in the region?

In 1990, saddled with the costs of war, Hussein commanded an invasion of oil-rich Kuwait and proclaimed its annexation to Iraq. To Hussein's surprise, his troops were driven out of Kuwait by an American-led, United Nations–sanctioned military coalition, which included Arab forces from Egypt, Syria, and Saudi Arabia. The United Nations Security Council imposed economic sanctions on Iraq as soon as it invaded Kuwait, and these sanctions continued after the 1990–1991 Persian Gulf War, to force Iraq to destroy its stockpiles of chemical and biological weapons under United Nations supervision. Alleging that Iraq still had such weapons, the United States led an invasion of Iraq in 2003 that overthrew Saddam Hussein’s regime. The invasion led to the Second Persian Gulf War, which involved a lengthy U.S. occupation and a violent insurgency against U.S. military forces, which remained in Iraq until 2011.

As secular Iraq staggered, Iran’s revolutionary regime seemed to moderate. Executive power in Iran was divided between a Supreme Leader and twelve-member Guardian Council selected by high Islamic clerics, and a popularly elected president and parliament. After reformist leaders pressed for relaxation of strict Islamic decrees, the Supreme Leader, controlling the army and the courts, vetoed the reforms and jailed some of the religious leadership’s most vocal opponents, creating a context for the election of conservative populist Mahmoud Ahmadinejad (ahh-MAH-deen-eh-jahd) (b. 1956).

Ahmadinejad engaged in brinksmanship over the development of a nuclear weapons program, called for Israel’s destruction, and backed the Hamas Party in the Gaza Strip and Hezbollah in Lebanon. He won re-election in 2009 after a bitterly contested challenge from moderates. The government suppressed a “green revolution” of protests that echoed the Arab Spring. In 2013 opposition groups came together to support the election of Hassan Rouhani, a centrist cleric who promised civil rights reforms. In 2015 Rouhani reached an agreement with a group of world powers led by the United States to freeze the country’s nuclear program in return for the lifting of economic sanctions that had sapped Iran’s economy.

Latin America: Dictatorship, Debt, and Democratization

What effect did the Cold War and debt crisis have on Latin America?

After the Cuban Revolution in 1959, the United States financed and armed military dictatorships to suppress any dissent that might lead to communism and to secure U.S. influence in the region. Many elected governments were toppled in military coups that brought right-wing military dictatorships to power with U.S. military and financial support.

Civil Wars in Central America

Central America experienced the greatest violence in Latin America during the Cold War. In the second half of the twentieth century reformers in Central America sought economic development that was less dependent on the United States and U.S. corporations, and groups of peasants and urban workers began to press for political rights and improved living standards. Through the lens of the Cold War, Central American conservatives and the U.S. government saw these nationalists, peasants, and workers as Communists who should be suppressed. In turn, many workers and peasants radicalized and formed Marxist revolutionary movements. The result of this conflict, and of U.S. support for right-wing governments, officers, and paramilitary groups, was hundreds of thousands of deaths.

In Guatemala, after reformist president Jacobo Arbenz was deposed in 1954 by a military coup organized by the CIA, subsequent Guatemalan leaders, backed by the U.S. government, violently suppressed peasant movements, killing over two hundred thousand mostly indigenous people. In 2013 former dictator José Efraín Ríos Montt was convicted of genocide against Maya communities, though the Guatemalan Constitutional Court annulled the conviction.

Reuters/Newscom

Genocide in Guatemala's Civil War The United Nations declared the systematic killing of indigenous Guatemalans during the country's civil war an act of genocide. In recent years investigators have worked to identify victims of the government's violence, such as six people who disappeared in 1982, whose remains have been returned to their community for burial.

El Salvador and Nicaragua, too, faced civil wars. In 1979 the Sandinista movement overthrew dictator Anastasio Somoza Debayle in Nicaragua. The Sandinistas, who conducted a revolutionary transformation of Nicaragua inspired by Communist rule in Cuba, were undermined by war with a U.S.-trained and U.S.-financed insurgent army called the Contras. In El Salvador a right-wing death squad killed Archbishop Oscar Romero in 1980 for speaking out against their violence.

U.S. policies that encouraged one faction to fight against the other deepened political instability and repression and intensified these civil wars. Acting against U.S. wishes, Costa Rican president Oscar Arias mediated peace talks in 1986 among the warring factions in Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatemala, which ended the wars and initiated open elections in each country, with former armed rivals competing instead at the ballot box. Peace did not bring prosperity, and in the decades following the end of the civil wars both poverty and violence have remained intense, prompting many Central Americans to seek opportunity in Mexico and the United States.

Boom and Bust in Chile

In the 1960s Chilean voters pushed for greater social reforms, culminating in the election of the Marxist candidate Salvador Allende (ah-YEHN-day) as president in 1970. Allende redistributed land and nationalized foreign businesses, including the country’s vast copper mines, drawing fiery opposition from conservative Chileans, foreign businesses, and the U.S. government. Allende used mining revenue to pay for housing, education, health care, and other social welfare projects. U.S. president Richard Nixon created a clandestine task force to organize an “invisible blockade” to disrupt the Chilean economy by withholding economic aid and quietly instructing U.S. companies not to trade with or invest in Chile. Nixon instructed his task force to “make [Chile’s] economy scream.”[2]

In 1973 Chile’s armed forces deposed Allende, who killed himself when the military stormed the presidential palace. A **junta**, or council of commanders of the branches of the armed forces, took power. Its leader, General Augusto Pinochet (peen-oh-CHEHT) (1915–2006), instituted radical economic reforms, giving neoliberal economists a free hand to conduct what they called “shock treatment” to remake Chile as a free-market economy. Schools, health care, pensions, and public services were turned over to private companies. Regulatory protections for industry were slashed, and land was concentrated into the hands of large agricultural corporations. The U.S. government lavished Pinochet with economic aid.

junta A government headed by a council of commanders of the branches of the armed forces.

The reforms created a boom-and-bust cycle in which Chile became especially vulnerable to global economic changes. At its peak, Chile’s economy grew at 8 percent per year. The costs of the reforms were just as intense. Income inequality soared: a handful of Chileans tied to big business conglomerates and banks made fortunes, while workers faced job loss and an increasing cost of living. In 1975 the implementation of reforms that cut social programs and caused mass unemployment left half of the country’s children malnourished. The 1982 recession in Chile put one-third of Chileans out of work.

Under Pinochet, thousands of Chileans disappeared, and tens of thousands were tortured. These abuses brought international condemnation and resistance within Chile. Women who had lost relatives gathered under the protection of the Catholic Church and embroidered quilts known as *arpilleras*, rendering images of their missing relatives or experiences with repression. Catholic leaders used the church’s privileged position to investigate human rights abuses, uncovering mass graves that served as proof of the dictatorship’s violence.

Amid the excesses of Pinochet’s dictatorship, opponents and even many allies looked for ways to curb his power and find the path for redemocratization. After the 1982 economic crisis, businessmen joined opposition groups such as the Catholic Church to press for liberalization. These groups formed a coalition called Concertación, which proposed a return to democracy that maintained the major elements of free-market reforms. Concertación called on Chileans to vote “NO” in a 1988 plebiscite on whether Pinochet would remain in power. The “NO” vote won, and Chile held its first democratic elections in two decades.

The opposition alliance in Chile resembled many other alliances around the world that sought transitions from authoritarian rule: political opponents who advocated for human rights joined forces with business groups that sought markets in order to produce a postdictatorship democracy founded on free-market principles and support for human rights.

The Dirty War in Argentina

The Argentine military intervened repeatedly in politics for decades after it deposed populist Juan Perón in 1955 (see “Populism in Argentina and Brazil” in Chapter 31). By 1973 the armed forces conceded that their efforts to erase Perón’s legacy — to “de-Perónize” the country — had failed. They allowed Perón to return, and he was again elected president, with his wife Isabelita, a political novice, as vice president. Soon after the election, Juan Perón died. Isabelita Perón, the first woman to become president in Latin America, faced daunting circumstances: Marxist groups such as the Montoneros waged a guerrilla war against the regime, while the armed forces and death squads waged war on them.

In March 1976 a military junta took power and announced a Process of National Reorganization. Influenced by French military theorists who had been stung by their defeats in guerrilla wars in Vietnam and Algeria, the generals waged a “dirty war,” seeking to kill and “disappear” people whom they considered a destructive “cancer” on the nation. Between fourteen and thirty thousand Argentines perished at the hands of the armed forces during the dirty war.

A handful of mothers whose children had disappeared began appearing in the Plaza de Mayo in front of the presidential palace holding pictures of their missing children and carrying signs reading “Where are they?” A growing organization of the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo was soon joined by the Grandmothers, who demanded the whereabouts of children born to women who were detained and disappeared while pregnant. These mothers were only kept alive until they gave birth. Their children were placed with adoptive families tied to the police or armed forces. Unlike in Chile and Brazil, in Argentina senior Catholic clergy did not advocate for human rights or the protection of dissidents. Instead Argentine bishops praised the coup and defended the military regime until it ended in 1983.

NIÑOS DESAPARECID
ABUELAS de PLAZA

Eduardo Di Baia/AP Photo/AP Images

The Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo In a protest in Buenos Aires, mothers and grandmothers demand information about their children and grandchildren who were "disappeared" by the Argentine military junta.

In 1982, emboldened by its success in eradicating its opposition, the Argentine junta occupied a set of islands off its southern coast that were claimed by Britain. Known in Britain as the Falklands and in Argentina as the Malvinas, the islands were home to a small British settlement. Britain resisted the invasion, and the Falklands/Malvinas War resulted in a humiliating defeat for the Argentine junta. After the war the junta abruptly called for elections, and a civilian president took office in 1983.

The new president, Raúl Alfonsín, faced a debt crisis similar to Mexico's. He also struggled to find justice for the crimes committed by the junta. Prosecution and conviction of the junta leaders created a backlash in the armed forces: mid-ranking officers revolted out of fear that they, too, would be prosecuted, and they forced the government to halt prosecutions. Trapped by the economic and political crises, Alfonsín left office early. His successor, Carlos Menem, tried a different approach. Menem pardoned the junta members and embarked on free-market reforms, privatizing businesses and utilities and reducing trade barriers. Investment flooded in, and Argentina seemingly put the past to rest.

As the capacity to attract foreign investment through privatization ran out by the end of the century, Argentina faced economic crisis again. In 2001, amid a run on banks and a collapse of the Argentine peso, the country had five different presidents in a single month. Eventually, the economy stabilized during the presidency of Néstor Kirchner, succeeded by his wife, Cristina Fernández de Kirchner. Néstor Kirchner, who died in 2010 while Cristina Fernández de Kirchner was president, prosecuted those responsible for violence during the dirty war again, achieving convictions of not just the junta leaders but members of the armed forces and police who perpetrated human rights violations.

Development and Dictatorship in Brazil

Brazil's military dictatorship, in power since 1964, began with liberal reforms but moved to a nationalist project of industrialization and infrastructure development that resembled some of the prescriptions of dependency theorists: increased state control of industry, restrictions on imports, and heavy investments in infrastructure. They initially achieved annual growth rates averaging 11 percent between 1968 and 1973. This growth depended on cheap imported oil and harsh political repression. When the oil embargo threatened growth, the generals borrowed heavily from abroad to subsidize fuel costs and conducted costly alternative energy projects to substitute oil with hydroelectric dams and ethanol made from sugarcane.

The Brazilian cycle of borrowing petrodollars to subsidize oil imports and development projects was ruinous for the country. By the end of the 1970s Brazil had the largest foreign debt in the developing world. When the second oil shock hit in 1979 and the U.S. government raised interest rates, making Brazil's dollar-dominated debt more expensive to manage, the country entered what became known as a "lost decade" of recession and inflation. Many workers earned less in 1989 than they had in 1980.

The economic crisis set the tone for a transition to democracy: as the generals made painful cuts to public services and as Brazilians faced soaring inflation and recession, the public overwhelmingly turned against military rule and supported redemocratization. When the first civilian president took office in 1985, inflation stood at 235 percent per year and the foreign debt at $95 billion (compared to $3.2 billion when the military took power). Inflation peaked at 3,375 percent per year before being tamed by the introduction of a new currency linked to the U.S. dollar, coupled with high interest rates.

As in Chile, Brazil's transition to democracy was shaped by liberalization. Business groups, which had grown uneasy with the dictatorship’s borrowing and central planning, joined forces with human rights advocates to return the “rule of law,” rather than arbitrary rule by generals. The debt left behind by Brazil’s military leaders drove liberal economic reforms. To sustain its debt payments, the Brazilian government accepted the Washington Consensus, reducing public spending and opening the economy to imports and foreign investment. Neoliberal reforms included privatizing state enterprises, reducing protections for domestic industry against foreign competition, and keeping interest rates high to control inflation. Inflation remained low, but Brazilians faced a high cost of living, and high interest rates reduced lending to businesses and suppressed economic growth.

Resistance to White Rule in Southern Africa

How did white-minority rule end in southern Africa?

The racially segregated system of apartheid in South Africa was part of a region of white-minority rule that included Portuguese Angola and Mozambique, the government of Ian Smith in Rhodesia, and South African control of the former German colony of Namibia. Wars of independence in Angola and Mozambique eroded the buffer of neighboring white-minority governments around South Africa, and domestic and foreign pressure brought a political transition to majority rule in Namibia and South Africa in the 1990s.

Portuguese Decolonization and Rhodesia

At the end of World War II Portugal was the poorest country in western Europe and was ruled by a dictatorship, but it still claimed an immense overseas empire that included Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, and Cape Verde. Since the 1920s Portuguese dictator António Salazar (1889–1970) had relied on forced labor in Angola's diamond mines to finance his regime. To alleviate poverty in Portugal, Salazar also promoted colonial settlement in Angola and Mozambique, where the white population rose from seventy thousand in 1940 to over five hundred thousand in 1970.

Salazar was determined to resist decolonization, insisting that Portuguese territories were "overseas provinces," whose status he compared to Alaska and Hawaii's relationship to the United States. Without the ability to negotiate decolonization, nationalists in the colonies resorted to armed insurrections. By the early 1970s independence movements in Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, and Mozambique fought guerrilla wars against the Portuguese army and colonial militias. The human toll was immense. To stop the wars Portuguese officers returning from the colonies overthrew Portugal's government in 1974. Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde became independent that same year, Angola and Mozambique a year later. The nationalist movements that took power were all Marxist. Their radicalism was a product of their long struggle against oppression, inequality, and lack of access to their countries' resources.

The end of colonialism in Angola and Mozambique shifted the political landscape of southern Africa. Mozambique helped rebels fighting white-minority rule in Rhodesia, while the South African government saw independent Angola as a threat to apartheid and to its control over Namibia. The bloc of white-minority rule had been shattered. But after more than a decade of war for independence, neither Angola nor Mozambique would soon find peace.

The new government of Mozambique faced a guerrilla movement financed by Rhodesia. As Angola became independent, it faced immediate invasions from Zaire (encouraged by the United States) and South Africa. The new president of Angola, Agostinho Neto (nay-TOH) (1922–1978), requested military aid from Cuba, which airlifted troops that repelled both invasions and kept the regime in place. Until the late 1980s tens of thousands of Cuban troops faced off with the South African Defense Force and mercenary armies to defend the government of Angola.

In the British colony of Rhodesia white settlers, a small minority of the population, declared independence on their own to avoid sharing power with the black majority. In 1965 they established a white-minority government under farmer and politician Ian Smith. The new Rhodesian state faced international condemnation for its treatment of black citizens, including the first economic sanctions imposed by the United Nations. The Rhodesian army and police dealt violently with black political activists who challenged white rule.

The Zimbabwe African People’s Union (ZAPU) fought a guerrilla war against Rhodesia’s white regime. Rebuffed by the United States and Britain, ZAPU turned to China and the Soviet Union for support. When Mozambique gained independence in 1974, its government allowed ZAPU and other guerrilla groups to use neighboring Mozambican territory as a staging ground to launch attacks on Rhodesia, making it impossible for Ian Smith’s government to endure. Open elections were negotiated, and these were easily won in 1979 by ZAPU leader Robert Mugabe. The following year, the Mugabe government renamed the newly independent country Zimbabwe after an ancient city-state that predated colonial rule.

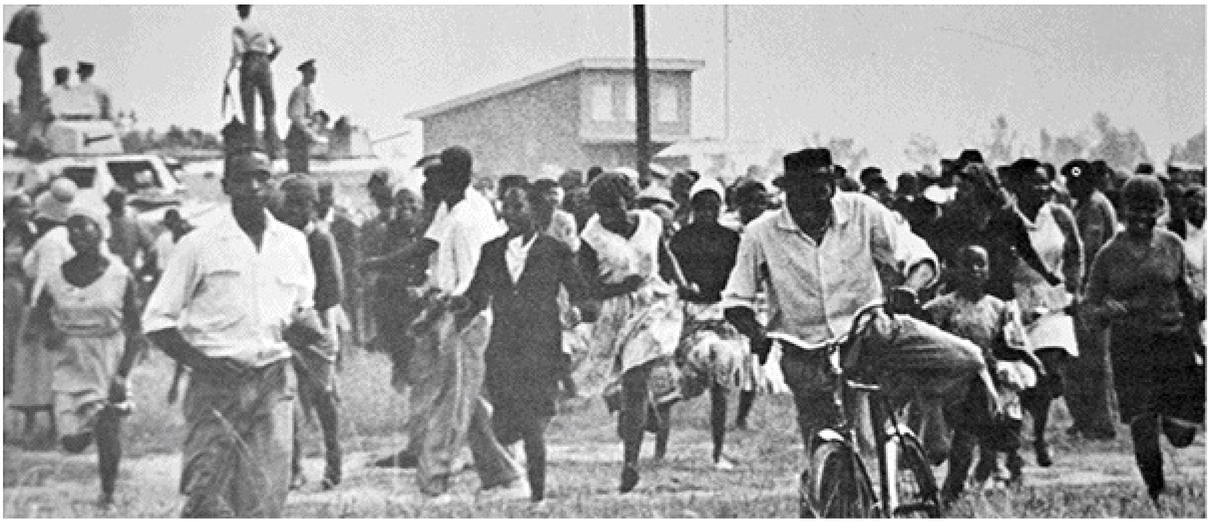
South Africa Under Apartheid

In 1948 the ruling South African National Party created a racist and segregationist system of discrimination known as **apartheid**, meaning “apartness” or “separation.” The population was legally divided into racial groups: whites, blacks, Asians, and racially mixed “coloureds.” Good jobs in the cities were reserved for whites, who lived in luxurious modern central neighborhoods. Blacks were restricted to precarious outlying townships plagued by poverty, crime, and mistreatment from white policemen.

apartheid The system of racial segregation and discrimination that was supported by the Afrikaner government in South Africa.

In the 1950s black South Africans and their allies mounted peaceful protests. A turning point came in 1960, when police in the township of Sharpeville fired at demonstrators and killed sixty-nine black protesters. The main black political organization — the **African National Congress (ANC)** — was outlawed but continued in exile. Other ANC members, led by a young lawyer, Nelson Mandela (1918–2013), stayed in South Africa to mount armed resistance. In 1962 Mandela was captured, tried for treason, and sentenced to life imprisonment. (See “Thinking Like a Historian: The Struggle for Freedom in South Africa,” page 968.)

African National Congress (ANC) The main black nationalist organization in South Africa, led by Nelson Mandela.



World History Archive/Ann Ronan Collection/age-fotostock

The Sharpeville Massacre In March 1960, South Africans flee the area around the Sharpeville police station, where police opened fire on protesters demonstrating against the apartheid policy of requiring blacks to carry pass books to restrict their movements.

In the 1970s the South African government fell into the hands of “securocrats,” military and intelligence officers who adopted a policy known as the “total strategy,” directing the state’s resources into policing apartheid and dominating South Africa’s neighbors by force. At the United Nations, African leaders denounced the South African government, and activists in countries around the world pressured their governments to impose economic sanctions against the South African regime. South

Africa’s white leaders responded with cosmetic reforms in 1984 to improve their international standing. The 3 million coloureds and the 1 million South Africans of Asian descent gained limited parliamentary representation, but no provision was made for any representation of the country’s 22 million blacks.

The reforms provoked a backlash. In the segregated townships young black militants took to the streets, clashing with white security forces; these protests left five thousand dead and fifty thousand jailed without charges between 1985 and 1989. Across the Angolan border, South African troops fought escalating conflicts with Angolan, ANC, and Cuban forces. Mounting casualties and defeat in major battles shook white South Africans’ confidence.

Isolated politically, besieged by economic sanctions, and defeated on the battlefield, South African president Frederik W. de Klerk opened a dialogue with ANC leaders in 1989. He lifted the state of emergency imposed in 1985, legalized the ANC, and freed Mandela in February 1990. Mandela suspended the ANC’s armed struggle and negotiated a 1991 agreement with de Klerk calling for universal suffrage and an end to apartheid legislation, which meant black-majority rule.

In May 1994 Mandela was elected president of South Africa by an overwhelming majority. Heading the new “government of national unity,” which included de Klerk as vice president, Mandela along with the South African people set about building a multiracial democracy. The government established a Truth and Reconciliation Commission modeled on the commission impaneled in Chile to investigate abuses under Pinochet. The commission let black victims speak out, and it offered white perpetrators amnesty in return for fully confessing their crimes. Seeking to avoid white flight and to sustain the economy built through South Africa’s industrialization, Mandela repudiated his Marxist beliefs and reassured domestic and foreign investors of his commitment to liberalization.

THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN

The Struggle for Freedom in South Africa

The movement to fight apartheid quickly went beyond South Africa's borders. In the 1950s and 1960s the government of India emerged as an outspoken critic, given the large population of Indian descent subject to apartheid in South Africa. Newly independent African and Asian nations also championed majority rule. In addition, movements against apartheid grew in Europe, the United States, the Caribbean, and Latin America. Consider the ways in which these sources define moral right and wrong in South Africa.

1 **Nelson Mandela, opening statement at trial, 1964.** In 1963 Nelson Mandela and several other ANC members were charged with sabotage and conspiracy and sentenced to life in prison. The passage below is taken from Mandela's opening statement in his 1964 trial. During his decades in prison, Mandela became one of the leading global symbols of the evils of apartheid.

■ At the outset, I want to say that the suggestion made by the state in its opening that the struggle in South Africa is under the influence of foreigners or communists is wholly incorrect. I have done whatever I did, both as an individual and as a leader of my people, because of my experience in South Africa and my own proudly felt African background, and not because of what any outsider might have said. . . .

Africans want to be paid a living wage. Africans want to perform work which they are capable of doing, and not work which the Government declares them to be capable of. We want to be allowed to live where we obtain work, and not be endorsed out of an area because we were not born there. We want to be allowed and not to be obliged to live in rented houses which we can never call our own. We want to be part of the general population, and not confined to living in our ghettoes. African men want to have their wives and children to live with them where they work, and not to be forced into an unnatural existence in men's hostels. Our women want to be with their men folk and not to be left permanently widowed in the reserves. We want to be allowed out after eleven o'clock at night and not to be confined to our rooms like little children. We want to be allowed to travel in our own country and to seek work where we want to, where we want to and not where the Labour Bureau tells us to. We want a just share in the whole of South Africa; we want security and a stake in society.

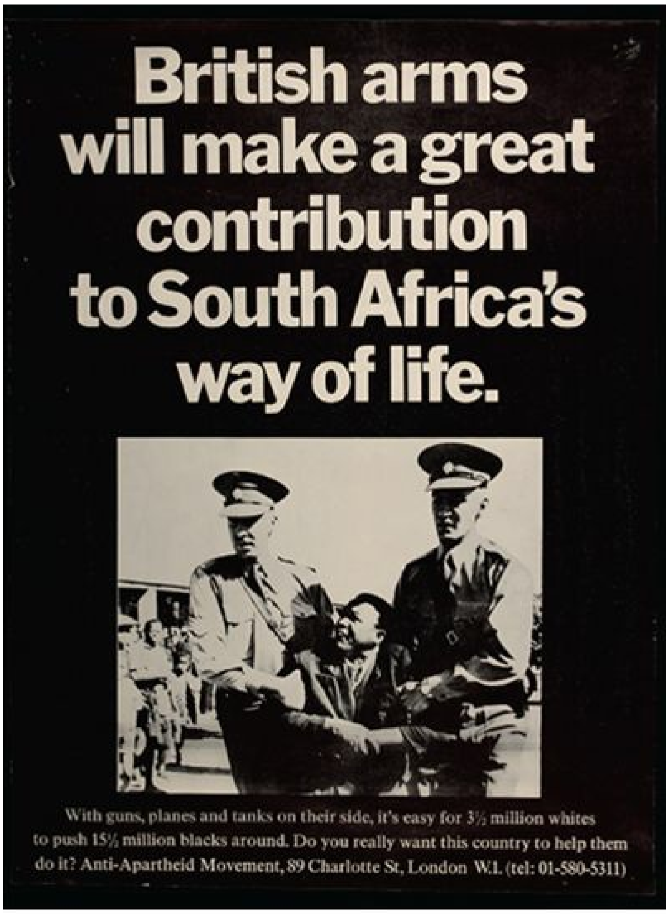
2 **Mark Behr's character Marnus in *The Smell of Apples*, 1995.** Mark Behr's novel *The Smell of Apples* describes eleven-year-old Marnus Erasmus's loss of faith in the midst of a dark betrayal by his father, a general in the South African Defense Force. This passage illustrates the mentality of many members of the white minority under apartheid.

■ Dad tells the General that the rest of the world is against South Africa because we have all the gold and diamonds and other minerals. . . . He says . . . at least we didn't kill off all our blacks like America did to the Red Indians and the Australians to the Aborigines. Dad says you can say a whole lot of things about the Afrikaners [white Dutch settlers], but no one can say we're dishonest. We don't hide our laws like the rest of the world.

Dad says one of the problems is that all the best blacks were taken away by the slave merchants. The blood that was left in Africa was the blood of the dumber blacks — that's why you won't find an educated black anywhere. Have you ever heard about a Bantu inventing something like a telephone or a wheel or an engine? No. Dad says it's because all the clever ones and the strong ones were shipped out of Africa to America. Now America has all the clever blacks and they think they can come and teach the Republic how to deal with ours. The rest of the world is stirring up our natives to make them think the Republic actually belongs to them. . . .

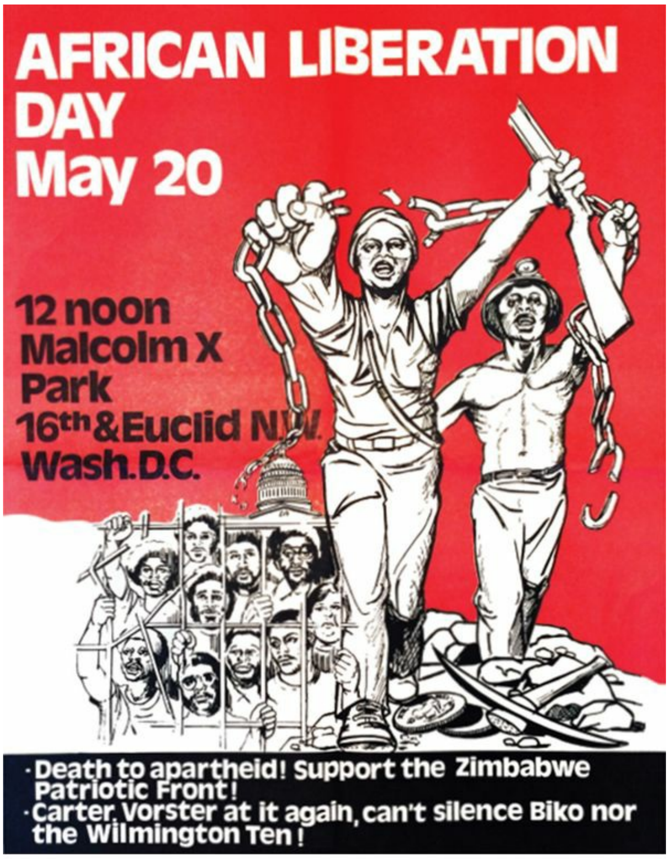
But America is just as stupid. With all their threats of not selling arms and ammunition to the Republic, they play right into the hands of the Communists. The other day, after twelve drunk blacks were killed by police at Western Deep Levels gold-mine, some countries said they were going to stop selling arms to South Africa. They … don't really understand the problems we face in this country. Dad says it doesn't matter that much what the rest of the world says, anyway.

3 **Poster from Britain's Anti-Apartheid Movement.** This poster was part of a campaign organized by Britain's Anti-Apartheid Movement, which began in the 1950s as an effort to persuade British consumers to boycott South African goods. Its agenda grew into calls for Britain to impose sanctions against the South African government.


British arms will make a great contribution to South Africa's way of life.
With guns, planes and tanks on their side, it's easy for 3½ million whites to push 15½ million blacks around. Do you really want this country to help them do it? Anti-Apartheid Movement, 89 Charlotte St, London W.1. (tel: 01-580-5311)

AAM Archives and The Bodleian Libraries,
The University of Oxford, MSS. AAM 512/1/143

4 **Poster announcing an anti-apartheid march in Washington, D.C., 1970s.** This poster for a 1970s protest links the anti-apartheid struggle to other movements for black liberation: it advocates for majority rule in Zimbabwe and for the release of the Wilmington Ten, a group of imprisoned activists who fought against racial discrimination in North Carolina.


AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY
May 20
12 noon
Malcolm X Park
16th & Euclid N.W.
Wash. D.C.
·Death to apartheid! Support the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front!
·Carter, Vorster at it again, can't silence Biko nor the Wilmington Ten!

Pictures from History/CPA Media

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. According to Nelson Mandela in Source 1, what is wrong with South Africa? What needs to be done?
2. How do Mandela in Source 1 and Marnus, the boy in Mark Behr's novel, in Source 2 regard communism?
3. What do you think Behr wanted to convey in the passage in Source 2, which was written in the years after apartheid ended?
4. What kinds of symbolism do the posters in Sources 3 and 4 employ to motivate opposition to apartheid?

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

Using the sources above, along with what you have learned in class and in this chapter and Chapter 31, write a short essay that analyzes whether and how the anti-apartheid movement resembled other social or political movements.

Sources: (1) *I Am Prepared to Die: Nelson Mandela's Statement from the Dock at the Opening of the Defence Case in the Rivonia Trial*, April 20, 1964, nelsonmandela.org/content/page/speeches. Reprinted by permission of the Nelson Mandela Foundation; (2) Mark Behr, *The Smell of Apples* (New York: St. Martin's, 1995), pp. 66, 70.

Political Change in Africa Since 1990

Democracy's rise in South Africa was part of a trend toward elected civilian rule that swept through sub-Saharan Africa after 1990. The end of the Cold War that followed the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1990 transformed Africa's relations with Russia and the United States. Both superpowers had treated Africa as a Cold War battleground, and both had given large-scale military and financial aid to their allies to undermine rivals. Communism's collapse in Europe brought an abrupt end to Communist aid to Russia's African clients. Since the world was no longer divided between allies of the United States and of the Soviet Union, U.S. support for pro-Western dictators, no matter how corrupt or repressive, declined as well. But the decrease in support for dictators left a power vacuum in which ethnic conflicts intensified, with often-disastrous results. For instance, in the early 1990s the United States cut off decades of support for the anticommunist General Mobutu Sese Seko (1930–1997), who seized power in 1965 in Zaire (the former Belgian Congo, renamed the Democratic Republic of the Congo in 1997) and looted the country. Opposition groups toppled the dying tyrant in 1997. The Second Congo War, a civil war that began in 1998 and continues, left more than 5 million dead over the next decade. Hundreds of thousands more have died in the years since, making it the world's deadliest conflict since World War II.

The agreement by national independence leaders across the continent to respect colonial borders prevented one kind of violence, but resulted in another. In countries whose national boundaries had been created by colonial powers irrespective of historic divisions, political parties were often based on ethnicity and kinship. The armed forces, too, were often dominated by a single ethnic group.

At times, ethnic strife boiled over into deep violence, such as the genocides of ethnic Hutus by Tutsis in Burundi in 1972 and by Tutsis of Hutus in 1993 and 1994 in Rwanda, which left hundreds of thousands dead. In Kenya disputes about the legitimacy of the 2007 re-election of Mwai Kibaki left hundreds dead before the National Accord and Reconciliation Act in 2008 ended the violence. A test of the alternative to preserving national boundaries came amid efforts to ease tensions that had created famine and hardship in Sudan. In 2011, 98 percent of the electorate in southern Sudan voted to break away and form a new country, South Sudan. The early promise of peace after separation was challenged by increased ethnic and political violence in South Sudan.

Amid these conflicts, political and economic reform occurred in other African nations where years of mismanagement and repression had delegitimized one-party rule. Above all, the strength of the democratic opposition rested on a growing class of educated urban Africans. Postindependence governments expanded opportunities in education, especially higher education. In Cameroon, for example, the number of students graduating from the national university jumped from 213 in 1961 to 10,000 in 1982 and 41,000 in 1992.[3] The growing middle class of educated professionals chafed at the ostentatious privilege of tiny closed elites and pressed for political reforms that would democratize social and economic opportunities. Thus after 1990 sub-Saharan Africa accompanied the global trend toward liberalization and human rights.

ullstein bild — CARO/Stefan Trappe/Granger, NYC — All rights reserved.

Medical Students in Kenya Medical students make rounds at Moi University Hospital in Eldoret, Kenya. They are part of the growing professional classes in many African nations.

Growth and Development in Asia

How have East and South Asian nations pursued economic development, and how have political regimes shaped those efforts?

China, Japan, and the countries that became known as the "Asian Tigers" (South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore) experienced fantastic economic growth in the last decades of the twentieth century. The Chinese Communist Party managed a transition in which it maintained tight political control amid liberalization and economic growth. Japan's economy stagnated in the 1990s and struggled to recover amid growing competition from its neighbors. In South Asia tensions between India and Pakistan persisted.

Japan's Economic Miracle and the Emergence of the "Asian Tigers"

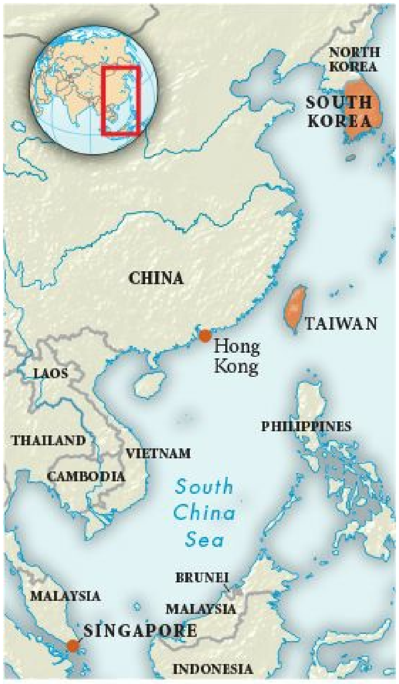
Japan's postwar economic recovery, like Germany's, proceeded slowly at first. But during the Korean War, the Japanese economy took off and grew with spectacular speed. Between 1950 and 1970 Japan's economic growth averaged a breathtaking 10 percent a year. By 1978 Japan had the second-largest economy in the world. In 1986 Japan's average per capita income exceeded that of the United States for the first time.

Japan's emergence as an economic superpower fascinated outsiders. Many Asians and Africans looked to Japan for the secrets of successful modernization, but some of Japan's Asian neighbors again feared Japanese exploitation. In the 1970s and 1980s some Americans and Europeans bitterly accused **"Japan, Inc."** of an unfair alliance between government and business and urged their own governments to retaliate.

"Japan, Inc." A nickname from the 1970s and 1980s used to describe what some considered the unfair relationship between Japan's business world and government.

In Japan's system of managed capitalism, the government protected its industry from foreign competition, decided which industries were important, and then made loans and encouraged mergers to create powerful firms in those industries. The government rewarded large corporations and encouraged them to develop extensive industrial and financial activities. Workers were hired for life, and employees' social lives revolved around the company. (Discrimination against women remained severe: their wages and job security were strikingly inferior to men’s.) In the 1990s Japan’s economy stagnated amid the bursting of a speculative bubble that crippled banks and led to record postwar unemployment as the country faced competition from industrializing neighbors in Asia. In the twenty-first century the return to growth remained elusive as Japan faced a decades-long crisis of deflation (a reduction of the value of goods and services that saps profits and increases debt burdens).

Japan’s competition in Asia was intensified by the “Asian Tigers” — South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore — so named for their rapid economic development. In the early postwar years, South Korea and Taiwan were underdeveloped agrarian countries. They also had suffered from Japanese imperialism and from destructive civil wars with Communist foes.



Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin’s

Asian “Economic Tigers”

They pursued development through a similar series of reforms. First, land reform allowed small farmers to become competitive producers as well as consumers. Second, governments stimulated business through lending, import barriers, and control of labor. Third, nationalist leaders (Park Chung Hee in South Korea and Jiang Jieshi in Taiwan) maintained stability at the expense of democracy. When Park was assassinated in 1979, South Korea faced an even more authoritarian regime until democracy was established at the end of the 1980s. By the late 1990s South Korea had one of the largest economies in the world, leading in shipbuilding and electronics.

In Singapore, Lee Kwan Yew (1923–2015), the prime minister who shepherded the island’s independence from Britain in 1965 and held power until 1990, also pursued a modernization project that came at the cost of political dissent. This project made Singapore into an affluent banking and trade center linking markets in East Asia, the Middle East, Europe, and the United States.

In 1949, after Jiang Jieshi had fled to Taiwan with his Nationalist troops and around 2 million refugees, he re-established the Republic of China (ROC) in exile. Over the next fifty years Taiwan created one of the world’s most industrialized economies, becoming a leader in electronic manufacturing and design. Mainland China continued to claim Taiwan, considering it part of “One China.” Hong Kong, which was returned to Chinese control by Britain in 1997, became a Special Administrative Region (SAR), as did the former Portuguese colony Macau, under a “one country, two systems” formula of partial autonomy.

China’s Economic Resurgence

Amid the Cultural Revolution of 1965–1969, Chairman Mao and the Red Guards mobilized the masses, shook up the Communist Party, and created greater social equality (see “The Communist Victory in China” in Chapter 31). But the Cultural Revolution also created chaos and a general crisis of confidence, especially in the cities. Intellectuals, technicians, and purged party officials launched a counterattack on the radicals and regained much of their influence by 1969. This shift opened the door to a limited but lasting reconciliation between China and the United States in 1972.

In the years following Mao’s death in 1976, Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping (shee-ow-ping) (1904–1997) and his supporters initiated the “Four Modernizations”: agriculture, industry, science and technology, and national defense. China’s 800 million peasants experienced the greatest change from what Deng called China’s “second revolution.” Rigid collectivization had failed to provide the country with adequate food. Deng allowed peasants to farm in small family units rather than in large collectives and to “dare to be rich” by producing crops of their choice. Peasants responded enthusiastically, increasing food production by more than 50 percent by 1984.

The successful use of free markets in agriculture encouraged further experimentation. Foreign capitalists were allowed to open factories in southern China and to export their products around the world. Private enterprise was permitted in cities, where snack shops and other small businesses sprang up. China's Communist Party also drew on the business talent of "overseas" Chinese in Hong Kong and Taiwan who understood world markets and sought cheap labor. The Chinese economy grew rapidly between 1978 and 1987, and per capita income doubled in those years. Most large-scale industry remained state owned, however, and cultural change proceeded slowly.

Economic change was not accompanied by greater political openness. Pressures for democratization grew as Mao's health declined. After Mao's death, the People's Congress ratified a new constitution in 1978 that granted "Four Big Rights," which protected freedom of speech and political debate. This opening gave rise to popular political mobilization and debate, particularly in the form of the Democracy Wall Movement, in which citizens, first in Beijing and later in other cities, put up posters calling for political reforms. (See "Analyzing the Evidence: A Member of China's Red Guards on Democratic Reform," page 974.) The movement was suppressed in 1980. A new constitution enacted in 1982 removed references to the Four Big Rights, emphasizing economic development and reinforcing the political primacy of the Communist Party.

As the worldwide movement for political liberalization gained momentum, the government of China maintained restrictions on demonstrations and slowed economic reform. Inflation soared to more than 30 percent a year. The economic reversal, the continued lack of political freedom, and the conviction that Chinese society was becoming more corrupt led idealistic university students to spearhead demonstrations in 1989. (See "Analyzing the Evidence: Tiananmen Square," at right.)

More than a million people streamed into Beijing's central **Tiananmen Square** in support of the students' demands. The government declared martial law and ordered the army to clear the students. Masses of courageous citizens blocked the soldiers' entry into the city for two weeks, but in the early hours of June 4, 1989, tanks rolled into Tiananmen Square. At least seven hundred students died as a wave of repression, arrests, and executions descended on China. As communism fell in eastern Europe and the Soviet Union broke apart, China's rulers felt vindicated. They believed their action had preserved Communist power, prevented chaos, and demonstrated the limits of reform. People in China were not alone in pressing for democratization — popular protest met with repression in other Communist or military regimes, such as in Burma. (See "Global Viewpoints: Dissidents in Burma and China," page 977.)

Tiananmen Square The site of a Chinese student revolt in 1989 at which Communists imposed martial law and arrested, injured, or killed hundreds of students.

Source: Fan Shen, Gang of One: Memoirs of a Red Guard (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), pp. 199–201. Reprinted by permission of the University of Nebraska Press. Copyright © 2004 by Fan Shen.

China became politically Communist and economically capitalist. In 2001 China joined the World Trade Organization, completing its immersion in the liberal global economy. From 1978, when Deng Xiaoping began economic reforms, through 2012, the Chinese economy grew at an average annual rate of over 9 percent, and foreign trade at an average of 16 percent. Average per capita income in China doubled every ten years, and in March 2011 China replaced Japan as the world’s second-largest economy, surpassed only by the United States. After 2012 China’s economic growth slowed to near 7 percent — a high rate, but one that has strained the capacity of the government to pursue economic development and diminished Chinese imports. As China’s economy became one of the world’s leading economic engines, its growth fueled global trade of commodities imported to China and manufactured goods exported around the world. In turn, the cooling of China’s economy reduced demand for commodities, slowing growth from Asia to Africa and Latin America.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

A Member of China’s Red Guards on Democratic Reform

In the decades following the Cultural Revolution, China experienced repeated pressures for democratization such as the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests. The 1979 Democracy Wall Movement was one such effort that capitalized on a moment of Communist Party reform to push for political change. This account of the movement is by Fan Shen, who grew up in a military family during the Cultural Revolution and joined the Red Guards. He was sent to live in a peasant village at age fourteen and later worked in an aircraft factory, experiences that made him uneasy about the revolution. The Democracy Wall Movement began while he was a student at Lanzhou University in northwest China. After the movement was suppressed, Fan was posted to a teaching appointment in an industrial town, where, as everyone around him became ill from toxins in the water, he waited to become eligible for a passport to study in the United States.

The Democracy Wall Movement, which [the secret police] wanted me to spy on, started quietly in Beijing in 1979, like a hungry mosquito landing noiselessly on a content, unsuspecting pig. In January, to commemorate the late premier Zhou Enlai, … some people put out posters and wreaths on a stretch of wall in Xidan, a busy commercial district in Beijing. The brick wall, barely the length of a basketball court, attracted thousands of passers-by every day. The commemorative posters, however, had a political undertone from the beginning. The mourners, mostly young students and factory workers, cleverly played off of and expanded on the Communist Party’s latest official policy — the “Four Modernizations” — to modernize industry, agriculture, the military, and science. The posters suggested that China need[ed] modernization in a fifth area, democracy. The posters struck a chord in people’s hearts. Within a few weeks the Democracy Wall became a nationwide movement. People began demanding free speech and free elections for student unions and trade unions.

Being fifteen hundred miles from the capital, Lanzhou University was slow to catch on to the democracy movement. But when it arrived, it exploded with a violent energy. To me, the spring of 1980 was almost a carbon copy of the spring of 1966 when the Cultural Revolution began. Hundreds of big letter posters appeared overnight on building walls, parades were held daily, and like the Red Guards, people soon separated into two opposing camps: the Official Election Committee headed by the Secretary of the Communist Party, and the Independent Student Election Committee headed by a lanky economics student, Song Pingtai. The latter’s campaign headquarters was in a dormitory room, next to mine.

Revolutions have a way of picking unlikely heroes. Few could have imagined that Song, a quiet and shy man, would be the hero who dared to run against a candidate picked by the Party.

When the Party consented to the demands of the Independent Student Committee to hold a debate before the election on campus — the first that anyone had experienced — the Democracy Movement became a euphoric festival. Perhaps because of my recent dealings with the secret police, I had a strong desire for political reform and I eagerly participated in Song's campaign. My roommates … also got involved. We wrote posters, printed handbills, and collected donations. The day before the debate, I spent the whole night writing a speech for Song. The next day, at the debate, our hero trounced the Party candidate. Song won the election by a landslide, capturing seventy-eight percent of the student vote and becoming the first freely elected president of the Student Union.

A month later, he ran for the District People's Congress against another Party candidate, who was none other than [the university's party secretary]. The Party mobilized its members and campaigned hard… . But Song … again won handily. We were ecstatic. In May, we saw Song walk into the auditorium of the District People's Congress, and we could feel tremendous excitement and tension in the hall. All the gray heads of the Party delegates turned toward the door silently, as our man sauntered down the aisle in jeans and a blue jacket. "He is *The One*," we heard the gray heads say, and we knew what they meant. Song was the one who upset the tradition, the one not appointed by the Party, the one who was not one of them. There was anger among the roomful of tenured Party appointees. It was plain that to them the Democracy Movement had gone too far.

For five weeks, it was a wonderful spring. At the height of the euphoria, however, I had a nagging fear at the back of my mind that the Party would step in sooner or later and extinguish the flame of the free election because I knew how closely the secret police had been monitoring the democracy movement. But still I never expected the Party to put an end to the Democracy Movement so quickly and so brutally. Just three days after Song's triumphant march into the People's Congress, the police tore down all the democracy posters in the university and declared that the Independent Student Union was illegal and was banned. In Beijing and other cities, we soon heard, the police had arrested many activists of the movement.

"Another victory for the Democratic Dictatorship!" declared the headline of an editorial in the *People's Daily* a few days later. "The so-called Democracy Movement is actually an 'anti-revolutionary movement' aimed at undermining the socialist dictatorship, and it has been mercilessly crushed." In just a few days, as all signs of the democracy movement disappeared, [the party secretary at the university] … resurfaced victoriously on campus and ordered a special two-week workshop for all students, to clear our minds of any thoughts of democracy.

"No one should doubt the Party's resolve," he said firmly to us on the first day of the workshop. "You young people often forget who brought liberation and freedom to China. You must remember that our freedom is socialist freedom, our democracy is socialist democracy, and they must be under the guidance of the Party. You must never forget that on top of democracy there is the Party. The Party hears the people and decides what's best for them. This is what the Great Leader [Mao] called democratic dictatorship. The Party will forgive most of you for what you have done as long as you confess your mistakes. But those who led the charge against the Party will be remembered and dealt with."

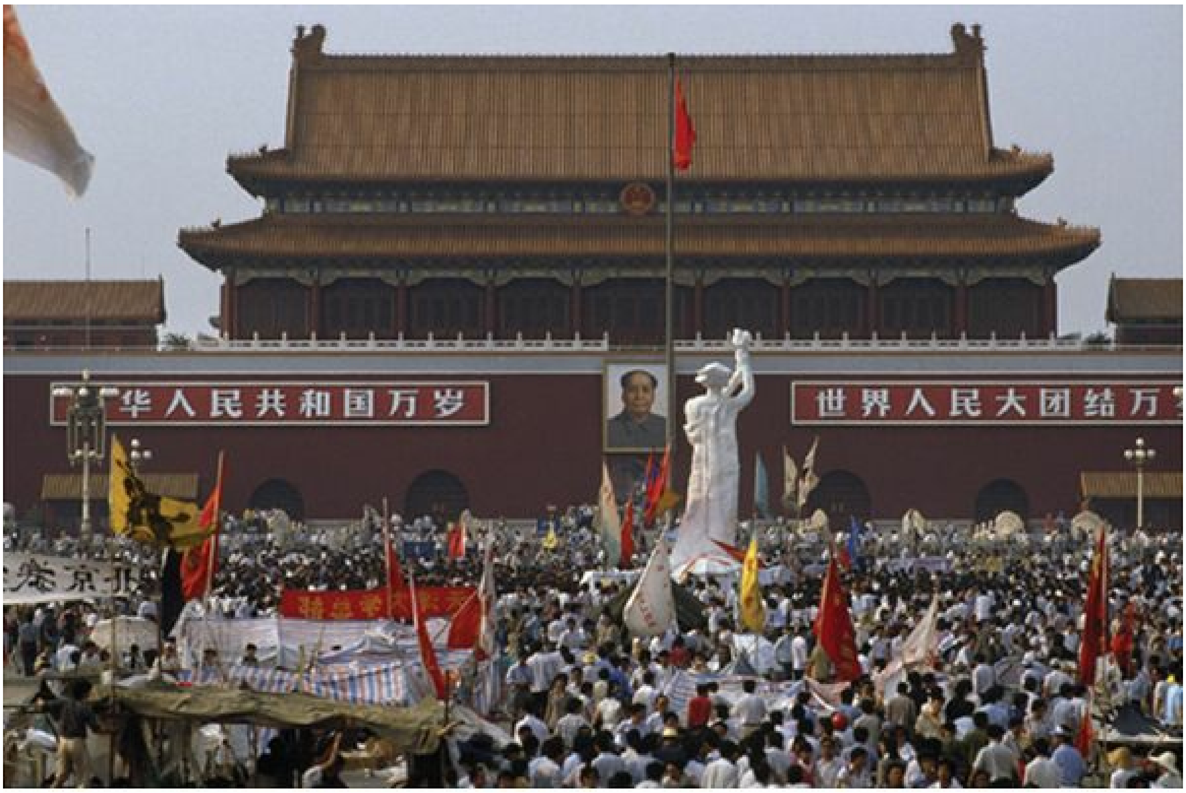
… All the leaders of the democracy movement were punished upon graduation two years later and were sent to the most remote regions. Song himself was sent to the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region (China's Siberia), and none of us heard anything from him again.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What spaces did people take advantage of to challenge the Communist Party during the Democracy Wall Movement?
2. Why did Fan Shen see the protest movement as important despite the fact that it was suppressed?

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

Tiananmen Square



© Stuart Franklin/Magnum Photos

The Tiananmen Square demonstrations of 1989 and their suppression by Chinese authorities are significant both for their impact on dissent in China and for the ways they reflected global patterns of protest. As in many countries, the protesters in Tiananmen Square were mainly students. They began gathering at Tiananmen Square in April 1989 for a series of demonstrations about different issues, all of which were ways of calling for greater political rights, such as freedom of speech and democratization.

The demonstrations occurred at Tiananmen Square both because it was a large and central public space in Beijing and because it was a location that was symbolically and politically important. Tiananmen Square was a historical site — the location of one of the gates to the Imperial City — and it was the stage of major political events such as Mao Zedong’s public proclamation of the establishment of the People’s Republic of China in 1949. The square was also the site of annual military parades and Mao’s addresses to the Red Guards. Thus Tiananmen Square was a place where both state authority was projected and protests were performed.

In this photo taken on May 28, 1989, images and messages of the Chinese state compete with images created by protesters. The walls of the gate tower bear a portait of Mao, and the signs on each side read, “Long Live the People’s Republic of China” and “Long Live the Great Unity of the World’s Peoples.” Before the walls, thousands of protesters gather, and at their center stands a 33-foot-tall statue, built by the students, named the *Goddess of*

Democracy. Though it bears some resemblance to the U.S. Statue of Liberty, which draws on classical Greek imagery to express the idea of democracy, the *Goddess of Democracy* reflects the Socialist Realism style employed in the Soviet Union and China.

Unlike protests in eastern Europe and Latin America that resulted in liberalizing reforms, the Tiananmen Square protests were violently suppressed on June 3 and 4, 1989.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What competing political messages can you find in this image?
2. What do you think the statue symbolized for demonstrators in Tiananmen Square?
3. How does the backdrop of the fifteenth-century Imperial City gate relate to the messages of the state and of the protesters?

GLOBAL VIEWPOINTS

Dissidents in Burma and China

Aung San Suu Kyi spent a total of fifteen years under house arrest between 1989 and 2010 for her opposition to the military junta that ruled Burma. Suu Kyi was arrested while campaigning for a peaceful transition to a democratic civilian government. In the first excerpt, from her 1991 acceptance speech for the Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought awarded by the European Parliament, she discusses resistance to the Burmese dictatorship. Liu Xiaobo was a professor of literature lecturing at Columbia University in New York when students began protesting in Beijing's Tiananmen Square in 1989. He returned to China to join the demonstrations and became a vocal critic of China's human rights policies, for which he faced repeated arrests. In 2009 he was sentenced to prison, where he remained until his death in 2017. Both dissidents received the Nobel Peace Prize for their efforts, but the Chinese government did not allow Liu to accept his award in 2010. Liu sent a letter that was read at the ceremony, from which the second excerpt is drawn.

Aung San Suu Kyi, "Freedom from Fear"

■ Fearlessness may be a gift but perhaps more precious is the courage acquired through endeavour, courage that comes from cultivating the habit of refusing to let fear dictate one's actions, courage that could be described as "grace under pressure" — grace which is renewed repeatedly in the face of harsh, unremitting pressure.

Within a system which denies the existence of basic human rights, fear tends to be the order of the day. Fear of imprisonment, fear of torture, fear of death, fear of losing friends, family, property or means of livelihood, fear of poverty, fear of isolation, fear of failure… . It is not easy for a people conditioned by fear under the iron rule of the principle that might is right to free themselves from the enervating miasma of fear. Yet even under the most crushing state machinery courage rises up again and again, for fear is not the natural state of civilized man.

The wellspring of courage and endurance in the face of unbridled power is generally a firm belief in the sanctity of ethical principles combined with a historical sense that despite all setbacks the condition of man is set on an ultimate course for both spiritual and material advancement… . Concepts such as truth, justice and compassion cannot be dismissed as trite when these are often the only bulwarks which stand against ruthless power.

Liu Xiaobo, "Final Statement"

■ I still want to tell the regime that deprives me of my freedom, I stand by the belief I expressed twenty years ago in my "June Second Hunger

Strike Declaration" — I have no enemies, and no hatred. None of the police who have monitored, arrested and interrogated me, the prosecutors who prosecuted me, or the judges who sentence me, are my enemies. While I'm unable to accept your surveillance, arrest, prosecution or sentencing, I respect your professions and personalities… .

I firmly believe that China's political progress will never stop, and I'm full of optimistic expectations of freedom coming to China in the future, because no force can block the human desire for freedom. China will eventually become a country of the rule of law in which human rights are supreme. I'm also looking forward to such progress being reflected in the trial of this case, and look forward to the full court's just verdict — one that can stand the test of history… .

I look forward to my country being a land of free expression, where all citizens' speeches are treated the same; here, different values, ideas, beliefs, political views … both compete with each other and coexist peacefully; here, … political views different from those in power will be fully respected and protected; … I hope to be the last victim of China's endless literary inquisition, and that after this no one else will ever be jailed for their speech.

Freedom of expression is the basis of human rights, the source of humanity and the mother of truth. To block freedom of speech is to trample on human rights, to strangle humanity and to suppress the truth.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. How do Suu Kyi and Liu frame their appeals as just?
2. What does freedom mean to Suu Kyi? To Liu?

Sources: Aung San Suu Kyi, *Freedom from Fear and Other Writings*, ed. Michael Aris (New York: Penguin, 2010), pp. 180–185; "Text of Chinese Dissident's 'Final Statement,' " *The Lede* (blog), *New York Times*, December 10, 2010, http://thelede.blogs.nytimes.com/2010/12/10/text-of-chinese-dissidents-final-statement/. Used by permission of David Kelly.

Development Versus Democracy in India and Pakistan

Jawaharlal Nehru’s daughter, Indira Gandhi (no relation to Mohandas Gandhi) (1917–1984), became prime minister of India in 1966. She dominated Indian political life for a generation. In 1975 she subverted parliamentary democracy and proclaimed a state of emergency. Gandhi applied her expanded powers across a broad range of areas, including combating corruption, quelling labor unrest, and jailing political opponents. She also initiated a mass sterilization campaign to reduce population growth. More than 7 million men were forcibly sterilized in 1976. Many believed that Gandhi’s emergency measures marked the end of liberal democracy, but in 1977 Gandhi called for free elections. She suffered a spectacular electoral defeat. Her successors fell to fighting among themselves, and in 1980 she returned to power in an equally stunning electoral victory.

Separatist ethnic nationalism plagued Indira Gandhi’s last years in office. India remained a patchwork of religions, languages, and peoples, always threatening to further divide the country along ethnic or religious lines. Most notable were the 15 million Sikhs of the Punjab in northern India (see Map 31.2), with their own religion, distinctive culture, and aspirations for greater autonomy for the Punjab. By 1984 some Sikh radicals were fighting for independence. Gandhi cracked down and was assassinated by Sikhs in retaliation. Violence followed as Hindu mobs slaughtered over a thousand Sikhs throughout India.

One of Indira Gandhi’s sons, Rajiv Gandhi, was elected prime minister in 1984. Rajiv Gandhi departed from his mother’s and the Congress Party’s socialism and prepared the way for Finance Minister Manmohan Singh to introduce market reforms, capitalist development, and Western technology and investment from 1991 onward. These reforms were successful, and since the 1990s India’s economy has experienced rapid growth.

Though the Congress Party held power in India almost continuously after 1947, in the 1990s Hindu nationalists increasingly challenged the party’s grip on power. These nationalists argued that India was based, above all, on Hindu culture and religion and that these values had been undermined by the Western secularism of the Congress Party and the influence of India’s Muslims. The Hindu nationalist party, known as the BJP, gained power in 1998. The new government immediately tested nuclear devices, asserting its vision of a militant Hindu nationalism. Promising to accelerate economic growth, BJP candidate Narendra Modi became prime minister after a sweeping electoral victory in 2014.

When Pakistan announced that it had developed nuclear weapons in 1998, relations between Pakistan and India worsened. In 2001 the two nuclear powers seemed poised for conflict until intense diplomatic pressure brought them back from the brink of nuclear war. In 2005 both countries agreed to open business and trade relations and to try to negotiate a peaceful solution to the Kashmir dispute (see “Independence in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh” in Chapter 31). Tensions again increased in 2008 when a Pakistan-based terrorist organization carried out a widely televised shooting and bombing attack across Mumbai, India’s largest city, killing 164 and wounding over 300.

In the decades following the separation of Bangladesh, Pakistan alternated between civilian and military rule. General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, who ruled from 1977 to 1988, drew Pakistan into a close alliance with the United States that netted military and economic assistance. Relations with the United States chilled as Pakistan pursued its nuclear weapons program. In Afghanistan, west of Pakistan, Soviet military occupation lasted from 1979 to 1989. Civil war followed the Soviet withdrawal, and in 1996 a fundamentalist Muslim group, the Taliban, seized power. The Taliban’s leadership allowed the terrorist organization al-Qaeda to base its operations in Afghanistan. It was from Afghanistan that al-Qaeda conducted acts of terrorism like the attack on the U.S. World Trade Center and the Pentagon in 2001. Following that attack, the United States invaded Afghanistan, driving the Taliban from power.

When the United States invaded Afghanistan in 2001, Pakistani dictator General Pervez Musharraf (b. 1943) renewed the alliance with the United States, and Pakistan received billions of dollars in U.S. military aid. But U.S. combat against the Taliban and al-Qaeda drove militants into regions of northwest Pakistan, where they undermined the government’s already tenuous control. Cooperation between Pakistan and the United States in the war was strained when U.S. Special Forces killed al-Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden on May 1, 2011. He had been hiding for years in a compound several hundred yards away from a major Pakistani military academy outside of the capital, Islamabad.

In 2007 Musharraf attempted to reshape the country’s Supreme Court by replacing the chief justice with one of his close allies, bringing about calls for his impeachment. Benazir Bhutto (1953–2007), who became the first female elected head of a Muslim state when she was elected prime minister in 1988, returned from exile to challenge Musharraf’s increasingly repressive military rule. She was assassinated while campaigning. After being defeated at the polls in 2008, Musharraf resigned and went into exile in London.

Chip HIRES/Getty Images

The Election of Benazir Bhutto Pakistan’s Benazir Bhutto became the first female prime minister of a Muslim nation in 1988.

The End of the Cold War

How did decolonization and the end of the Cold War change Europe?

In the late 1960s and early 1970s the United States and the Soviet Union pursued a relaxation of Cold War tensions that became known as **détente** (day-TAHNT). But détente stalled when Brezhnev's Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan to save an unpopular Marxist regime.

détente The progressive relaxation of Cold War tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

The United States reacted with alarm to the spread of Soviet influence. Ronald Reagan (U.S. pres. 1981–1989) sought to halt the spread of Soviet influence, much like predecessors John F. Kennedy and Harry Truman had. But as Reagan and conservative allies in Europe rekindled the Cold War, the Soviet Union began reforms that culminated in the release of control over eastern Europe and the dismantling of the Soviet Union and its Communist state.

The Limits of Reform in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe

After their 1968 intervention in Czechoslovakia, Soviet leaders worked to restore order and stability. Free expression and open protest disappeared throughout their satellite nations.

A rising standard of living helped ensure stability as well. Beneath this appearance of stability, however, the Soviet Union underwent a social revolution. The urban population expanded rapidly. The number of highly trained professionals increased fourfold between 1960 and 1985. The education that created expertise helped foster the growth of Soviet public opinion about questions ranging from pollution to urban transportation.

When Mikhail Gorbachev (b. 1931) became premier in 1985, he set out to reform the Soviet system with policies he called democratic socialism. The first set of reforms was intended to transform and restructure the economy. **Perestroika** permitted freer prices, more autonomy for state enterprises, and the establishment of some profit-seeking private cooperatives. A more far-reaching campaign of openness, or **glasnost**, introduced in 1985, allowed significant new space for public debate by increasing transparency and allowing a more open media.

perestroika Economic restructuring and reform implemented by Soviet premier Mikhail Gorbachev that permitted an easing of government price controls on some goods, more independence for state enterprises, and the establishment of profit-seeking private cooperatives.

glasnost Soviet premier Mikhail Gorbachev's popular campaign for government transparency and more open media.

Democratization under Gorbachev led to the first free elections in the Soviet Union since 1917. Gorbachev and the party remained in control, but an independent minority was elected in 1989 to a revitalized Congress of People's Deputies. Democratization encouraged demands for greater autonomy from non-Russian minorities, especially in the Baltic region and in the Caucasus.

Finally, Gorbachev brought "new political thinking" to foreign affairs. He withdrew Soviet troops from Afghanistan in 1989 and sought to reduce Cold War tensions. Gorbachev pledged to respect the political choices of eastern Europe's peoples. Soon after, a wave of peaceful revolutions swept across eastern Europe, overturning Communist regimes.

Poland led the way. In August 1980 strikes grew into a working-class revolt. Led by Lech Wałęsa (lehk vah-LEHN-suh) (b. 1943), workers organized the independent trade union **Solidarity**. Communist leaders responded by imposing martial law in December 1981 and arresting Solidarity's leaders. By 1988 labor unrest and inflation had brought Poland to the brink of economic collapse, pressuring Poland's Communist Party leaders into legalizing Solidarity and allowing free elections in 1989 for some seats in the Polish parliament. Solidarity won every contested seat. A month later Solidarity member Tadeusz Mazowiecki (mah-zoh-VYEHT-skee) (1927–2013) was sworn in as the first noncommunist prime minister in eastern Europe in a generation.

Solidarity Led by Lech Wałęsa, an independent Polish trade union organized in 1980 that worked for the rights of workers and political reform.

Czechoslovakia and Romania reflected different paths to reform: Czechoslovakia's Velvet Revolution led to the peaceful ouster of Communist leaders amid massive street protests led by students and intellectuals. (See "Individuals in Society: Václav Havel," at right.)

But in Romania the revolution was violent. Communist dictator

Nicolae Ceauşescu (chow-SHEHS-koo) (1918–1989) unleashed his security forces on protesters, sparking an armed uprising. After Ceauşescu’s forces were defeated, he and his wife were captured and executed by a military court.

Amid the transformation of eastern Europe, Germany reunified. Reunification began with the millions of East Germans who flooded across their country’s borders to reach West Germany (see Map 31.1). As neighboring countries liberalized, East Germany’s leaders gave in to public pressure and opened the Berlin Wall in November 1989, before being swept aside. An “Alliance for Germany” won general elections and negotiated an economic union with West Germany.

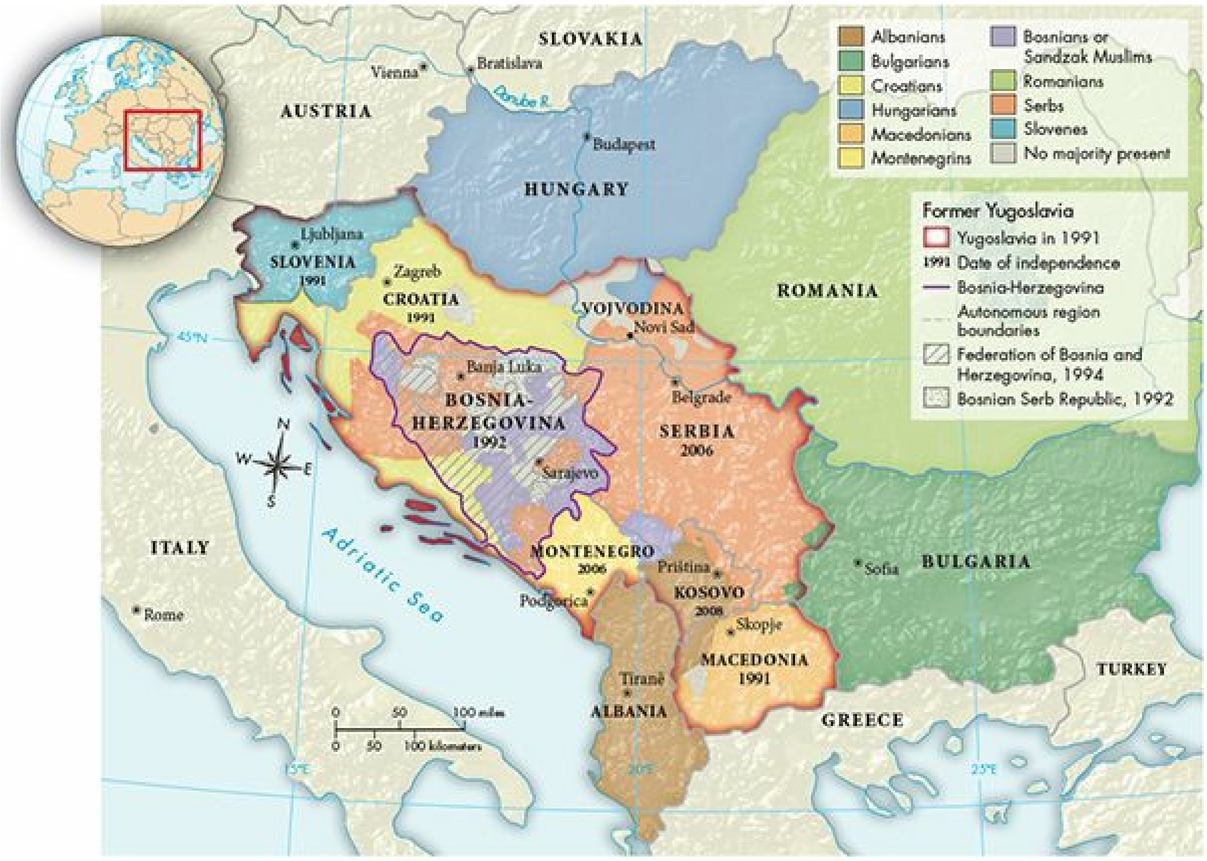
West German chancellor Helmut Kohl reassured American, Soviet, and European leaders that a reunified Germany would have peaceful intentions. Within the year, East and West Germany merged into a single nation under West Germany’s constitution and laws.

Many people in eastern Europe faced unexpected hardships in the process of liberalization as economies underwent difficult transformations and the state infrastructure of social welfare crumbled. But the greatest postcommunist tragedy was in Yugoslavia, whose federation of republics and regions had been held together under Josip Tito’s Communist rule. After Tito’s death in 1980, rising territorial and ethnic tensions were intensified by economic decline.

Lionel Cironneau/AP Photo/AP Images

Fall of the Berlin Wall A man stands atop the partially destroyed Berlin Wall flashing the *V* for victory sign as he and thousands of other Berliners celebrate the opening of the Berlin Wall in November 1989. Within a year the wall was torn down, communism collapsed, and the Cold War ended.

The revolutions of 1989 accelerated the breakup of Yugoslavia. Serbian president Slobodan Milošević (SLOH-buh-dayn muh-LOH-suh-vihch) (1941–2006) attempted to grab land from other republics to create a “greater Serbia.” His ambitions led to civil wars that between 1991 and 2001 engulfed Kosovo, Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina (Map 32.2). In 1999 Serbian aggression prompted NATO air strikes, led by the United States, against the Serbian capital of Belgrade as well as against Serbian military forces until Milošević relented. Milošević was voted out of office in 2000. The new Serbian government extradited him to a United Nations war crimes tribunal in the Netherlands to stand trial for crimes against humanity as peace was restored to the former Yugoslav republics.



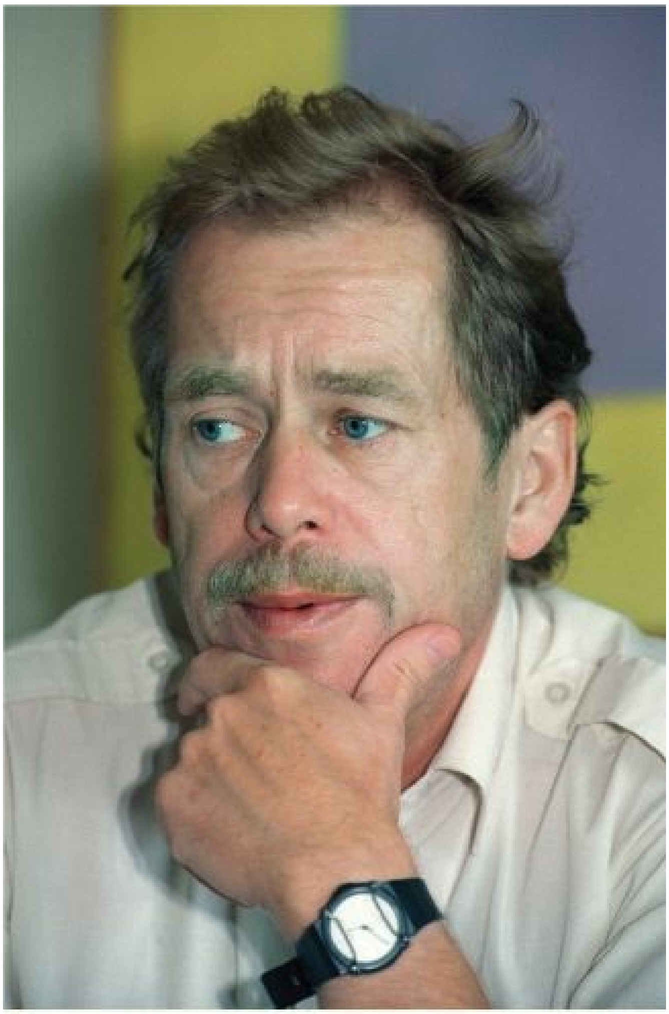
Albanians
Bulgarians
Croatians
Hungarians
Macedonians
Montenegrins
Bosnians or Sandzak Muslims
Romanians
Serbs
Slovenes
No majority present
Former Yugoslavia
Yugoslavia in 1991
1991 Date of independence
Bosnia-Herzegovina
Autonomous region boundaries
Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1994
Bosnian Serb Republic, 1992
SLOVAKIA
Vienna
Bratislava
AUSTRIA
Danube R.
Budapest
HUNGARY
Ljubljana
SLOVENIA 1991
Zagreb
CROATIA 1991
VOJVODINA
Novi Sad
ROMANIA
45°N
Banja Luka
BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA 1992
Sarajevo
Belgrade
SERBIA 2006
N
W
E
S
ITALY
Adriatic Sea
MONTENEGRO 2006
Priština
KOSOVO 2008
Podgorica
Sofia
BULGARIA
Rome
Skopje
MACEDONIA 1991
Tiranë
ALBANIA
TURKEY
GREECE
0 50 100 miles
0 50 100 kilometers
15°E
20°E
25°E

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 32.2 The Breakup of Yugoslavia Yugoslavia had the most ethnically diverse population in eastern Europe. The Republic of Croatia had substantial Serbian and Muslim minorities, and Bosnia-Herzegovina had large Muslim, Serbian, and Croatian populations, none of which had a majority. In June 1991 Serbia's brutal effort to seize territory and unite all Serbs in a single state brought a tragic civil war to the region.

INDIVIDUALS IN SOCIETY

Václav Havel



Pascal George/AFP/Getty Images

Václav Havel, playwright, dissident leader, and the first postcommunist president of the Czech Republic.

ON THE NIGHT OF NOVEMBER 24, 1989, the revolution in Czechoslovakia reached its climax. Three hundred thousand people had poured into Prague’s historic Wenceslas Square to continue the massive protests that had erupted a week earlier after the police savagely beat student demonstrators. Now all eyes were focused on a high balcony. There an elderly man with a gentle smile and a middle-aged intellectual wearing jeans and a sports jacket stood arm in arm and acknowledged the cheers of the crowd. “Dubček-Havel,” the people roared.

“Dubček-Havel!” Alexander Dubček, who represented the failed promise of reform communism in the 1960s (see “The World in 1968” in Chapter 31), was symbolically passing the torch to Václav Havel, who embodied the uncompromising opposition to communism that was sweeping the country. That very evening, the hard-line Communist government resigned, and soon Havel was the unanimous choice to head a new democratic Czechoslovakia. Who was this man to whom the nation turned in 1989?

Born in 1936 into a prosperous, cultured, upper-middle-class family, the young Havel was denied admission to the university because of his class origins. Loving literature and philosophy, he gravitated to the theater, became a stagehand, and emerged in the 1960s as a leading playwright. His plays were set in vague settings, developed existential themes, and poked fun at the absurdities of life and the pretensions of communism. In his private life, Havel thrived on good talk, Prague’s lively bar scene, and officially forbidden rock ’n’ roll.

In 1968 the Soviets rolled into Czechoslovakia, and Havel watched in horror as a tank commander opened fire on a crowd of peaceful protesters in a small town. “That week,” he recorded, “was an experience I shall never forget.”* The free-spirited artist threw himself into the intellectual opposition to communism and became its leading figure for the next twenty years. The costs of defiance were enormous. Purged and blacklisted, Havel lifted barrels in a brewery and wrote bitter satires that could not be staged. In 1977 he and a few other dissidents publicly protested Czechoslovakian violations of human rights, and in 1989 this Charter ’77 group became the inspiration for Civic Forum, the democratic coalition that toppled communism. Havel spent five years in prison and was constantly harassed by the police.

Havel’s thoughts and actions focused on truth, decency, and moral regeneration. In 1975, in a famous open letter to Czechoslovakia’s Communist boss, Havel wrote that the people were indeed quiet, but only because they were “driven by fear… . Everyone has something to lose and so everyone has reason to be afraid.” Havel saw lies, hypocrisy, and apathy undermining and poisoning all human relations in his country: “Order has been established — at the price of a paralysis of the spirit, a deadening of the heart, and a spiritual and moral crisis in society.”†

Yet Havel saw a way out of the Communist quagmire. He argued that a profound but peaceful revolution in human values was possible. Such a revolution could lead to the moral reconstruction of Czech and Slovak society, where, in his words, “values like trust, openness, responsibility, solidarity and love” might again flourish and nurture the human spirit.

Havel was a voice of hope and humanity who inspired his compatriots with a lofty vision of a moral postcommunist society. As president of his country from 1989 to 2003, Havel continued to speak eloquently on the great questions of our time.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Why did Havel oppose Communist rule? How did his goals differ from those of Dubček and other advocates of reform communism?
2. Havel has been called a “moralist in politics.” Is this a good description of him? Why or why not?

---

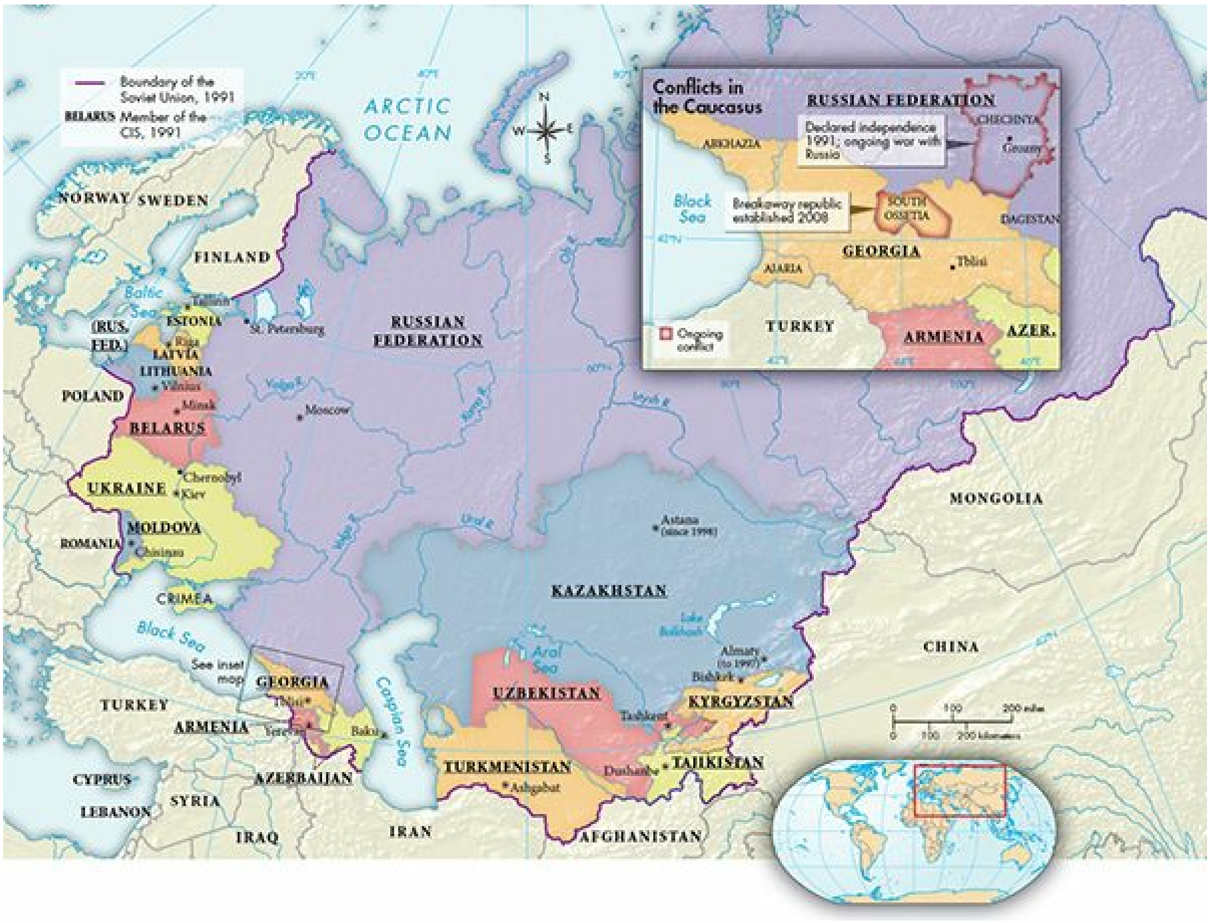
*Quoted in M. Simmons, *The Reluctant President: A Political Life of Václav Havel* (London: Methuen, 1991), p. 91.

†Quoted ibid., p. 110.

Recasting Russia Without Communism

In February 1990 the Soviet Communist Party was defeated in local elections throughout the country, eroding Gorbachev’s power and strengthening his rival, Boris Yeltsin (1931–2007), the former mayor of Moscow. In May 1990, as leader of the Russian parliament, Yeltsin announced that Russia would declare its independence from the Soviet Union. In August 1991 Gorbachev faced an attempted coup by Communist hardliners who wanted to preserve a Communist Soviet Union. Instead their coup attempt hastened the end of the Soviet Union. Yeltsin emerged as a popular hero for his dramatic resistance: at one point, he climbed atop a tank deployed by the conspirators to deliver a rousing speech calling for a general strike in resistance to the coup.

In the aftermath of the attempted takeover, an anticommunist revolution swept the Russian Federation. The Communist Party was outlawed and its property confiscated. Yeltsin and his liberal allies declared Russia independent and withdrew from the Soviet Union. All the other Soviet republics followed suit. Gorbachev agreed to their independence, and the Soviet Union ceased to exist on December 25, 1991 (Map 32.3). The newly independent post-Soviet republics faced challenges, including the need to quickly build new political systems and the urgency of economic reforms meant to open socialist economies to free-market principles. Liberal reforms doomed much of Russia’s industry, and its economy depended increasingly on oil and natural gas exports. Despite its weakened economy, Russia retained the world’s second-largest nuclear arsenal, as well as a powerful vote (and veto) in the United Nations Security Council.


Boundary of the Soviet Union, 1991
BELARUS Member of the CIS, 1991
ARCTIC OCEAN
Conflicts in the Caucasus
RUSSIAN FEDERATION
CHECHNYA
Grozny
Declared independence 1991; ongoing war with Russia
ABKHAZIA
Black Sea
Breakaway republic established 2008
SOUTH OSSETIA
DAGESTAN
GEORGIA
Tbilisi
AJARIA
TURKEY
ARMENIA
AZER.
Ongoing conflict
NORWAY
SWEDEN
FINLAND
Baltic Sea
Tallinn
ESTONIA
St. Petersburg
(RUS. FED.)
Riga
LATVIA
LITHUANIA
Vilnius
POLAND
Minsk
BELARUS
Moscow
RUSSIAN FEDERATION
Chernobyl
Kiev
UKRAINE
MOLDOVA
Chisinau
ROMANIA
CRIMEA
Black Sea
See inset map
GEORGIA
Tbilisi
TURKEY
ARMENIA
Yerevan
Baku
AZERBAIJAN
Caspian Sea
CYPRUS
SYRIA
LEBANON
IRAQ
IRAN
TURKMENISTAN
Ashgabat
UZBEKISTAN
Aral Sea
Tashkent
Dushanbe
TAJIKISTAN
KYRGYZSTAN
Bishkek
Almaty (to 1997)
Astana (since 1998)
KAZAKHSTAN
Lake Balkhash
AFGHANISTAN
MONGOLIA
CHINA
0 100 200 miles
0 100 200 kilometers

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 32.3 **Russia and the Successor States** After the attempt in August 1991 to depose Gorbachev failed, an anticommunist revolution swept the Soviet Union. Led by Russia and Boris Yeltsin, the republics that formed the Soviet Union declared their sovereignty and independence. Eleven of the fifteen republics then formed a loose confederation called the Commonwealth of Independent States, but the integrated economy of the Soviet Union dissolved into separate national economies, each with its own goals and policies.

As Yeltsin presided over newly independent Russia, he opted for breakneck liberalization. This shock therapy, which followed methods similar to radical free-market policies in Chile and other parts of Latin America, freed prices on most goods and launched a rapid privatization of industry. Prices soared and production collapsed. State industrial monopolies became private monopolies that cut production and raised prices in order to maximize profits. The quality of public services and health care declined to the point that the average male life expectancy dropped from sixty-nine years in 1991 to fifty-nine years in 2007. In 2003 Russia's per capita income was lower than at any time since 1978.

The election of Yeltsin's handpicked successor, President Vladimir Putin (b. 1952), in 2000 ushered in a new era of "managed democracy." Putin's stress on public order and economic reform was popular, even as he became progressively more authoritarian. Significant restrictions were placed on media freedoms, regional elections were abolished, and the distinction between judicial and executive authority collapsed. Putin consolidated the power and authority of the state around himself and his closest advisers, closing off the development of democratic pluralism and an independent legal system in Russia.

Putin's illiberal tendencies were also evident in his brutal military campaign against Chechnya (CHEHCH-nyuh), a tiny republic of 1 million Muslims in southern Russia (see Map 32.3, inset) that in 1991 declared its independence. Up to two hundred thousand Chechen civilians are estimated to have been killed between 1994 and 2011. Many more became refugees. Chechen resistance to Russian domination continued, often in the form of attacks such as a suicide bombing at Moscow's airport in 2011 that killed scores of travelers.

In the aftermath of the dissolution of the Soviet Union, political and ethnic divisions threatened peace and stability among the post-Soviet republics. In Ukraine, in 2014 pro-Western protesters toppled a president who refused to sign agreements with the European Union. In the aftermath of the uprising, Russian forces occupied the Ukrainian province of Crimea along the Black Sea and backed secessionist movements in ethnically Russian regions of Ukraine. Russia's seizure of Crimea undermined the terms under which the Soviet Union had dissolved into separate republics, provoking unease among other new states such as the Baltic republics.

Integration and Reform in Europe

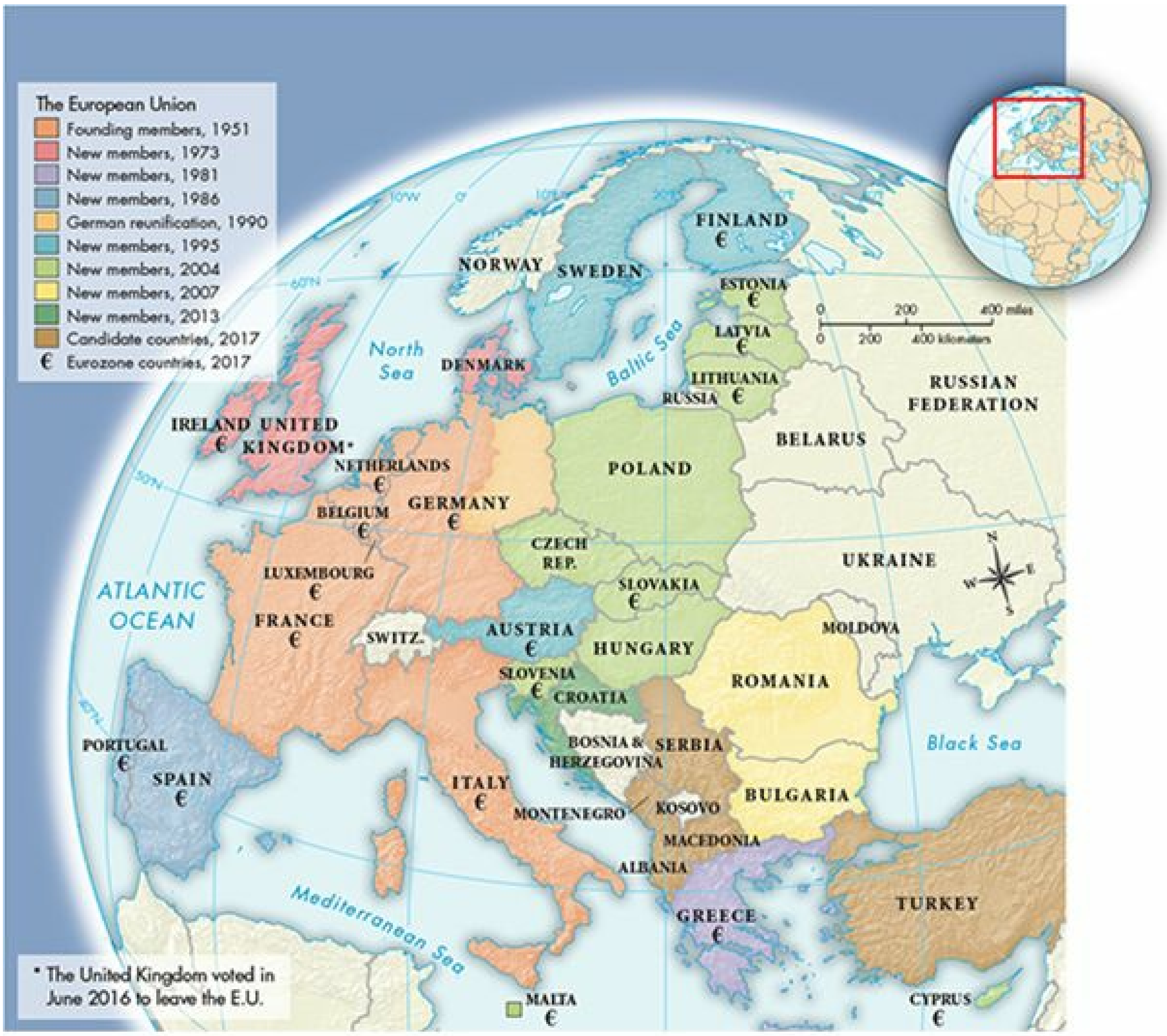
Germany and France continued to lead the push for European unity, building on integration efforts in the 1940s and 1950s established through NATO and the Common Market (see "Postwar Challenges in Western Europe and the United States" in Chapter 31). French president François Mitterrand (1916–1996) and German chancellor Helmut Kohl (b. 1930) pursued the economic integration of European Community members, and in 1993 the European Community rechristened itself the **European Union (EU)**. The European Union, a political and economic body, allowed for the free movement of people and goods among twelve member countries; created a common currency, the euro, introduced in 2002; and formed a European Parliament that established regulations and pooled infrastructure and education investments.

European Union (EU) An economic and political alliance of twelve European nations formed in 1993 that has since grown to include twenty-eight European nations.

The creation of the European Union resolved diverse challenges for different parts of Europe. It created a logic for a unified Germany integrated with Europe. For eastern Europe it provided a blueprint for reforming economies and institutions in countries transitioning away from Soviet models. For western Europe it created an alternative path after the loss of colonies in Africa and Asia. For five centuries overseas empires had not only provided the engine for economic development at home but also shaped international relations as well as intellectual currents ranging from abolitionism to scientific racism and even Marxism. Empires had provided raw materials and markets that produced industrialization. For different reasons but for the first time since before the French Revolution, almost all of Europe now followed the same general political model.

European leaders embraced a neoliberal, free-market vision of capitalism. The most radical economic changes had been implemented in the 1980s by Margaret Thatcher (1925–2013) in Britain, who drew inspiration from Pinochet’s Chile. Other governments also introduced austerity measures to slow the growth of public spending and the welfare state. Many individuals suffered under the impact of these reductions in public spending and social welfare. Harder times meant that more women entered or remained in the workforce after they married.

The success of the euro encouraged the EU to accelerate plans for an ambitious enlargement to the east. On May 1, 2004, the EU started admitting eastern European countries and by 2009 had adopted a common constitution. In 2017 the European Union had twenty-eight member states, including most of eastern Europe, and a population of nearly 500 million. As it grew, the EU faced questions about the limits of its expansion and the meaning of European unity and identity. If the EU expanded to include eastern Europe and some former Soviet republics, how could Turkey, a secular nation with a Muslim majority, be denied its long-standing request for membership? Turkey had been a member of NATO since 1952 and had labored to meet membership requirements (Map 32.4).


The European Union
Founding members, 1951
New members, 1973
New members, 1981
New members, 1986
German reunification, 1990
New members, 1995
New members, 2004
New members, 2007
New members, 2013
Candidate countries, 2017
€ Eurozone countries, 2017
NORWAY
SWEDEN
FINLAND
ESTONIA
LATVIA
LITHUANIA
RUSSIA
RUSSIAN FEDERATION
BELARUS
North Sea
Baltic Sea
DENMARK
IRELAND
UNITED KINGDOM*
NETHERLANDS
BELGIUM
GERMANY
POLAND
LUXEMBOURG
CZECH REP.
SLOVAKIA
UKRAINE
MOLDOVA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
FRANCE
SWITZ.
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
ROMANIA
SLOVENIA
CROATIA
BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA
SERBIA
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
ITALY
MONTENEGRO
KOSOVO
BULGARIA
MACEDONIA
ALBANIA
GREECE
TURKEY
Black Sea
Mediterranean Sea
MALTA
CYPRUS
0 200 400 miles
0 200 400 kilometers
N
S
E
W
10°W
0°
10°E
20°E
60°N
50°N
40°N
* The United Kingdom voted in June 2016 to leave the E.U.

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

MAP 32.4 The European Union, 2017 No longer divided by ideological competition and the Cold War, much of today's Europe banded together in a European Union that has become strained by economic and migration pressures.

This debate deepened as the economic crisis that began in 2008 tested and frayed the European Union. Countries that had adopted the euro currency had to meet stringent fiscal standards and imposed deep budget cuts. The resulting reductions in health care and social benefits hit ordinary citizens hard. National governments could no longer expand their own monetary supplies to promote recovery, and governments were forced to slash budgets to meet debt obligations. At the same time, the EU struggled to find a unified response to the growing numbers of refugees crossing the Mediterranean from North Africa and the Middle East as they fled conflict zones and poverty. In western Europe, tensions also emerged over the movement of peoples from poorer eastern European member nations to wealthier countries like France and the United Kingdom.

Austerity brought ruinous economic conditions that crippled Greece, prompting its near-departure from the Eurozone in 2015, while the economies of Portugal, Spain, and Italy struggled. The consequences of liberalization in Europe resembled the consequences elsewhere: economic growth was greater, but economic hardship and dislocation were deeper. The costs of liberalization to European unity were felt again as voters in the United Kingdom chose in 2016 to leave the European Union after a campaign fueled by anxieties about immigration. The British voters' decision, popularly called Brexit, was the first vote of its kind and, together with the Greek economic crisis, cast doubts about the stability and future of the European Union.

Chapter Summary

In 1976 most of the world was governed by undemocratic regimes. These regimes came in many different types: some were controlled by Communist parties and others by right-wing military officers loyal to the United States. There were dictatorships ruled by nationalist leaders, by strongmen who unseated independence leaders, and by members of families that owned much of a nation’s resources. Some of these dictators created an illusion of governing democratically, but they restricted opposition or required one-party rule.

Some dictatorships created the space to engage in utopian projects to remake nations. Even when such dictatorships succeeded in their goals, they did so at enormous costs, measured in debt and inflation, famine and malnutrition, the tattering of public institutions, and the reliance on repression to maintain order.

By the mid-1980s dictatorships around the world had begun to fall, and democratic transitions followed. During the 1980s most of Latin America returned to democracy, and in 1989 the fall of the Berlin Wall culminated a wave of political and economic change in the Soviet Union and eastern Europe. The end of the Cold War division of Europe accelerated a process of integration and unification that had its roots in reconstruction after the Second World War and the process of decolonization that dismantled European empires. Alongside political transitions, a wave of economic liberalization, often promoted by the United States, swept the world. Liberalization resulted in increased trade and economic activity, but it also created growing gaps between rich and poor.

Amid these changes, East Asia came to play a growing role in the world economy. The rapid economic growth of Japan and the industrialization of South Korea were accompanied by an economic liberalization without political liberalization in China. In the 1970s Japan became the second-largest national economy by GDP in the world after the United States. By 2010 China had surpassed Japan amid projections that it would soon emerge as the world’s largest national economy.

CONNECTIONS

The experiences of people living under authoritarian regimes varied greatly. Many supported the regimes from which they drew privileges or found a reassuring sense of order. Others avoided political questions and stayed out of trouble. But even they were affected by authoritarianism: censorship and propaganda meant that official pronouncements lacked credibility, so rumors, some true and others wild, became their basic currency of exchange.

Many, however, resisted the regimes. For some, a closed political system meant the only tools available were armed resistance. Guerrilla movements against authoritarian regimes were common, though the imbalance in their resources meant they mostly met with violent ends at the hands of security forces. Another form of resistance proved more effective: nonviolent, and ostensibly nonpolitical, resistance was harder for regimes to repress. Mothers asking for the whereabouts of missing children or quilting the scenes of their grief in Argentina and Chile, or workers organizing an independent union in Poland, found ways to challenge their regimes.

The most successful resistance was often opposition that was not explicitly ideological, such as the defense of human rights, or the establishment of the rule of law that would restrict a regime’s arbitrary power. These pressures had a similar effect when applied to right-wing or socialist dictatorships alike: they were liberalizing. As dictatorships in Latin America, East Asia, and eastern Europe moved toward multiparty democracy, and as the Soviet bloc disintegrated, those countries shared a historical moment in which liberal economic and political reforms swept the world.

CHAPTER 32 Review and Explore

Identify Key Terms

Identify and explain the significance of each item below.

Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) (p. 956)
petrodollars (p. 956)
neoliberalism (p. 957)
Washington Consensus (p. 957)
intifada (p. 959)
junta (p. 963)
apartheid (p. 967)
African National Congress (ANC) (p. 967)
“Japan, Inc.” (p. 971)
Tiananmen Square (p. 972)
détente (p. 978)
perestroika (p. 978)
glasnost (p. 978)
Solidarity (p. 978)
European Union (EU) (p. 982)

Review the Main Ideas

Answer the focus questions from each section of the chapter.

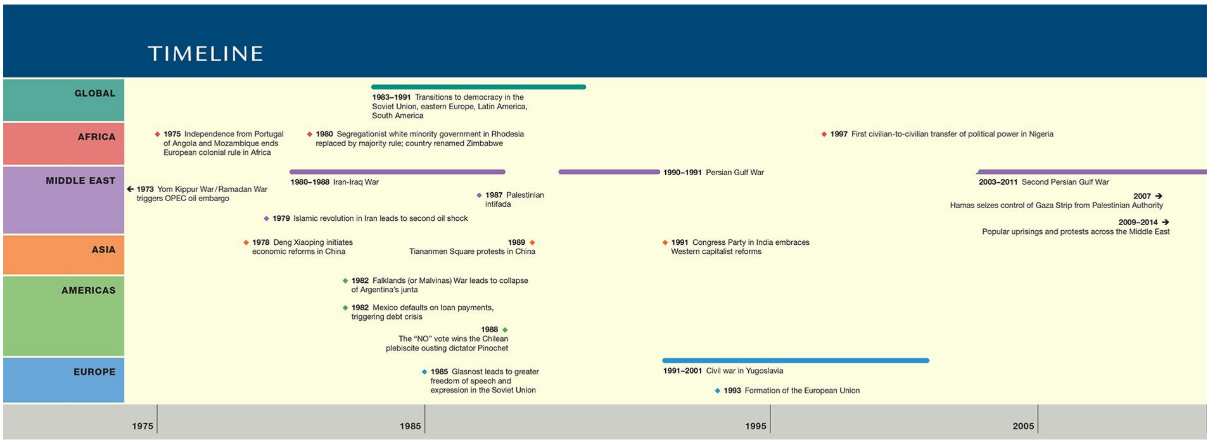
1. What were the short-term and long-term consequences of the OPEC oil embargo? (p. 956)
2. How did war and revolution reshape the Middle East? (p. 959)
3. What effect did the Cold War and debt crisis have on Latin America? (p. 962)
4. How did white-minority rule end in southern Africa? (p. 966)
5. How have East and South Asian nations pursued economic development, and how have political regimes shaped those efforts? (p. 971)
6. How did decolonization and the end of the Cold War change Europe? (p. 978)

Make Comparisons and Connections

Analyze the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters.

1. How did transitions to democracy and free markets around the world draw on earlier ideologies (Chapters 22, 24, 29)?

2. How did the impact of oil shocks resemble previous economic crises?
3. What similarities do you see among social movements that advocated for democracy and for majority rule around the world?
4. What historical factors shaped the formation of the European Union? How have recent events challenged European unity?


TIMELINE
GLOBAL
AFRICA
MIDDLE EAST
ASIA
AMERICAS
EUROPE
1983–1991 Transitions to democracy in the Soviet Union, eastern Europe, Latin America, South America
1975 Independence from Portugal of Angola and Mozambique ends European colonial rule in Africa
1980 Segregationist white minority government in Rhodesia replaced by majority rule; country renamed Zimbabwe
1997 First civilian-to-civilian transfer of political power in Nigeria
1973 Yom Kippur War / Ramadan War triggers OPEC oil embargo
1980–1988 Iran-Iraq War
1987 Palestinian intifada
1979 Islamic revolution in Iran leads to second oil shock
1990–1991 Persian Gulf War
2003–2011 Second Persian Gulf War
2007 Hamas seizes control of Gaza Strip from Palestinian Authority
2009–2014 Popular uprisings and protests across the Middle East
1978 Deng Xiaoping initiates economic reforms in China
1989 Tiananmen Square protests in China
1991 Congress Party in India embraces Western capitalist reforms
1982 Falklands (or Malvinas) War leads to collapse of Argentina's junta
1982 Mexico defaults on loan payments, triggering debt crisis
1988 The "NO" vote wins the Chilean plebiscite ousting dictator Pinochet
1985 Glasnost leads to greater freedom of speech and expression in the Soviet Union
1991–2001 Civil war in Yugoslavia
1993 Formation of the European Union
1975
1985
1995
2005

Suggested Resources

Books

Beck, Roger B. *The History of South Africa.* 2d ed. 2013. Introduction to South African history with emphasis on the twentieth century.

Buchenau, Jurgen. *Mexican Mosaic: A Brief History of Mexico*. 2012. A concise but rich look at modern Mexico.

Dávila, Jerry. *Dictatorship in South America*. 2013. Examines the experiences with dictatorship, development, and democracy in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile.

Dobbs, Michael. *Down with Big Brother: The Fall of the Soviet Empire*. 1997. A superb account by a journalist who covered eastern Europe.

Guha, Ramachandra. *India After Gandhi: The History of the World's Largest Democracy*. 2007. In-depth study of the last sixty years of Indian history and development.

Judt, Tony. *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945.* 2006. A broad and insightful reading of reconstruction, the Cold War, and unification.

Kapuscinski, Ryszard. *Another Day of Life.* 2001. An account by a renowned Polish journalist of the South African invasion of Angola and the Cuban intervention.

Kingston, Jeffrey. *Japan's Quiet Transformation: Social Change and Civil Society in the 21st Century*. 2004. A leading scholar considers Japan's economic problems in the 1990s and their effects on Japanese politics and society.

Lampe, J. *Yugoslavia as History: Twice There Was a Country*, 2d ed. 2000. Judiciously and insightfully considers the history and violent collapse of Yugoslavia.

Mahbubani, Kishore. *The New Asian Hemisphere: The Irresistible Shift of Global Power to the East*. 2008. A history and analysis of the rise of Asia in world politics and economics by one of Asia's leading intellectuals.

McCann, Bryan. *The Throes of Democracy: Brazil Since 1989*. 2008. A rich overview of the Brazilian experience of redemocratization.

Nepstad, Sharon Erickson. *Nonviolent Revolutions: Civil Resistance in the Late 20th Century*. 2011. A comparative study of nonviolent political movements and their effect on political transitions.

Wapshott, Nicholas. *Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher: A Political Marriage*. 2007. Particularly good analysis of Reagan and Thatcher's policies of economic conservatism and anticommunism in the 1980s.

Documentaries

The Tank Man (PBS, 2006). A *Frontline* episode that examines the 1989 Tiananmen Square protest and the Chinese government's suppression of it, with a focus on the man alone facing down a tank.

Tokyo Olympiad (Kon Ichikawa, 1965). This documentary about the 1964 Toyko Olympics reflects Japan's re-emergence in the decades following the Second World War, occupation, and reconstruction.

When We Were Kings (Leon Gast, 1996). Covers the 1974 "Rumble in the Jungle" boxing match in Zaire between Muhammad Ali and George Foreman, focusing on the dynamics of dictator Mobutu Sese Seko's rule and expressions of Pan-African connections.

Feature Films and Television

The Americans (FX, 2013–2018). This TV series about two undercover Soviet agents in 1980s Washington captures the tensions of the rekindled Cold War.

The Official Story (Luis Puenzo, 1985). A film about children taken as infants by the Argentine military dictatorship that "disappeared" their parents.

24 City (Jia Zhang-Ke, 2008). A Chinese docudrama about the economic and social transitions that occur as a state aircraft factory is converted into luxury apartments. The film depicts interviews of generations of migrants drawn to work at the factory.

Websites

Forward to Freedom: The History of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, 1959–1994. The British Anti-Apartheid Movement organization maintains a retrospective website that includes interviews with participants in the movement, as well as documents and images. **www.aamarchives.org**

The National Security Archive. The National Security Archive at George Washington University has an incomparable online collection of declassified U.S. national security and foreign policy documents, including records that show secret U.S. support for dictatorships and their human rights violations in Latin America. **nsarchive.gwu.edu**

33

The Contemporary World in Historical Perspective

Masterfile/Royalty-Free

The Digital Revolution

People throughout the world have embraced the ease and convenience of mobile phone technology, which has increased dramatically since the

introduction of the first cellular phones in 1985.

The approaches to the history of world societies in the preceding chapters give us critical thinking skills to help interpret the contemporary world. Through this lens, we can understand contemporary events and debates as rooted in history and also see those events as subjects of study that we can analyze using the same tools we employ for interpreting the past.

Since the end of the Cold War, many nations around the world have undergone transitions from dictatorship to democracy, and a growing number of nations have pursued free trade. These new experiences have been shaped by past struggles, and they have intensified global connections, aided by revolutions in communications and information technology. Amid these changes, stubborn regional and political conflicts remain in many parts of the world, and the experiences of poverty and marginalization continue to be widespread. But this is also a world in which, as in the past, humans have had the ability to shape, adapt, and transform the problems they confront.

CHAPTER PREVIEW

THE END OF HISTORY?
Does the contemporary world reflect the "end of history"?

GLOBAL CIRCULATION AND EXCHANGE
How have migration and the circulation of capital and technology continued to shape the world?

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS
What challenges did social reformers address at the turn of the twenty-first century?

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY: CHANGES AND CHALLENGES
How have science and technology kept pace with population change?

The End of History?

Does the contemporary world reflect the “end of history”?

In 1989, as the Berlin Wall fell and the Soviet system disintegrated, a historian wrote a provocative article called “The End of History?” in which he argued that the collapse of the Soviet system meant the triumph of liberalism as a political and economic philosophy. Amid the transitions to democracy from Russia and eastern Europe to Latin America, political leaders embraced liberalism as the ideology of government and of economics. This was the “triumph of the West, of the Western *idea* . . . in the total exhaustion of viable systematic alternatives to Western liberalism.”[1] Was liberalism the ultimate stage of human political and economic development?

By the beginning of the twenty-first century, liberalism had certainly emerged as the world’s dominant political and economic philosophy. But there have been limits to liberalism’s reach and effectiveness. For instance, economic liberalism has tended to increase social inequality and the disparity of wealth between nations and regions. As a result, liberalism has been met by a growing range of social activism aimed at reducing social inequality; gender, ethnic, and racial marginalization; and the environmental costs of economic development.

The tension between liberalism and activism is one example of the kinds of contradictory and competing pressures that shape the contemporary world. For instance, the earth’s growing population has increased demands for food production, prompting a revolution in agricultural sciences. Although new technologies have helped meet the world’s demand for food, the diversion of water resources and the expansion of farming at the expense of forests remind us that new technologies often bring unintended costs. Similarly, the end of the Cold War has been met not with peace but with regional conflicts around the world. And the intensification of communications, increase in travel, and spread of technology have been met with conservative, often religious reactions in different regions of the world. Some of the most intense reactions have come from movements in the Middle East and Africa whose actions have a global impact.

Complexity and Violence in a Multipolar World

The end of the Cold War led to the emergence of new regional relationships. Increasingly assertive **middle powers**, countries with significant economic influence either in relation to their neighbors or in broader trade networks, competed for regional leadership. Mexico, both highly industrialized and economically integrated with the United States, emerged as the leader of the Spanish-speaking Americas. Brazil, a rapidly industrializing country with 200 million people and vast territory and resources, emerged as the dominant nation-state in South America. France and Germany re-emerged as central economic powers in Europe. Nigeria and South Africa became the leading powers in sub-Saharan Africa. Turkey, Egypt, and Israel were also regional powers in the Middle East, and Iran increasingly projected its influence over neighbors like Iraq. China, India, and Japan all became leading regional powers, and several other Asian countries — notably South Korea, Indonesia, and Pakistan — were determined to join them.

middle powers Countries with significant economic influence that became increasingly assertive regional leaders after the Cold War.

While the end of the Cold War reduced superpower pressures that intensified regional conflicts, other factors continued to feed conflicts that killed over a million people and dispersed hundreds of thousands of refugees. Since 2000, new conflicts have caused millions more deaths and new currents of refugees, particularly in Syria, Sierra Leone, Liberia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Mali, Afghanistan, and Iraq. Rivalries between ethnic groups often lie at the heart of these wars.

An Expanding Atomic Age

After the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 (see “The War in the Pacific” in Chapter 30), the United States briefly held a monopoly on atomic weapons. Since then, a growing number of nations have developed nuclear arms.

The Cold War arms race resulted in intense competition for the development of increasingly powerful atomic weapons, and it also meant massive spending in the United States, the Soviet Union, and Europe on other military technologies. While the superpowers and their closest allies sought to restrict access to nuclear weapons, they also sold huge numbers of conventional arms to other nations.

Amid the Cold War arms race, atomic tests brought fear that radiation would enter the food chain and cause leukemia, bone cancer, and genetic damage. Concerned scientists called for a ban on atomic bomb testing. In

1963 the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union reached an agreement, eventually joined by more than 150 countries, to ban nuclear tests in the atmosphere. In 1970 more than sixty countries signed the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. The treaty slowed but did not stop the spread of nuclear weapons.

The nuclear arms race between the Soviet Union and the United States was so intense that after the 1960s both sides sought ways of slowing it and negotiated shared limits to their nuclear arsenals. But other nations pursued nuclear weapons to bolster their defense and their regional influence. French and Chinese leaders disregarded the test ban and by 1968 had developed their own nuclear weapons, although they later signed the nonproliferation treaty. India developed its atomic capability partly out of fear of China, but India’s nuclear test in 1974 in turn frightened Pakistan, which pursued its own nuclear weapons. In 1998 both India and Pakistan tested nuclear devices within weeks of each other. Other nations discreetly pursued nuclear arms without publicly stating that they possessed them.

In the 1950s Israel began developing nuclear weapons, and it is generally believed to have had an arsenal of nuclear weapons since the 1970s, though Israel has never publicly confirmed this. Israel’s apparent nuclear superiority was threatening to Arab states that for decades had tried to vanquish Israel. When Iraq attempted, with help from France, to develop nuclear capability in the 1980s, Israel responded by attacking and destroying the Iraqi nuclear reactor in 1981.

The risks associated with the proliferation of nuclear weapons helped mobilize the international community and contributed to positive developments through the 1980s and 1990s. Between 1983 and 2003 Argentina, Romania, Brazil, South Africa, and Libya all agreed to abandon their nuclear weapons programs. Several of the former Soviet republics that possessed nuclear arsenals, including Ukraine, Belarus (bay-luh-ROOS), and Kazakhstan (KA-zak-stan), returned their nuclear weapons to Russia. International agencies monitored exports of nuclear material, technology, and missiles that could carry atomic bombs. These measures encouraged confidence in global cooperation and in the nonproliferation treaty, eventually signed by 190 countries.

Despite these efforts, nuclear proliferation has continued. In 2003 the United States accused Iran of seeking to build nuclear weapons, and for many years diplomatic efforts, sanctions, and other punitive measures by France, Germany, Britain, China, the United States, and Russia failed to induce Iran to limit its nuclear program. However, the sanctions isolated Iran and undermined its economy, and in 2015 Iran signed an agreement freezing development of its nuclear program. There is also the threat that enriched nuclear materials will fall into the hands of terrorist organizations or that countries possessing nuclear weapons technology will share it with other nations.

In the new century long-standing tensions between North Korea and the United States, which had never signed a peace treaty to end the 1950–1953 Korean War, intensified over North Korea's pursuit of nuclear weapons and ballistic missile technology that would allow it to launch atomic weapons at South Korea and Japan. As each side accused the other of failing to live up to its agreements, North Korea tested its first nuclear device in 2006. After 2009, North Korean authorities pursued the development of long-range ballistic missiles capable of delivering a bomb, engaging in nuclear brinksmanship not seen since the Cold War.

Kazem Ghane/IRNA/AP Photo/AP Images

Limiting Iran's Nuclear Energy Program Following sanctions from the United States, France, Germany, Great Britain, and Russia, Iran agreed to freeze its nuclear energy program. Here International Atomic Energy Agency inspectors and Iranian technicians gather to cut connections in uranium enrichment equipment in Iran's Natanz nuclear facility in 2014.

Al-Qaeda and Afghanistan

In the Middle East and Central Asia, conflicts that had involved the superpowers continued beyond the Cold War. The 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, as well as the Iranian revolution, which was followed by the Iran-Iraq War, led to enduring political upheaval that continued to draw the United States into violent conflicts in the twenty-first century.

In Afghanistan rebel groups supported by the United States fought the

Soviet armed forces occupying the country and forced a humiliating Soviet withdrawal in 1989. In 1996, after years of civil war, a puritanical Islamic movement called the Taliban filled the military and political vacuum left by the Soviet Union. The Taliban pursued a radical religious transformation of Afghan society, in particular by imposing harsh restrictions on women. The Taliban government provided safe haven in Afghanistan for a terrorist organization called al-Qaeda (al-KIGH-duh), which included militants who had fought in Afghanistan against the Soviet occupation. In the 1990s, led by Osama bin Laden (1957–2011), al-Qaeda attacked U.S. diplomatic and military targets in Africa and the Middle East.

Amy Sanetta/AP Photo/AP Images

New York, September 11, 2001 Pedestrians race for safety as the World Trade Center towers collapse after being hit by jet airliners.

On September 11, 2001, al-Qaeda militants hijacked four passenger planes in the United States. They flew two of them into the World Trade

Center buildings in New York City and a third into the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. A fourth, believed to be targeting the White House or the U.S. Capitol, crashed into a field in rural Pennsylvania. These terrorist attacks killed almost three thousand people. Though the U.S. government had repeatedly attacked al-Qaeda in the 1990s, it had failed to destroy it. Now the U.S. government demanded that the Taliban government in Afghanistan surrender the al-Qaeda leadership it hosted. When the Taliban refused, the United States formed a military coalition including NATO members as well as Russia, Pakistan, and rebel groups in Afghanistan. The coalition mounted an invasion, deposed the Taliban, and pursued al-Qaeda.

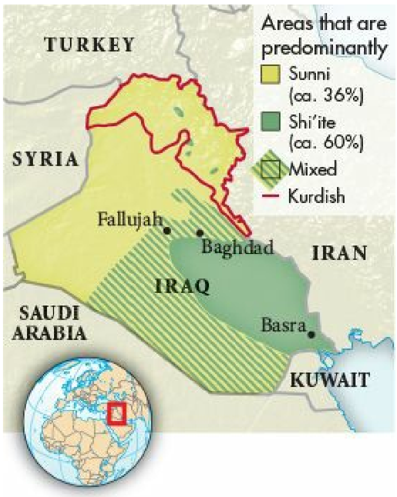
After the U.S.-led coalition deposed the Taliban in 2001 and installed a new government in Afghanistan, it faced a protracted guerrilla war against Taliban forces that controlled rural areas. The Taliban drew upon Afghanistan’s long experience in resisting foreign military incursions such as the Soviet and earlier British invasions. The conflict in Afghanistan spread to Pakistan, where some members of al-Qaeda found refuge, and acts of terrorism increased around the world in the years following the invasion of Afghanistan.

Through years of war, the United States and allied governments devastated al-Qaeda’s leadership, but local groups acting in conflicts in the Middle East and Africa continued to act under al-Qaeda’s name. These actions included bombings in 2004 and 2005 that killed 191 in Madrid and 56 in London, as well as wounding thousands. A suicide bomber who may have had links to al-Qaeda has also been blamed for the 2007 assassination of Pakistani presidential candidate Benazir Bhutto. In 2011 U.S. intelligence services identified bin Laden’s hideout in Pakistan in a compound located near the country’s main military academy in Abbottabad. In a night raid, U.S. forces killed bin Laden.

In the decade following the conclusion of the Persian Gulf War (1990–1991), Iraq faced international economic sanctions along with constant political and military pressure from the United States to surrender its chemical and biological weapons stockpiles. After 2001, amid the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan, U.S. president George W. Bush accused Iraq of rebuilding its nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons programs. To build domestic support for an invasion, the U.S. government also falsely implied that there were connections between Iraq and al-Qaeda. In 2002 UN inspectors determined that Iraq’s chemical and biological weapons had been destroyed. France, Russia, China, Germany, and a majority of the smaller states argued for continued weapons monitoring, and France threatened to veto any resolution authorizing an invasion of Iraq. Rather than risk this veto, the United States and Britain claimed that earlier

Security Council resolutions provided sufficient authorization and invaded Iraq in 2003.

A coalition of U.S.-led forces defeated the Iraqi military, and in the power vacuum that ensued, armed groups representing all three main factions in Iraq — Sunni Muslims, Shi'ite Muslims, and Kurds — carried out daily attacks on Iraqi military and police, government officials, religious leaders, and civilians. Estimates of Iraqi deaths since the beginning of the war in 2003 and the U.S. withdrawal in 2011 ranged from 100,000 to over 1 million. Though the U.S. military occupation ended in 2011, the violence continued. Ironically, though the connection between al-Qaeda and the government of Saddam Hussein implied by President Bush did not exist, the violent environment of postwar Iraq became a place where militant groups that identified with al-Qaeda proliferated.



Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Iraq, ca. 2010

The most powerful of these groups called itself the Islamic State (commonly known as ISIS). ISIS took advantage of the political vacuum created by the U.S. invasion of Iraq and the Syrian civil war to establish a radical Islamic regime that spanned regions of the two countries and controlled several major cities. ISIS emerged as an ideological and militant heir to al-Qaeda. It used a sophisticated Internet footprint to recruit disaffected youth around the world to join its ranks, prompting terrorist attacks in 2015 and 2016 by individuals claiming to act in ISIS's name in the United States, France, Turkey, and Bangladesh.

Global Circulation and Exchange

How have migration and the circulation of capital and technology continued to shape the world?

Much of the history in this textbook is driven by the circulation of peoples over great distances. Migration continues to be one of the great engines of history, though its experience exposes one of the major contradictions in the way liberalization has been conducted: governments have pressed for the free circulation of goods and capital, but have sought to limit the movement of people across borders.

Migration

National immigration policies vary considerably. In Europe the process of integration has meant that European Union member countries permit the free movement of citizens from other EU nations. But in many other cases, restrictions on migration have increased even as barriers to trade and investment have fallen.

The border between the United States and Mexico reflects many of the challenges of contemporary migrations. Since long before a border existed between the United States and Mexico, migrants have circulated throughout North America, but as the United States conquered land that had belonged to Mexico in the nineteenth century (see “Mexico and the United States” in Chapter 27), it restricted the movement of migrants northward across the border. At the beginning of the twenty-first century the U.S. government began building a wall at its border with Mexico, further restricting the circulation of people even as the United States and Mexico implemented a free-trade agreement that made it easier for goods and capital to cross the border.

In the 2016 U.S. presidential election, the border between the United States and Mexico became a symbolic flash point of anxieties over two basic elements of globalization and liberalization: the movement of peoples and the free circulation of goods and capital. Real estate developer Donald Trump rode resentments over trade and migration into the presidency in a U.S. expression of the nationalist sentiments that provoked the British vote to exit the European Union and the rise of nationalist parties in continental Europe. The patterns of migration and the votes against migration that resulted in Brexit and Trump’s election reflected the unevenness in wealth distribution both globally and within nations.

Behind the politics of immigration lies a more complex reality: circuits of migration — the patterns by which peoples move between one region of the world and another — are shaped by many forces. Historical connections, such as the spaces shared by indigenous and Latino peoples on both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border, are one such force. A second is the intensification of trade, which reshapes national economies and the connections between them. A third is the history of U.S. military intervention: countries that are the sites of conflict spurred by or involving the United States are reshaped in ways that often create migrant and refugee circuits connected to the United States. The experience of immigration following U.S. military intervention in Central America, the Caribbean, and Southeast Asia forms a pattern into which future immigration from the Middle East may well fit.

Since the 1960s millions of people, first from South Korea and then Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, countries that had experienced great upheavals in conflicts involving the United States, found legal refuge in the United States. (See “Individuals in Society: Sieng, a Mnong Refugee in an American High School,” page 994.) Immigrants to the United States most commonly come from regions transformed by U.S. foreign policy or economic activity; new immigrants frequently encounter discrimination, and efforts are made to restrict the entry of future immigrants.

In many cases, restrictions on immigration have increased in countries where national economic growth has slowed. For instance, as Japanese industry boomed in the 1980s, the country welcomed descendants of Japanese emigrants who had settled in South America in the first half of the century. Because these migrants were culturally and linguistically different from natives, Japanese citizens considered them *dekasegi*, or “temporary guest workers,” who had no right to citizenship despite their ancestry.

Sean Sprague/Alamy Stock Photo

Brazilians in Japan Over two hundred thousand descendants of Japanese migrants to Brazil and Peru now live in Japan as temporary workers, particularly in auto parts manufacturing. Here Brazilians of Japanese descent attend a church service in the Japanese city of Tsu.

As manufacturing and economic growth stagnated in the 1990s, this circuit of migration to Japan dwindled. Though pursuit of economic opportunity and flight from persecution are the major factors that drive international migration, other factors shape the creation of migratory circuits. A migratory circuit is a deep connection created between two regions through an initial experience of migration that results in a greater circulation of people. Migrants usually become ethnic, religious, or linguistic minorities in the countries where they settle, and they commonly face discrimination. Sometimes this discrimination is expressed in violence and oppression, such as that experienced by contemporary Zimbabwean workers in South Africa.

In 2015 the European Union became the setting of a new migration crisis as over 1 million refugees fled armed conflicts and poverty in Africa and the Middle East.[2] The largest contingent was refugees from Syria’s civil war. The refugees faced a succession of challenges ranging from perilous crossings of the Mediterranean, in which thousands perished, to the hostility of peoples and governments, particularly in eastern Europe, where countries like Hungary had once welcomed East Germans fleeing communism but now blocked the transit of refugees. Countries began erecting fences and border controls to limit the flow of refugees, and British voters elected to exit the EU, threatening the principle of free movement that had been a pillar of the EU.

INDIVIDUALS IN SOCIETY

Sieng, a Mnong Refugee in an American High School

Morry Gash/AP Photo/AP Images

Mnong students and their teaching assistant at a high school in Wisconsin recite the Pledge of Allegiance.

IN 2008, AT A LARGE URBAN HIGH SCHOOL IN THE U.S. South, Sieng, a seventeen-year-old Mnong refugee, recited the Pledge of Allegiance in his JROTC class. His aspiration to join the U.S. Marine Corps was an act of belonging that bridged both his life in the United States and his sense of his family and its history.

The Mnong are among a diverse group of ethnic minorities, known broadly as Montagnards, whose communities stretch across the central highlands of Vietnam. They are also a religious minority in Vietnam — many had converted to Christianity. During the Vietnam War, many Mnong provided military service alongside the United States, particularly with the U.S. Army Special Forces. After the war ended in 1975, the Mnong faced persecution, and over time many fled the country, joining the current of refugees who resettled in camps in Thailand, Malaysia, the Philippines, and later Cambodia. Sieng's family left Vietnam when he was a child in the late 1990s. He recalled his journey:

> We had a hard time in Vietnam, so we had to leave. We didn't have no choice because we had no food, and no land. And [the Vietnamese

> government] wanted my dad and took my grandpa. So we left in the night and went through the jungle. We walked and walked and got lost. So me and my dad tried to find the way and we found a house. Some people let us sleep there and also gave us food. Then we got to a [refugee] camp in Cambodia and stayed there for a year. I didn't have school in Vietnam, and I didn't have school at the camp. Then we came here.

Arriving in the United States at the age of sixteen, Sieng was not literate in Mnong, Vietnamese, or English, the language of his new school. Sieng aspired to become a Marine so he could help other refugees and his family. He explained, "A man needs to take care of the family too, and that's what I want to do. The Marines will help me take care of my family."

For Sieng, being a refugee instilled a sense of pride, a sense of what he and his family had overcome in coming to the United States, and a sense of what he desired for the future. As the oldest male child, Sieng was, in his words, "second in command" in the home while his father worked the third shift at a shipping facility. In the United States Sieng was an ethnic minority and a refugee with limited English skills. He was misunderstood. A classmate in a world history class asked him where he was from in Mexico, and the question made him indignant:

> I am a *refugee*, not an immigrant! I am *Mnong*, not Vietnamese! But people call me Spanish. Some kids once asked me to say something in Spanish. . . . And Mexican students think I'm Chinese. They say, *"Hey Chino! Hey Chino!"* I get mad when they do this because I am more like American. My grandpa worked with Americans [in the war].

In a diverse school, amid other immigrants and ethnic minorities, Sieng found comfort in his identity as a refugee, reflecting on his family's past, its connection to the United States, and his role facilitating its journey, as he confronted a new environment, struggling to be understood.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What aspects of Sieng's experience reflect broader patterns of migration?
2. How does Sieng's experience as a refugee shape his identity?
3. What role does JROTC play in Sieng's sense of belonging?

Source: Liv T. Dávila, "Performing Allegiance: An Adolescent Refugee's Construction of Patriotism in JROTC," *Educational Studies* 39.5 (2014). Reprinted by permission of Taylor & Francis LLC (http://www.tandfonline.com).

Urbanization

Cities in Africa, Asia, and Latin America expanded at an astonishing pace after 1945. Many doubled or even tripled in size in a single decade (Table 33.1). In 1950 there were only eight **megacities** (5 million or more inhabitants), and only two were in developing countries. Of the fifty-nine megacities anticipated to exist by 2017 forty-eight will be outside North America and Europe.

megacities Cities with populations of 5 million people or more.

What caused this urban explosion? First, the overall population growth in the developing nations was critical. Urban residents gained substantially from a medical revolution that provided improved health care but only gradually began to reduce the size of their families. Second, more than half of all urban growth came from rural migration. Manufacturing jobs in the developing nations were concentrated in cities. In 1980 half of all the industrial jobs in Mexico were located in Mexico City. Even when industrial jobs have been scarce, migrants have streamed to cities, seeking any type of employment. As large landowners found it more profitable to produce export crops, their increasingly mechanized operations reduced the need for agricultural laborers. Ethnic or political unrest in the countryside can also send migrants into cities.

Table 33.1 Urban Population as a Percentage of Total Population in the World and in Eight Major Areas, 1925–2025

AREA	1925	1950	1975	2000	2025 (EST.)
World Total	21%	28%	39%	50%	63%
North America	54	64	77	86	93
Europe	48	55	67	79	88
Soviet Union	18	39	61	76	87
East Asia	10	15	30	46	63
Latin America	25	41	60	74	85
Africa	8	13	24	37	54

Note: Little more than one-fifth of the world’s population was urban in 1925. In 2000 the total urban proportion in the world was about 50 percent. According to United Nations experts, the proportion should reach two-thirds by about 2025. The most rapid urban growth will occur in Africa and Asia, where the move to cities is still in its early stages.

Most of the growing numbers of urban poor earned precarious livings in a **bazaar economy** made up of petty traders and unskilled labor. In the bazaar economy, which echoed early preindustrial markets, regular salaried jobs were rare and highly prized, and a complex world of tiny, unregulated businesses and service occupations predominated. Peddlers and pushcart operators hawked their wares, and sweatshops and home-based workers manufactured cheap goods for popular consumption. These workers typically lacked job security, unemployment insurance, and pensions.

bazaar economy An economy with few salaried jobs and an abundance of tiny, unregulated businesses such as peddlers and pushcart operators.

© Juergen Ritterbach/Vario Images RM/age-fotostock

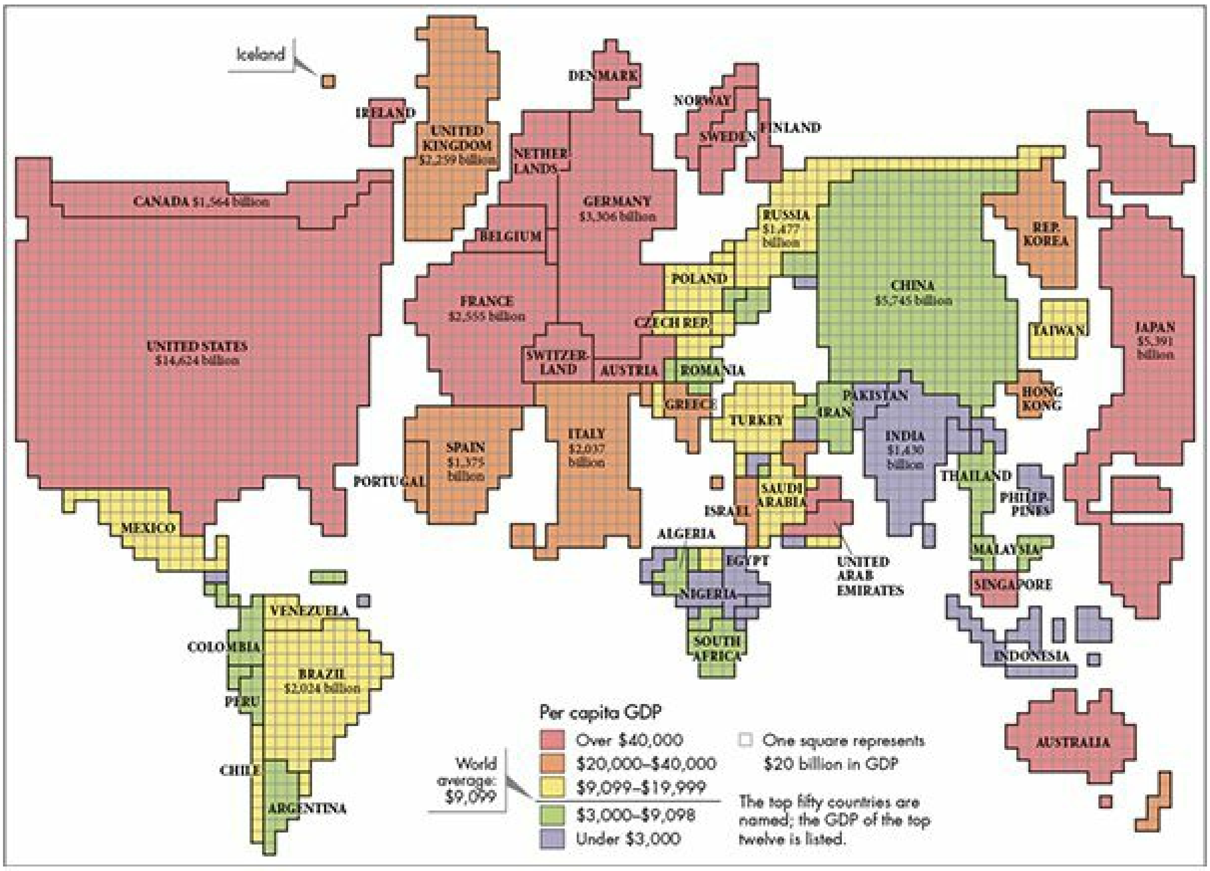
The Bazaar Economy These merchant women selling vegetables in Pisac, Peru, form part of an informal economy.

After 1945 large-scale urban migration profoundly affected traditional family patterns in developing countries, just as it had during the Industrial Revolution. Particularly in Africa and Asia, the great majority of migrants to cities were young men seeking temporary or seasonal work. For rural women, the consequences of male out-migration to cities were mixed. Asian and African women found themselves heads of households, faced with added burdens in managing the farm and sustaining families. African and Asian village women became unprecedentedly self-reliant and began to assert greater rights.

In Latin America migration patterns differed: whole families generally migrated, often to squatter settlements. These families frequently belonged to the class of landless laborers, which was generally larger in Latin

America than in Africa and Asia. Migration was also more likely to be permanent. Another difference was that single women were as likely as single men to move to the cities, in part because women were in high demand as domestic servants. Some women also left to escape male-dominated villages where they faced narrow social and economic opportunities.

In cities the concentration of wealth in few hands has resulted in unequal consumption, education, and employment. The gap between rich and poor around the world can be measured both between the city and the countryside, and within cities (Map 33.1). Wealthy city dwellers in developing countries often had more in common with each other than with the poorer urban and rural people in their own country. As a result, the elites have often favored globalization that connects them with wealthier nations.


Iceland
IRELAND
UNITED KINGDOM $2,259 billion
DENMARK
NORWAY
SWEDEN
FINLAND
NETHERLANDS
CANADA $1,564 billion
GERMANY $3,306 billion
RUSSIA $1,477 billion
REP. KOREA
BELGIUM
POLAND
CHINA $5,745 billion
FRANCE $2,555 billion
CZECH REP.
TAIWAN
JAPAN $5,391 billion
UNITED STATES $14,624 billion
SWITZERLAND
AUSTRIA
ROMANIA
PAKISTAN
HONG KONG
GREECE
IRAN
TURKEY
INDIA $1,430 billion
SPAIN $1,375 billion
ITALY $2,037 billion
PORTUGAL
SAUDI ARABIA
THAILAND
PHILIPPINES
ISRAEL
MEXICO
ALGERIA
MALAYSIA
EGYPT
UNITED ARAB EMIRATES
SINGAPORE
NIGERIA
VENEZUELA
COLOMBIA
SOUTH AFRICA
INDONESIA
BRAZIL $2,024 billion
PERU
CHILE
ARGENTINA
AUSTRALIA
Per capita GDP
Over $40,000
$20,000–$40,000
$9,099–$19,999
$3,000–$9,098
Under $3,000
World average: $9,099
One square represents $20 billion in GDP
The top fifty countries are named; the GDP of the top twelve is listed.

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Mapping the Past

MAP 33.1 The Global Distribution of Wealth, ca. 2010 This size-comparison map, arranged according to global wealth distribution, vividly illustrates the gap in wealth between the Northern and Southern Hemispheres. The two small island nations of Japan and the United Kingdom have more wealth than all the nations of the Southern Hemisphere combined, although wealth creation in India and Brazil has advanced significantly. The wealthiest countries are also the most highly urbanized. As market capitalism expands in China, Vietnam, and other Asian countries and in Latin America and Africa, the relative-size ratios on the map will continue to change and evolve. Tiny Iceland, whose GDP is less than $20 billion, nevertheless has one of the highest per capita GDPs in the world.

ANALYZING THE MAP Which three countries are the wealthiest? Where are the poorest countries concentrated?

CONNECTIONS How were the two small nations of Japan and the United Kingdom able to acquire such enormous wealth?

Multinational Corporations

A striking feature of global interdependence beginning in the early 1950s was the rapid emergence of **multinational corporations**, or multinationals, which are business firms that operate in a number of different countries and tend to adopt a global rather than a national perspective. Their rise was partly due to the revival of capitalism after the Second World War, increasingly free international economic relations, and the worldwide drive for rapid industrialization. Multinationals treated the world as one big market, coordinating complex activities across political boundaries and escaping political controls and national policies.

multinational corporations Business firms that operate in a number of different countries and tend to adopt a global rather than a national perspective.

SAM'S
CLUB
山姆会员商店

David G. McIntyre/EPA/Newscom

Multinational Companies in China Shoppers at a Sam's Club in the outskirts of Beijing reflect the globalization of consumption. Global commodity chains, multinational corporations, and converging consumer tastes, particularly among the middle class, create increasingly similar experiences across the world.

The impact of multinational corporations, especially on less industrialized countries, has been mixed. The presence of multinationals helped spread the products and values of consumer society to elites in the developing world. Critics considered this part of the process of neocolonialism, whereby local elites abandoned their nation's interests and contributed to continued foreign domination. (See "Analyzing the Evidence: A Brazilian Band on Globalization," at right.)

Multinational corporations are among the main beneficiaries of economic liberalism: growing openness of national markets and growing economic integration allow corporations to move goods, capital, and technology more fluidly and more intensely. But the growing interconnectedness of world markets comes with costs. In particular, it has meant increased economic volatility, as exemplified by the banking crisis that swept the United States and Europe in 2008 and plunged countries into deep and long recessions.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

A Brazilian Band on Globalization

The rock group Mundo Livre S/A was formed in 1984 in the northeastern Brazilian city Recife, in the region first settled by the Portuguese to cultivate sugarcane with slave labor. Mundo Livre S/A, whose name translates to “Free World, Inc.,” sings about globalization from the perspective of those who live at its periphery, in poorer cities of developing countries.

“Forerunners (Resisting the Global Mugging),” 2000

The computers of the mega-corporations work *full time*
Day after day
Their senior executives circulate
In a world of fanaticism and devotion,
Venerating the omnipresent god *Naiq* [Nike]
Even when they should be off,
They never stop researching,
Investigating the streets
Searching for new clues.
For decades they have been buying and suborning
The congressmen, democrats, modernizers, liberals
Sponsoring presidential elections,
Financing plans of governance,
Arming, arranging new global consortiums
That quickly assume control
Of immense and strategic state patrimonies
Ultimately conquering small, medium,
And large emerging markets on all continents
(Those, those things that we used to call countries).

No, no, we are not only talking
About macroeconomics or geopolitics.
We are talking about multi-tutions:
Institutions, parties, values and concepts
(Religions, in the end)
That cancel each other out
Or vulgarly recycle themselves
With each turn of the earth
Of mutant souls and minds
Of the abject BMD beings —

— Bearers of Moral Deficiency.
But exhibiting their resplendent
Digital cell phones, palm-tops,
Bullet-proof windshields and *Naiq* hats,
They are merely the pathetic villains of our story.

To understand the heroes,
We have to change scenes.
Visualize a metropolitan area
In a decadent market,
Cradle to a true army
Of maladjusted forerunners
Alleys of hunger . . . Night sticks . . . Shotguns . . .
In that hostile environment,
The password for survival
Consists of a balanced response
To a recurring conflict
On the one hand,
The questionable and laughable resistance
From the hallowed traditions
And on the other,
The dangerous seductiveness of the antennas.

But a forerunner
Doesn't eat out of anyone's hands
We don't pray at the primer of the *Naiqmen*
Our fuel is music
Not the contaminated kind
Which the housewives compete for
On the shelves of special offers
Of the great incorporated magazines
Just because they heard it a million times
In the *Naiqspace* — sacred temples of *Saint Naiq*
Which will never be struck by cruise missiles
Straying from their targets

We feel from a distance
The smell of incorporated dilution
We are always in the margins
And we have the power to absorb
Only the beats that don't get beaten . . .

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What response to globalization does the song suggest?
2. What is the “laughable resistance / From the hallowed traditions”? What does the band mean by “the dangerous seductiveness of the antennas”?

Source: Lyrics for the song “Batedores” from the album *Por Pouco* by Mundo Livre S/A. © Fred Zero Quatro, Mundo Livre S/A. Used by permission. Translated by Jerry Dávila.

Social Movements

What challenges did social reformers address at the turn of the twenty-first century?

Just as nineteenth-century social reformers embraced the cause of ending slavery, modern social reformers have sought to end global inequality, racism, and sexism and to expand human rights. Social movements played a critical role in the victory of the democratic movements in Latin America and Europe and the end of the apartheid system in South Africa.

As movements for human rights and social reform gained ground in the 1960s and 1970s, activists increasingly looked beyond national borders to form alliances. Movements for women's rights, nuclear disarmament, environmental protection, and addressing climate change all became both local and global efforts. For example, the global anti-apartheid movement kept pressure on nations to apply economic and political sanctions on the white-minority regime in South Africa. But at the same time, the anti-apartheid movement served as a means to address local problems. For instance, in Brazil anti-apartheid activism helped draw attention to the country's own racial inequalities, while in the United States anti-apartheid activism on college campuses helped students organize movements concerned with other issues such as gender equality.

The 1977 Nestlé boycott exemplified the kinds of success such movements could achieve as well as their limitations. Critics charged that the Swiss company's marketing of powdered baby formula in poor countries or regions with little access to clean water posed a risk to children. Activists called on consumers around the world to boycott Nestlé products.

At first, Nestlé dismissed the boycott and sought to discredit the movement. The president of the company's Brazilian division declared that "the US Nestlé Co has advised me that their research indicates that this [boycott] is actually an indirect attack on the free world's economic system."[3] Condemnation of Nestlé mounted. In a 1978 hearing, U.S. senator Ted Kennedy asked a Nestlé executive: "Can a product which requires clean water, good sanitation, adequate family income and a literate parent to follow printed instructions be properly and safely used in areas where water is contaminated, sewage runs in the streets, poverty is severe and illiteracy is high?"[4]

In 1981 the UN World Health Organization responded to the campaign by developing a set of voluntary standards regulating the marketing of infant formula in countries where access to clean water was precarious. Nestlé agreed to follow the standards. The movement succeeded, but its success raised questions: multinational corporations operated beyond the reach of single governments and often operated in regions with weak regulatory or investigatory structures. As a result, it was hard to hold them accountable when their conduct was unethical. At the same time, social movements and nongovernmental organizations also acted outside the realm of public accountability.

Environmentalism

The modern environmental movement began with concerns about chemical waste, rapid consumption of energy and food supplies, global deforestation, and threats to wildlife. By the 1970s citizens had begun joining together in nongovernmental organizations to pursue preservation or restoration of the natural environment.

The environmental movement is actually several different movements, each with its own agenda. (See “Analyzing the Evidence: Protest Against Genetically Modified Foods,” at right.) American biologist and writer Rachel Carson was an early proponent of the environmental health movement. In *Silent Spring* (1962), she warned of the dangers of pesticides and pollution:

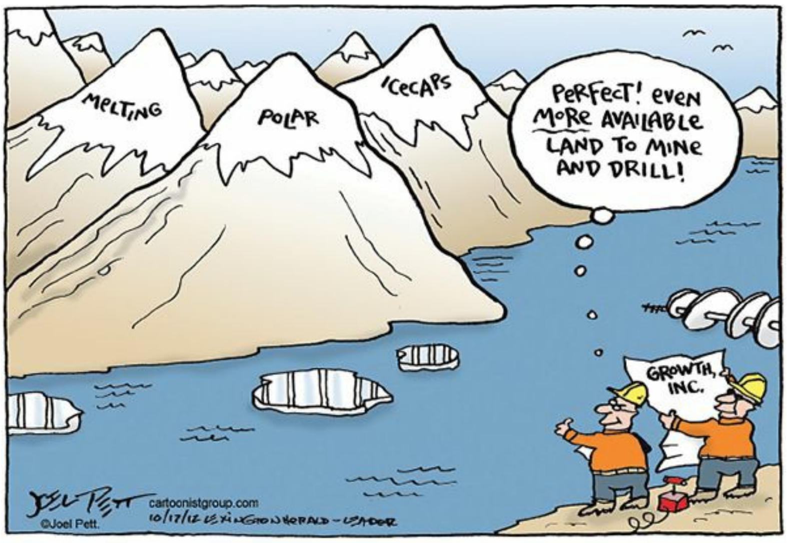
> Along with the possibility of the extinction of mankind by nuclear war, the central problem of our age has therefore become the contamination of man’s total environment with such substances of incredible potential for harm — substances that accumulate in the tissues of plants and animals and even penetrate the germ cells to shatter or alter the very material of heredity upon which the shape of the future depends.[5]

Carson and others were concerned about the harmful effects of chemicals, radiation, pollution, waste, and urban development on the environment and on human health. Environmentalists like Carson acted out of concern that all living things were connected and that damage to one part of an ecological system could have consequences across that ecosystem.

Environmentalists today are especially concerned about **global warming**, the increase of global temperatures over time caused by the buildup of carbon in the atmosphere that captures heat. As a result of global warming, average temperatures have increased worldwide in recent decades, a trend that most scientists expect will intensify without curbs on carbon emissions. The decade from 2000 to 2010 was the warmest in recorded history, and the decade beginning in 2010 is projected to be even warmer. Scientists believe that man-made climate change began with the Industrial Revolution in the eighteenth century. The subsequent release of hydrocarbons produced through the burning of fossil fuels — coal, oil, natural gas — has caused a greenhouse effect that traps these gases and heats up the earth’s atmosphere. Paradoxically, industrialization and increased consumption in the developing world meant diminished global inequalities but intensified global carbon emissions.

global warming The consensus view of an overwhelming majority of the world’s scientists that hydrocarbons produced through the burning of fossil fuels have caused a greenhouse effect that has increased global temperatures over time.

Scientists predict that the effects of global warming over the next century will include a catastrophic rise in sea levels that threatens to put many coastal cities and islands underwater; ecosystem changes that may threaten many species; destruction of the earth’s ozone layer, which shields the planet from harmful solar radiation; and a decline in agricultural production.


MELTING
POLAR
ICECAPS
PERFECT! EVEN MORE AVAILABLE LAND TO MINE AND DRILL!
GROWTH, INC.
JOEL PETT
cartoonistgroup.com
10/17/12 LEXINGTON HERALD-LEADER
©Joel Pett

Joel Pett Editorial Cartoon used with the permission of Joel Pett and the Cartoonist Group

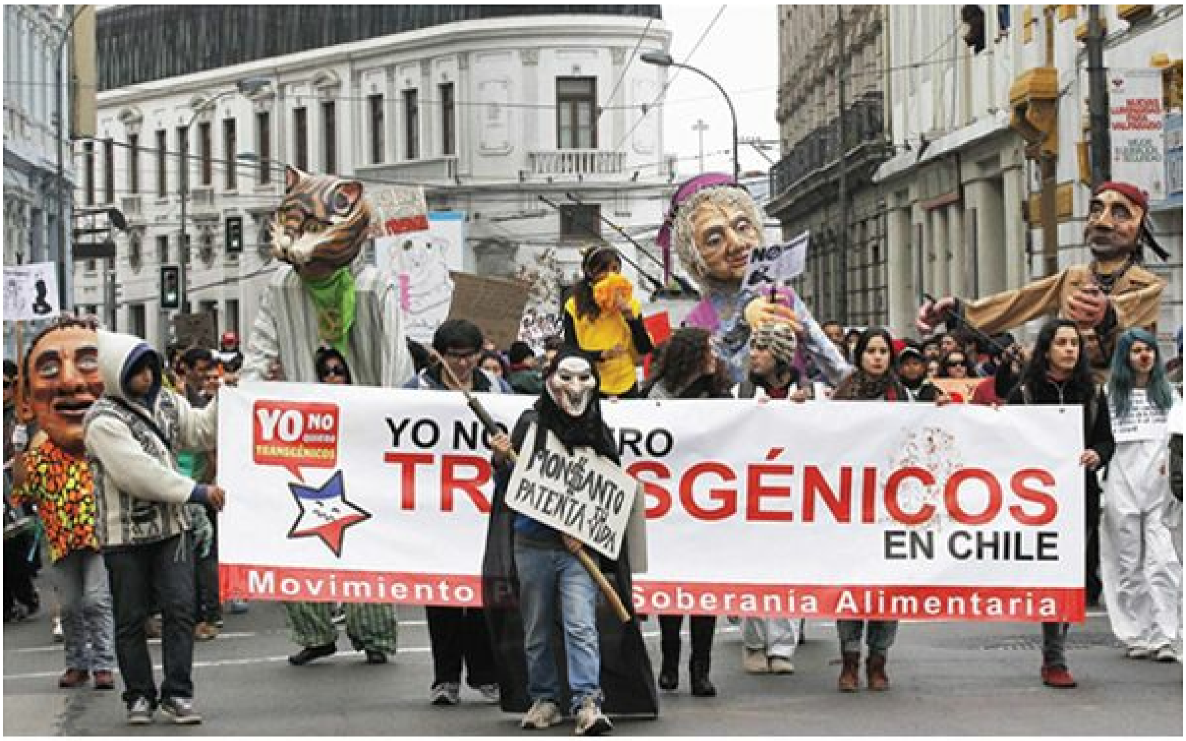
Global Warming In the twenty-first century development pressures meet growing concern about climate change.

International concerns over global warming resulted in a 1997 agreement, the Kyoto Protocol, which amended the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. Countries that ratify the

Kyoto Protocol agree to reduce their emissions of carbon dioxide and five other greenhouse gases. As of April 2014, 191 countries had ratified it. The most notable exception was the United States. The United Nations and environmental activists have continued to pursue an international environmental accord that can bring all nations into a shared effort to combat climate change. The U.S. government agreed to the voluntary limits on greenhouse gas emissions called for in the 2015 Paris Climate Agreement, which would be achieved by changing regulations in areas such as electicity production.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

Protest Against Genetically Modified Foods



Eliseo Fernandez/Reuters/Newscom

The Chilean demonstrators in this photo are protesting the introduction of genetically modified crops. The banner reads, “I do not want transgenic crops in Chile: Movement for Food Sovereignty.” Worldwide, people oppose genetically modified (GMO) crops for a variety of reasons. Some opponents fear that GMO foods present unforeseen health risks. Other opponents believe that the proliferation of genetically modified crops could damage biodiversity by reducing the variety of strains that are planted; they are also concerned that gene transfer from GMOs, particularly through pollination, could be damaging to other plant species, as well as to other organisms such as bees. Some opponents also note that GMOs can undermine small farmers who cannot afford the patented seeds of multinational companies such as Monsanto, placing them at a disadvantage relative to large landowners and threatening their land tenure.

The protesters in this image are members of a movement for food sovereignty that advocates for the production of crops from locally sourced seeds. Some are dressed as bees or clowns, and in the foreground a marcher dressed as the grim reaper bears a sign that reads, “Mon$anto patents your life.”

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What do the costumes suggest about the protesters’ views about the effects of genetically modified foods?
2. Examine the concerns of these protesters in the context of the promises of the green

revolution. What are some of the advantages and disadvantages of the scientific engineering of food crops?

Lesbian, Gay, and Transgender Rights

In the United States and western Europe the growing focus on liberal individual freedoms since the 1960s has opened social space for same-sex unions and affinities, which had long been suppressed by religious and cultural strictures. By the early 1970s a global gay rights movement championed the human rights of people who are lesbian, gay, or transgender. The movement intensified in the 1980s as it became clear that governments neglected medical research and treatment for people sick with AIDS, which they dismissed as a "gay disease." The organization ACT UP's advocacy campaign for AIDS research created a powerful symbol using the words "Silence = Death" beneath a pink triangle to represent the AIDS crisis. A journalist who wrote about AIDS in the 1980s described his reaction to the ACT UP symbol:

> When I first saw the [ACT UP] poster, I didn't really know what it was. . . . I recognized the triangle as the symbol of homosexual victimization by the Nazis, but this triangle pointed up. Did it suggest supremacy? And the phrase itself, with its diabolical math, lodged in my imagination. Did it suggest conspiracy? Because of the word "death" I supposed it was about AIDS; had I noticed the tiny type at the bottom, which for a time included the instruction "Turn anger, fear, grief into action," perhaps I would have been sure.[6]

By the 1990s gay rights activists had broadened their efforts to challenge discrimination in employment, education, and public life. In 1995 Canada became the first country to allow same-sex marriage. In the ensuing years many European countries followed suit. But the legalization of same-sex marriage was not only a Western achievement: by 2013 Argentina, South Africa, Ecuador, and Uruguay had legalized same-sex marriage, while many other nations provided legal protections for families that stopped shy of marriage. Argentina led the way in legal support for transgender people and made sexual reassignment surgery a legal right in 2012. In 2014 the U.S. Supreme Court invalidated state laws and constitutional amendments barring same-sex marriage.

The movement toward recognition of same-sex marriage reflects the connection between liberalization and human rights: beyond dignifying discriminated groups, marriage rights give same-sex families legal equality to manage property rights and financial activities, such as the ability to inherit a home or jointly purchase insurance. Human rights successes in Latin America or Europe have widened the disparity in the experiences of people who are lesbian, gay, or transgender in many other regions of the world, where religious strictures against same-sex relationships can include imprisonment or death.

Roger Bacon/Reuters/Alamy Stock Photo

Equal Marriage in Argentina José Maria Di Bella, right, and his partner, Alex Freyre, celebrate Latin America’s first same-sex marriage, which occurred in Tierra del Fuego, Argentina, in 2009.

Women’s Right to Equality

The 1995 United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women, held in Beijing, China, called on the world community to take action in twelve areas of critical concern to women: poverty, access to education and training, access to health care, violence against women, women and war, economic inequality with men, political inequality with men, creation of institutions for women’s advancement, lack of respect for women’s rights, stereotyping of women, gender inequalities and the environment, and violation of girl children’s rights.[7] These are concerns that all women share, although degrees of inequality vary greatly from one country to another.

Granger, NYC — All rights reserved.

United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women
International Women's Day, March 8, and the UN Conferences on Women have served as platforms for framing the rights of women as a basic component of human rights. Here Hillary Rodham Clinton addresses the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995.

The **feminization of poverty**, the disproportionate number of women living in extreme poverty, applies to even the wealthiest countries, where two out of every three poor adults are women. There are many causes for this phenomenon. Because women are primarily responsible for child care in many cultures, they have less time and opportunity for work. Male labor migration increases the number of households headed by women and thus the number of families living in poverty. Job restrictions, discrimination, and limited access to education reduce women's employment options, except in the "informal economy" of domestic service, prostitution, and street vending. Birthrates are higher among poor women, particularly among adolescents, who make up many of the estimated 585,000 women who die every year during pregnancy and childbirth. The poorest women usually suffer most from government policies, usually legislated by men, that restrict their access to reproductive health care and family planning.

feminization of poverty The issue that those living in extreme poverty are disproportionately women.

Women have made gains in the workplace, making up 38 percent of the nonfarm-sector global workforce in the early 2000s, as compared to 35 percent in 1990. But segregated labor markets remain the rule, with higher-paying jobs reserved for men. In the farm sector, women produce more than half of all the food and up to 80 percent of subsistence crops grown in Africa. Because this is informal labor and often unpaid, these women laborers are denied access to loans, and many cannot own the land they farm. (See “Global Viewpoints: Women Activists in Chiapas, Mexico,” page 1004.)

Beyond the labor market, women also began in the 1960s to experience more control over pregnancy and childbirth decisions, particularly following the introduction of the birth control pill in the early 1960s. In the early twenty-first century more than half of the world’s couples practiced some form of birth control, up from one in eight just forty years earlier. Birth control and abortion were most accepted in North America, Protestant regions in Europe, the Soviet Union, and East Asia.

Social class continues to be a major divider of women’s opportunities. Over the course of the twentieth century women from more affluent backgrounds experienced far greater gains in access to education, employment, and political representation than women in poverty did. In the aftermath of decolonization and state formation, women emerged as heads of state in Bangladesh, India, Israel, and Pakistan. A wave of democratic political transitions in the 1980s yielded women heads of state in the Philippines and Nicaragua. In the years following democratic transitions, the same occurred in Panama, Chile, Argentina, Brazil, Indonesia, and Liberia.

GLOBAL VIEWPOINTS

Women Activists in Chiapas, Mexico

In 1994 peasants and activists in the southern Mexican state of Chiapas staged a revolt against landowners, government authorities, and paramilitary groups who were taking their land. They called their movement the Zapatista Army for National Liberation, named after Emiliano Zapata, leader of a peasant army in the Mexican Revolution. Though the activists armed themselves for defense, they did not wage war. Instead they employed tools such as early Internet activism to demonstrate to the world the abuses their communities faced. These Zapatista women relate the struggles through which they built their political awareness.

María

■ Life on the plantation was very hard because there was never any rest from work. There was a man who was the overseer, who forced people to work all the time. . . . We had to give a third of all the firewood we cut to the plantation owner. Another service was to clean the patio. All these "services" were not paid, of course. We had to provide them in exchange for the little piece of land where we planted our corn. . . .

As a child my life was learning to make tortillas, cook the cornmeal and wash clothes. My mother liked to work in the fields with my father, so she would leave very early to go to the fields. When I was about 13 years old, I was in charge of the household. My siblings were boys, so I had to do everything — wash everybody's clothes, prepare the food and clean the house.

. . . We continued renting land at the plantation. My father grew potatoes, corn and beans on that land. . . . But after a few years, we were asked to plant grass [for the owner's cattle], and the owner put cattle on the grassland. We couldn't work the land after that. . . . We lost it. We lost our corn there.

Guadalupe

■ I'm about 50 years old, I think. My husband is about 80. He's much older than I am. I married when I was 14 years old. I had no father and my mother didn't want me to be alone, so she married me to this man. He was already very old. He doesn't work any more. I work. I built my own house. I work in the fields. . . . In my house I do everything. I carry the corn. I carry the wood for the fire. . . . I built my own house. It's my own. I owe it to my work, not to the government. . . .

Now, in my community . . . we can't go out to work. We can't go to our cornfields. Paz y Justicia [paramilitary] men are looking for people out on the roads. They have weapons and they kill people. . . . They killed all the cows my son had, and they ate the meat. They took my horses, too. I had seven good horses to carry wood and to carry the corn. They killed all my pigs. They even killed my dog with a machete.

Now the government says they don’t have money to pay us back for our horses and for our cows. Why did they allow Paz y Justicia to do this to us in the first place? . . .

I’m really angry now! We’ve been at this sit-in for two months waiting in front of the government building.

Isabel

■ I went to work as a maid. I was only nine years old. I cleaned the house and took care of the children, and I lived in their house. There was a school nearby, so I asked my employers if I could go there to study, and they said yes. . . .

I was very lucky that I worked with these people. Many indigenous women who come from the countryside don’t have it so good. A lot of them are mistreated. . . . There’s a lot of racism and discrimination here in San Cristóbal, and the indigenous women are constantly humiliated. . . .

In 1992, [we] . . . formed an indigenous women’s street theater group, and we began performing in village plazas, in the streets, in schools and in auditoriums. . . . [W]e started preparing our first play, *La mujer desesperada* (The Desperate Woman). This is a tragedy about domestic violence and violence in general. We performed this play in San Cristóbal on March 8, 1993, on International Women’s Day.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What are the sources of insecurity in these women’s lives?
2. How do these women respond to the pressures they face?
3. How do these accounts reflect themes of poverty, migration, and women’s inequalities in the contemporary world?

Source: Teresa Ortiz, *Never Again a World Without Us: Voices of Mayan Women in Chiapas, Mexico* (Washington, D.C.: EPICA, 2001), pp. 38–40, 82–85, 153–154. Used by permission of the author.

Children: The Right to Childhood

In 1989 the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which spelled out a number of rights that are due every child. These include civil and human rights and economic, social, and cultural rights. The convention addresses the reality that globally a billion children live in poverty — one in every two children in the world — and that children make up half the world's refugees. It also focuses on the problems of child labor and exploitation, sexual violence and sex trafficking, police abuse of street children, HIV/AIDS orphans, lack of access to education, and lack of access to adequate health care. The convention has been ratified by more countries than any other human rights treaty — 196 countries as of 2017. The only United Nations member nation that has not ratified it is the United States.

As the twenty-first century began, nearly a billion people — mostly women denied equitable access to education — were illiterate. Increasing economic globalization has put pressure on all governments to improve literacy rates and educational opportunities; the result has been reduced gender inequalities in education. While the percentage of illiterate adults in 2010 who were women was 64 percent, the percentage of girls among illiterate children was 60 percent, with the greatest gains in literacy occurring in South Asia and the Middle East.

In the 1990s Mexico pioneered a new approach to combating poverty that has been implemented in a growing number of countries. Conditional cash transfer, or CCT, provides a stipend to families who meet certain goals, such as keeping their children in school. This approach addresses poverty directly, while enlisting families to work toward its long-term solution by increasing education levels, which will broaden opportunities for new generations. Mexico's Oportunidades (Opportunities) CCT was followed by Brazil's Bolsa Família (Family Scholarship) and by similar projects in many other countries in Latin America. Versions of the program have been introduced across Asia and the Middle East, including in Bangladesh, where a CCT program promotes the education of girls.

Science and Technology: Changes and Challenges

How have science and technology kept pace with population change?

Since 1950 the world's population has increased from 2.5 billion people to over 7 billion. This population growth has been matched by increasing demand for food and has placed growing strains on natural resources. Advances in agriculture and medicine have helped offset this challenge, while technological innovations in areas such as transportation and communications have increased the complexity of interactions among the world's growing population.

Intensified Agriculture and the Green Revolution

As the world's population grew in the second half of the twentieth century, food production strained to keep pace, prompting a greater emphasis on rural development and agricultural sciences. Before 1939 the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America had collectively produced more grain than they consumed. After 1945, as their populations soared, they began importing food from countries like the United States. Although crops might fail in poor countries, starvation seemed a thing of the past.

Then, in 1966 and 1967, a devastating famine struck India. That close brush with mass starvation created widespread alarm that population growth was outpacing food production. The American scientist Paul Ehrlich envisioned a grim future in his 1968 bestseller *The Population Bomb*, which warned of a population crisis:

> The battle to feed all of humanity is over. In the 1970s the world will undergo famines — hundreds of millions of people are going to starve to death in spite of any crash programs embarked upon now.[8]

Ehrlich was not the first scientist to make such dire predictions, and like Thomas Malthus before him (see "Industry and Population" in Chapter 23), he failed to understand the adaptability of farmers and the ability of agricultural technology to keep pace with population growth.

Plant scientists continued to develop new genetically engineered and hybridized seeds to suit particular growing conditions. The first breakthrough came in Mexico in the 1950s when an American-led team developed new strains of wheat that enabled farmers to double their yields, though the plants required greater amounts of fertilizer and water for irrigation. Mexican wheat production soared. A similar innovation in Asia introduced a new "miracle rice" that allowed farmers to plant two to four crops a year rather than one. Thus began the transformation of agriculture in some poor countries — the so-called **green revolution**.

green revolution Beginning in the 1950s, the increase in food production stemming from the introduction of high-yielding wheat, hybrid seeds, and other advancements.

As they applied green revolution technologies, many Asian countries experienced rapid increases in grain production. Farmers in India increased production more than 60 percent in fifteen years. China followed with its own highly successful version of the green revolution.

The green revolution offered new hope to industrializing nations, though its benefits often flowed to large landowners and export farms that could afford the necessary investments in irrigation and fertilizer. Experiences in China and other Asian countries showed, however, that even peasant families with tiny farms could gain substantially. Indeed, the green revolution's greatest successes occurred in Asian countries with broad-based peasant ownership of land. However, few of the poorest villagers benefited from the technological revolution in equipment because they rarely owned land or had enough capital to invest in new agricultural technology to increase their yields. This helps explain why in Latin America, where 3 to 4 percent of the rural population owned 60 to 80 percent of the land, the green revolution spread slowly beyond Mexico, where land had been redistributed after the 1910 revolution.

The Medical Revolution

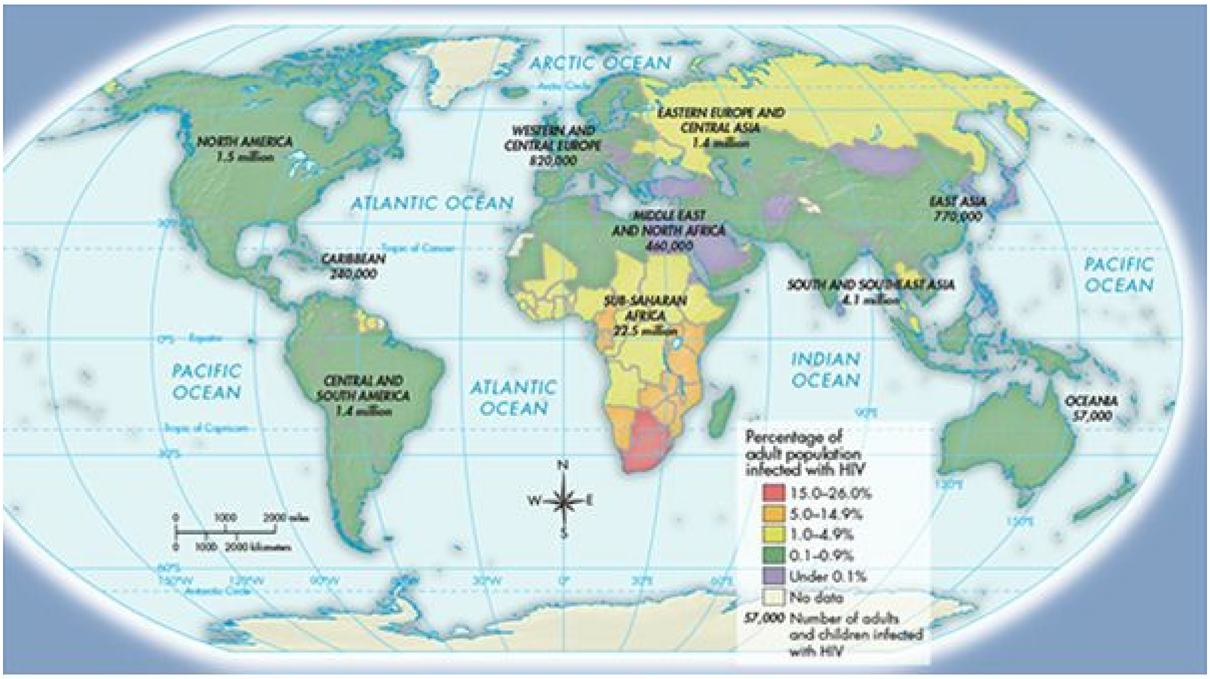
The medical revolution began in the late nineteenth century with the development of the germ theory of disease (see "Urban Development" in Chapter 24) and continued rapidly after World War II. Scientists discovered vaccines for many of the most deadly diseases. The Salk polio vaccine, developed in 1952, was followed by the first oral polio vaccine (1962) and vaccines for measles (1964), mumps (1967), rubella (1970), chicken pox (1974), hepatitis B (1981), and human papilloma virus (2006). According to the UN World Health Organization, medical advances reduced deaths from smallpox, cholera, and plague by more than 95 percent worldwide between 1951 and 1966.

Following independence, Asian and African countries increased the small numbers of hospitals, doctors, and nurses they had inherited from colonial regimes. In addition, local people were successfully trained as paramedics to staff rural outpatient clinics that offered medical treatment, health education, and prenatal and postnatal care. Many paramedics were women, who traditionally addressed health problems that involved childbirth and infancy.

Medical advances significantly lowered death rates and lengthened life expectancies worldwide. Children became increasingly likely to survive their early years, although infant and juvenile mortality remained far higher in poor countries than in rich ones. By 1980 the average inhabitant of the developing countries could expect to live about fifty-four years, although life expectancy at birth varied from forty to sixty-four years depending on the country. In industrialized countries, life expectancy at birth averaged seventy-one years.

The medical benefits of scientific advances have been limited by unequal access to health care, which is more readily available to the wealthy than to the poor. Between 1980 and 2000 the number of children under the age of five dying annually of diarrhea dropped by 60 percent through the global distribution of a cheap sugar-salt solution mixed in water. Still, over 1.5 million children worldwide continue to die each year from diarrhea, primarily in poorer nations. Deaths worldwide from HIV/AIDS, malaria, and tuberculosis are concentrated in the world’s poorest regions, while tuberculosis remains the leading killer of women worldwide.

Tuberculosis (TB) claims millions of lives every year, even though it is a curable disease. Malaria kills a million people a year worldwide, 90 percent of them in Africa. In 2007 the Population Division of the United Nations calculated that 36 million persons globally were infected with HIV, the virus that causes AIDS, and that AIDS was the world’s fourth-leading cause of death. About 90 percent of all persons who die from AIDS and 86 percent of those currently infected with HIV live in sub-Saharan Africa (Map 33.2). In Africa HIV/AIDS is most commonly spread through heterosexual sex. Widespread disease and poverty are also significant factors in that Africans already suffering from other illnesses such as malaria or tuberculosis are less resistant to HIV and have less access to health care for treatment.


ARCTIC OCEAN
Arctic Circle
NORTH AMERICA
1.5 million
WESTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPE
820,000
EASTERN EUROPE AND CENTRAL ASIA
1.4 million
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA
460,000
EAST ASIA
770,000
Tropic of Cancer
CARIBBEAN
240,000
SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ASIA
4.1 million
PACIFIC OCEAN
SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA
22.5 million
0° Equator
PACIFIC OCEAN
CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA
1.4 million
ATLANTIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
OCEANIA
57,000
Tropic of Capricorn
N
W
E
S
0 1000 2000 miles
0 1000 2000 kilometers
Antarctic Circle
Percentage of adult population infected with HIV
🟥 15.0–26.0%
🟧 5.0–14.9%
🟨 1.0–4.9%
🟩 0.1–0.9%
🟪 Under 0.1%
⬜ No data
57,000 Number of adults and children infected with HIV

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

Map 33.2 People Living with HIV/AIDS Worldwide, ca. 2010 As this map illustrates, Africa has been hit the hardest by the HIV/AIDS epidemic. It currently has 70 percent of the world's cases of HIV infection. AIDS researchers expect that in the coming decade, however, Russia and South and East Asia will overtake and then far surpass Africa in the number of infected people.

Another factor contributing to the spread of AIDS in Africa is political instability — particularly in the corridor running from Uganda to South Africa. This region was the scene of conflicts that resulted in massive numbers of refugees and a breakdown in health-care services. The people living in this area in the countries of Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Zaire/Congo, Angola, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, and South Africa have been decimated by HIV/AIDS. South Africa has the largest number of HIV/AIDS cases in the world. In 2010 around 10 percent of the South African population, about 5.6 million people, was living with HIV/AIDS. Since 2001 relatively inexpensive HIV/AIDS drugs that are widely available in the West have been dispensed freely to many of those infected in Africa and Asia, but the availability of these drugs has generally failed to keep up with the need.

Climate change has emerged as a growing factor in the spread of disease as the habitats for organisms that carry diseases — such as mosquitoes — expand. Changes in rainfall also play a role because areas that experience increasing rain have more standing water where mosquito larvae can incubate. Paradoxically, areas beset by drought also experience an intensification of mosquito-borne disease because in dry periods people tend to store water, which then becomes a breeding ground for mosquitoes. In Africa, Asia, the Pacific, and the Americas, these factors have accelerated the intensification of mosquito-borne diseases such as malaria, dengue, chikungunya, and, most recently, Zika. (See “Thinking Like a Historian: The Relationships Between Mosquitoes, People, and Epidemics,” page 1008.)

THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN

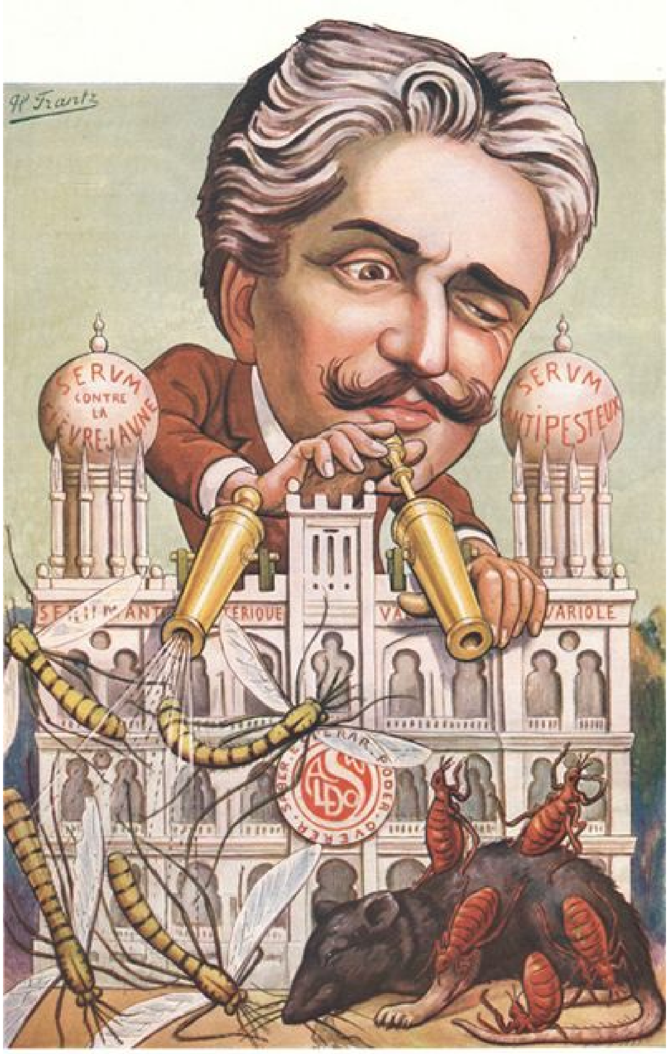
The Relationships Between Mosquitoes, People, and Epidemics

Two mosquitoes carry some of the world’s most feared diseases. The *Anopheles* mosquito can transmit the parasite that causes malaria. In 2015 over 2 million people worldwide contracted malaria and over 400,000 died. The *Aedes aegypti* mosquito can transmit the viruses that cause Zika, dengue, chikungunya, and yellow fever. In 2016, as Zika spread through Latin America, it was linked to complications among pregnant women that in some cases led to microcephaly (reduced head size) in their children. These diseases thrive in urban environments because of the proximity between people and mosquitoes.

1 **Robert Felkin on race, character, and malaria in Africa, 1893.** In his lectures to the African Ethnological Congress at the 1893 Chicago World’s Fair, Robert Felkin, a British doctor, drew a link between climate, disease, and character to support the European colonization of Africa. At the time he spoke, the link between malaria and mosquitoes had not been established. Like others, Felkin believed malaria was spread by “miasmas,” or gases from decomposing matter.

> ■ When . . . the climate, like that of Africa, is enervating, emigrants from the north become lazy, indolent, and to some extent emasculated. National character is, on the whole, undoubtedly changed. . . .
>
> Throughout all East Africa malarial fevers are very rife; they are most severe upon the coast, along the river valleys, and in marshy water-logged areas; in fact they are met with wherever the factors known as those producing malaria exist. . . . It may be well to mention here that the reason why East Africa has such an evil repute, owing to so many deaths having occurred amongst the Europeans who have visited it, is due to the fact that these explorers and missionaries have been compelled to make a long stay on the coast before proceeding inland, and have there become saturated, as it were, with the malarial poison. Were these conditions rectified, and were it possible for the whites to proceed rapidly to the interior, there is no doubt that their general health would be far better, and it is for this reason that for the last ten years I have so strongly advocated the construction of short railways to carry travellers rapidly across the malarious belt on the coast.

2 **Oswaldo Cruz directs his fire at the plague, 1911.** This image from a French magazine shows Brazilian public health official Oswaldo Cruz firing his cannon-like syringes at mosquitoes carrying yellow fever and rats carrying plague. Antimosquito campaigns commonly employed images of the military and war.



Chanteclair Journal, October, 1911

3 **Shimomura Hachigoro on malaria control in Japanese-occupied Taiwan, 1935.** In Taiwan, held by Japan between 1895 and 1945, colonial officials perceived the persistence of malaria as rooted in the beliefs and practices of the population, an attitude shared with European colonial powers in Asia and Africa. Health technician Shimomura Hachigoro summarized the Japanese government’s assessment.

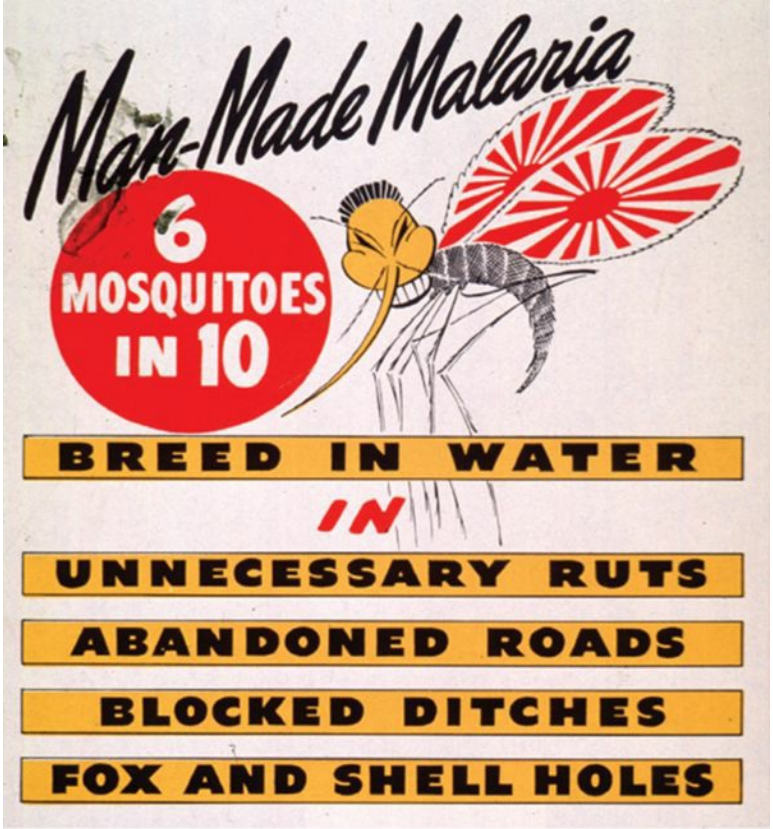
■ In the anti-malaria districts, we had published pamphlets, hung posters, held exhibitions and given speeches in order to offer hygienic knowledge to the [Taiwanese] people, but they paid no attention to these things and forgot them immediately. . . . People are lacking of knowledge. Some even don’t believe the fact that malaria is transmitted by mosquito. . . . But we believe that while mobilizing people to carry out anti-malaria work, the knowledge can be *infused* [emphasis in the original] into ignorant people through their hands, feet, eyes and ears.

4 **Donald G. McNeil, Jr., on the spread of Zika, 2016.** As with malaria and yellow fever in the past, the perception of a disease and of the peoples susceptible to it is socially constructed. A *New York Times* article by Donald G. McNeil, Jr., suggests a diminishing boundary between the United States and what have been perceived as "tropical" diseases.

■ Tropical diseases — some of them never before seen in the United States — are marching northward as climate change lets mosquitoes and ticks expand their ranges. But that does not mean that epidemics will break out, scientists say. Whether a few cases explode into a full-fledged outbreak depends on a set of factors far more complex than the weather. The list of scary bug-borne illnesses seems to get longer every year: Lyme, West Nile, Chagas, dengue, chikungunya — and now Zika, the first case of which turned up in Puerto Rico last week. . . .

In this hemisphere, chikungunya was first seen in late 2013 on the island of St. Martin. It started on the island's French-speaking half and jumped to other Francophone islands and to French Guiana. . . . Zika arrived on Easter Island in 2014. Although the island is Chilean territory, its original population was Polynesian. Zika has been island-hopping in the South Pacific since 2007. Easter Island holds an annual festival that attracts Polynesians, who may have brought Zika with them. The virus probably reached Brazil by a different route, via the influx of tourists during the 2014 World Cup, or paddlers from French Polynesia who participated in a canoe race in Rio de Janeiro.

5 **U.S. Navy, Second World War malaria campaign, 1945.** The U.S. armed forces waged education campaigns to prevent the spread of malaria among soldiers deployed in the Pacific during World War II. This poster created by the U.S. Navy equates mosquitoes with the enemy, giving the mosquito caricatured Japanese features and placing the Japanese flag on its wings. The image also has the effect of dehumanizing the Japanese by equating them with insects and disease.



United States National Library of Medicine, Image ID A025979/United States Navy Department Bureau of Medicine and Surgery, Government Printing Office, 1945

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. Why do you think military imagery is used to represent efforts to limit the diseases, as reflected in Sources 2 and 5?
2. How do race and ethnicity figure into the representations of the diseases in Sources 1, 2, 3, and 5?
3. What explanations for the spread of the diseases does Source 4 offer?
4. What does “man-made malaria” mean in Source 5?

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

Using the sources above, along with what you have learned in this chapter, write a short essay discussing the ways in which studying the history of perceptions of mosquito-borne diseases and their control helps us understand the broader historical themes discussed in this book.

Sources: (1) R. W. Felkin, *On the Geographical Distribution of Tropical Diseases in Africa* (Edinburgh: William F. Clay, 1895), pp. 5, 25; (3) Quoted in Lu Shiyung, “The Theory and Practice of Malariology in Colonial Taiwan,” in Ka-che Yip, ed., *Disease, Colonialism, and the State: Malaria in Modern East Asian History* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009), p. 41; (4) Donald G. McNeil, Jr., “Newly Opening Door to Tropical Diseases,” *New York Times*, January 5, 2016, © 2016 *The New York Times*. All rights reserved. Used by permission and protected by the Copyright Laws of the United States. The printing, copying, redistribution, or retransmission of this Content without express written permission is prohibited. www.nytimes.com.

A Digital Revolution

The invention of moving pictures, the telephone, and other communications technologies between 1875 and 1900 prepared the way for a twentieth-century era of mass communications. In parallel, new information-processing technologies began with the development of adding and calculating machines and culminated in the development of the first computers during the Second World War. As computing and communications technologies converged, they created the “information age.” The global availability and affordability of radios and television sets in the 1950s introduced a second communications revolution that followed the nineteenth-century first revolution (telegraph, telephone, and improvements in the circulation of newspapers and mail). The transistor radio penetrated the most isolated hamlets of the world. Governments embraced radio broadcasting as a means to project their power, disseminate propaganda, and broaden education. Though initially less common, television use expanded into nearly every country during the 1960s and 1970s, even if there was only one television in a village.

Governments recognized the power of the visual image to promote their ideologies or leaders, and a state television network became a source of national pride. In countries like Brazil, television transmission towers that rose up in the 1960s became monuments to modernity and development. Around the world, governments controlled the introduction of color television to symbolize progress. The Argentine military junta introduced color broadcasting to the nation for the 1978 soccer World Cup, transmitting games that took place within earshot of the detention centers where it waged its “dirty war.” Television became a powerful disseminator of culture: U.S. television programming reached around the world. Mexican television programs dominated Spanish-speaking regions. Brazilian soap operas gained loyal followers from the Soviet Union to Angola.

The third, and perhaps greatest, communications revolution began with the first personal computers in 1976, followed by the introduction of cell phones in 1985. The rapid diffusion of computing and cellular technology has allowed nations in the developing world to bypass traditional telephone lines, installation, and other obstacles. Smartphones have become the most common instruments for connecting to the Internet, allowing people in poorer and rural regions of the world to communicate and access information digitally without a computer or physical network.

Broader Internet access has made global access to information and communications seemingly infinite. Meanwhile, authoritarian governments have realized that the Internet and social media platforms like Facebook and Twitter pose a threat to their power and control. The governments of China and North Korea, for example, restrict information that travels in and out of their countries over the Internet, while the governments of the United States and other nations have invested heavily in monitoring that information. Even as expanding means of communication through cell phones, computers, and their networks have made censorship more difficult to enforce, they have made it even harder to keep information or communications private.

© Balint Porneczi/Signatures/Redux

Smartphones Expand Access to Information The rapid spread of cellular communication networks has made smartphone use the leading way in which people around the world access information and communicate. In this 2015 photo, a migrant mother uses her cell phone to map her route at the border between Serbia and Hungary.

The intensity of innovation in communications and information technology created new multinational giants. The success of these technology companies and the proliferation of computer, smartphone, and Internet use are remarkable changes, but they also deepen socioeconomic inequalities between countries and within countries. For instance, when Windows XP was released in 2001, a Nigerian cocoa laborer would have had to save his or her entire year's earnings to buy the Home Edition.[9] The unevenness of both the production and consumption of computer technology has resulted in a **digital divide**, meaning the gap in access to Internet, computer, and telecommunications resources. This gap is the greatest between nations like the United States, western European countries, and Japan and nations in Africa and South and Southeast Asia. The digital divide also exists between the wealthy and poor, as well as between urban and rural areas within countries. As the Internet becomes more integral to business, education, and government, communities with no or limited access face growing disadvantages.

digital divide The gap between levels of access to computing, Internet, and telecommunications between rich and poor regions and populations.

Chapter Summary

The end of the Cold War confrontation between superpowers has resulted in a world in which regional tensions endure and sometimes become international conflicts. Consequently, in a way similar to its actions in the Cold War era, the United States after 1990 continued to be involved in military conflicts far from home in regions ranging from the Balkans to Libya, Iraq, and Afghanistan. These conflicts have also spurred arms races that have led to the emergence of new nuclear powers in South Asia and East Asia.

The transitions to economic and political liberalism in the former Soviet bloc and in Latin America were particularly dramatic expressions of the rise of liberalism worldwide, which included the economic and political integration of Europe and the emergence of China as an economic superpower. Growing interconnectedness of world markets has meant increased economic volatility, such as the global financial market crisis of 2008. Cycles of economic growth and crisis, as well as contradictory experiences of integration and regional conflict, are tensions of the modern world rooted in historical experiences.

CONNECTIONS

The present shapes the ways we ask questions about the past. Understanding of the past also shapes our questions about the present and the future. Our history of world societies shows that the forces that shape the world we live in have deep roots: Globalization reaches back for centuries. Current armed conflicts are based on historic tensions often rooted in ethnic differences or legacies of colonialism. The gaps between rich and poor countries, and between the rich and poor within countries, have sometimes been diminished by advances in science and technology or by reforms in social policy. But science, technology, and public policy also deepen those inequalities, as uneven industrialization and the digital divide reflect.

Our relationship with the past is one of continuity and change. The study of history allows us to frame questions about complex, competing, and often-contradictory experiences. Asking these questions sharpens our focus on not only the past but also the present. We are shaped by history. But we also make it.

CHAPTER 33 Review and Explore

Identify Key Terms

Identify and explain the significance of each item below.

middle powers (p. 990)
megacities (p. 995)
bazaar economy (p. 996)
multinational corporations (p. 998)
global warming (p. 1000)
feminization of poverty (p. 1003)
green revolution (p. 1005)
digital divide (p. 1010)

Review the Main Ideas

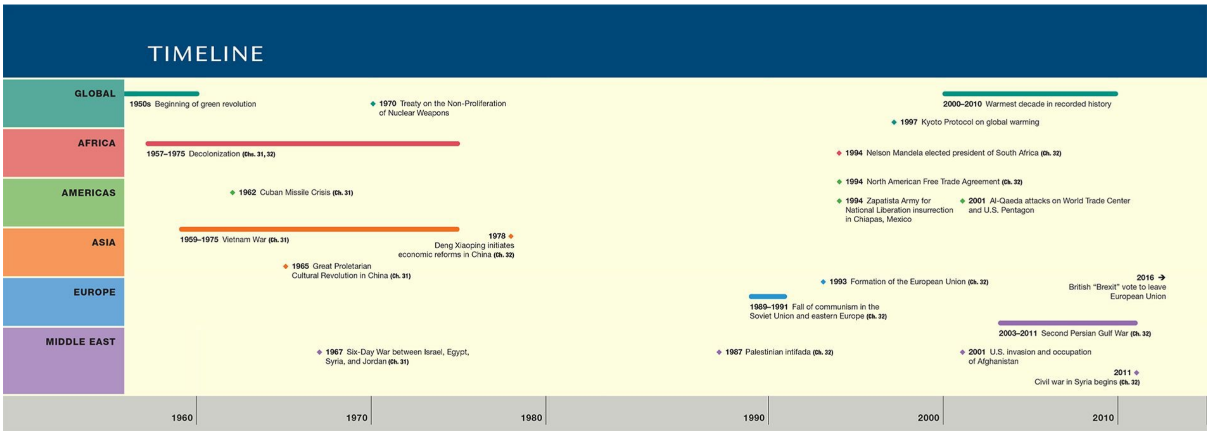
Answer the focus questions from each section of the chapter.

1. Does the contemporary world reflect the "end of history"? (p. 990)
2. How have migration and the circulation of capital and technology continued to shape the world? (p. 993)
3. What challenges did social reformers address at the turn of the twenty-first century? (p. 998)
4. How have science and technology kept pace with population change? (p. 1005)

Make Comparisons and Connections

Analyze the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters.

1. Why hasn't the end of the Cold War been followed by an easing of regional conflicts?
2. How do socioeconomic inequalities in the twenty-first-century world resemble the gaps between rich and poor in earlier eras?
3. How do contemporary technological and scientific developments reflect historical change and continuity?



Suggested Resources

Books

Abrahamson, Mark. *Global Cities.* 2004. Explores the global historical patterns of urbanization.

Gareis, Sven Bernhard, and Johannes Varwick. *The United Nations: An Introduction*. 2005. An overview of the United Nations.

Gore, Al. *An Inconvenient Truth: The Planetary Emergency of Global Warming and What We Can Do About It*. 2006. Reasoned discussion of the greatest threat to the planet in the twenty-first century, for which Gore won the Nobel Peace Prize.

Hawkesworth, Mary. *Political Worlds of Women: Activism, Advocacy, and Governance in the Twenty-First Century*. 2012. A survey of global women’s social movements amid persistent challenges of political exclusion and economic inequality.

Jones, Geoffrey. *Multinationals and Global Capitalism: From the Nineteenth to the Twenty-First Century*. 2005. A historical overview of the development of multinational corporations and a global capitalist economy.

Law, Randall D. *Terrorism: A History*, 2d ed. 2016. Explores the history of violent political actions, with a focus on ethnic, nationalist, and religious violence.

O’Neill, Bard E. *Insurgency and Terrorism: From Revolution to Apocalypse*, 2d ed. 2005. An excellent introduction to the nature of modern war.

O’Neill, John Terence, and Nicholas Rees. *United Nations Peacekeeping in the Post–Cold War Era*. 2005. Discusses the problems associated with United Nations peacekeeping efforts.

Pécoud, Antoine, and Paul de Guchteneire, eds. *Migration Without Borders: Essays on the Free Movement of People*. 2007. Regional perspectives on contemporary migration.

Piketty, Thomas. *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*. 2014. A fresh look at the history of social inequality and the accumulation of wealth.

Sasson, Tehila. “Milking the Third World? Humanitarianism, Capitalism, and the Moral Economy of the Nestlé Boycott.” *American Historical Review* 121.4 (October 2016). Explores the role of human rights activism in relation

to multinational corporations.

Seel, Peter B. *Digital Universe: The Global Telecommunication Revolution*. 2012. Discusses the historical trajectory of information and communications technology.

Shah, Sonia. *Pandemic: Tracking Contagions, from Cholera to Ebola and Beyond*. 2016. Examines patterns of global epidemics, both old and new.

Documentaries

Children of Syria (PBS, 2016). A PBS *Frontline* documentary tracing the story of four refugee children from Syria who found a new home in Germany.

Last Train Home (Lixin Fan, 2009). Explores the experience of China's more than 100 million migrant workers, focusing on the tensions between rural agrarian and urban industrial settings.

The Salt of the Earth (Juliano Ribeiro Salgado and Wim Wenders, 2014). Unpacks the work of Brazilian photographer Sebastião Salgado, whose images capture peoples in motion, often fleeing the hardships of war. The documentary explores the question of healing amid conflict.

Feature Films

Dheepan (Jacques Audiard, 2015). Focuses on the experience of Sri Lankan refugees in a housing project in Paris's suburbs. Fleeing war, they find new conflicts fueled by the drug trade.

Sin Nombre (Cary Joji Fukunaga, 2009). Depicts the journey of two young Hondurans traveling through Mexico to reach the United States.

Websites

Country Resources. Maintained by the Migration Policy Institute, this site presents country-by-country information on currents of international migration. **www.migrationpolicy.org/programs/migration-information-source/country-resources**

Europe's Migration Crisis. Resources maintained by the U.S. Council on Foreign Relations that offer a broad view on migration policy and pressures in Europe. **www.cfr.org/refugees-and-the-displaced/europes-migration-crisis/p32874**

Syrian Refugees: A Snapshot of the Crisis — in the Middle East and Europe. Resources and information on the Syrian refugee crisis in Europe, maintained by the Migration Policy Center of the European University Institute. **syrianrefugees.eu**

Glossary

absolutism A political system common to early modern Europe in which monarchs claimed exclusive power to make and enforce laws, without checks by other institutions; this system was limited in practice by the need to maintain legitimacy and compromise with elites. (Ch. 18)

African National Congress (ANC) The main black nationalist organization in South Africa, led by Nelson Mandela. (Ch. 32)

Afrikaners Descendants of the Dutch settlers in the Cape Colony in southern Africa. (Ch. 25)

age-grade systems Among the societies of Senegambia, groups of teenage males and females whom the society initiated into adulthood at the same time. (Ch. 20)

Age of Division The period after the fall of the Han Dynasty, when China was politically divided. (Ch. 7)

Agricultural Revolution Dramatic transformation in human history resulting from the change from foraging to raising crops and animals. (Ch. 1)

Aksum A kingdom in northwestern Ethiopia that was a sizable trading state and the center of Christian culture. (Ch. 10)

alternate residence system Arrangement in which Japanese lords were required to live in Edo every other year and left their wives and sons there as hostages to the Tokugawa Shogunate. (Ch. 21)

anarcho-syndicalism A version of anarchism that advocated placing power in the hands of workers' unions. (Ch. 27)

animism Idea that people, animals, plants, natural occurrences, and other parts of the physical world have spirits. (Ch. 1)

Antifederalists Opponents of the American Constitution who felt it diminished individual rights and accorded too much power to the federal government at the expense of the states. (Ch. 22)

Anyang One of the Shang Dynasty capitals from which the Shang kings ruled for more than two centuries. (Ch. 4)

apartheid The system of racial segregation and discrimination that was supported by the Afrikaner government in South Africa. (Ch. 32)

Arab socialism A modernizing, secular, and nationalist project of nation building in the Middle East aimed at economic development and the development of a strong military. (Ch. 31)

Aryans The dominant people in north India after the decline of the Indus Valley civilization; they spoke an early form of Sanskrit. (Ch. 3)

Aztec Empire An alliance between the Mexica people and their conquered allies, with its capital in Tenochtitlan (now Mexico City), that rose in size and power in the fifteenth century and possessed a sophisticated society and culture, with advanced mathematics, astronomy, and engineering. (Ch. 16)

Balfour Declaration A 1917 statement by British foreign secretary Arthur Balfour that supported the idea of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. (Ch. 29)

banners Units of the Manchu army, composed of soldiers, their families, and slaves. (Ch. 21)

Bantu Speakers of a Bantu language living south and east of the Congo River. (Ch. 10)

bazaar economy An economy with few salaried jobs and an abundance of tiny, unregulated businesses such as peddlers and pushcart operators. (Ch. 33)

Berbers North African peoples who controlled the caravan trade between the Mediterranean and the Sudan. (Ch. 10)

Berlin Conference A meeting of European leaders held in 1884–1885 to lay down basic rules for imperialist competition in sub-Saharan Africa. (Ch. 25)

Bill of Rights of 1689 A bill passed by Parliament and accepted by William and Mary that limited the powers of British monarchs and affirmed those of Parliament. (Ch. 18)

bishop A Christian Church official with jurisdiction over a certain area and the power to determine the correct interpretation of Christian teachings. (Ch. 6)

Black Death The plague that first struck Europe in 1347, killing perhaps one-third of the population. (Ch. 14)

Black Legend The notion that the Spanish were uniquely brutal and cruel in their conquest and settlement of the Americas, an idea propagated by rival European powers. (Ch. 16)

Black Shirts A private army under Mussolini in Italy that destroyed Socialist newspapers, union halls, and local Socialist Party headquarters, eventually pushing Socialists out of the city governments of northern Italy. (Ch. 30)

blitzkrieg “Lightning war” using planes, tanks, and trucks, first used by Hitler to crush Poland in four weeks. (Ch. 30)

bodhisattvas Buddhas-to-be who stayed in the world after enlightenment to help others on the path to salvation. (Ch. 3)

Bolsheviks The “majority group”; this was Lenin’s camp of the Russian party of Marxist socialism. (Ch. 28)

Book of Documents One of the earliest Chinese books, containing documents, speeches, and historical accounts about early Zhou rule. (Ch. 4)

Book of Songs The earliest collection of Chinese poetry; it provides glimpses of what life was like in the early Zhou Dynasty. (Ch. 4)

bourgeoisie The well-educated, prosperous, middle-class groups. (Ch. 24)

Boxers A Chinese secret society that blamed the country’s ills on foreigners, especially missionaries, and rose in rebellion in 1900. (Ch. 26)

brahman The unchanging ultimate reality, according to the *Upanishads*. (Ch. 3)

Brahmins Priests of the Aryans; they supported the growth of royal power in return for royal confirmation of their own religious rights, power, and status. (Ch. 3)

bride wealth In early modern Southeast Asia, a sum of money the groom paid the bride or her family at the time of marriage. This practice contrasted with the dowry in China, India, and Europe, which the husband controlled. (Ch. 16)

Bushido Literally, “the way of the warrior”; the code of conduct by which samurai were expected to live. (Ch. 13)

captaincies A system established by the Portuguese in Brazil in the 1530s, whereby hereditary grants of land were given to nobles and loyal officials who bore the costs of settling and administering their territories. (Ch. 16)

caravel A small, maneuverable, three-masted sailing ship that gave the Portuguese a distinct advantage in exploration and trade. (Ch. 16)

Carolingian A dynasty of rulers that took over the Frankish kingdom from the Merovingians in the seventh century; *Carolingian* derives from the Latin word for “Charles,” the name of several members of this dynasty. (Ch. 8)

caste system The Indian system of dividing society into hereditary groups whose members interacted primarily within the group, and especially married within the group. (Ch. 3)

caudillismo Government by figures who rule through personal charisma and the support of armed followers in Latin America. (Ch. 27)

Chan A school of Buddhism (known in Japan as Zen) that rejected the authority of the sutras and claimed the superiority of mind-to-mind transmission of Buddhist truths. (Ch. 7)

chattel An item of personal property; a term used in reference to enslaved people that conveys the idea that they are subhuman, like animals, and therefore may be treated like animals. (Ch. 20)

Chinggis Khan The title given to the Mongol ruler Temujin in 1206; it means Great Ruler. (Ch. 12)

chivalry A code of conduct that was supposed to govern the behavior of a knight. (Ch. 14)

Christian humanists Humanists from northern Europe who thought that the best elements of classical and Christian cultures should be combined and saw humanist learning as a way to bring about reform of the church and deepen people’s spiritual lives. (Ch. 15)

Circum-Caribbean The region encompassing the Antilles as well as the lands that bound the Caribbean Sea in Central America and northern South America. (Ch. 27)

civil service examinations A highly competitive series of written tests held at the prefecture, province, and capital levels in China to select men to become officials. (Ch. 21)

class-consciousness An individual's sense of class differentiation, a term introduced by Karl Marx. (Ch. 23)

cloistered government A system in which an emperor retired to a Buddhist monastery but continued to exercise power by controlling his young son on the throne. (Ch. 13)

cocoa holdups Mass protests in Africa's Gold Coast in the 1930s by producers of cocoa who refused to sell their beans to British firms and instead sold them directly to European and American chocolate manufacturers. (Ch. 31)

Code of Manu The codification of early Indian law that lays down family, caste, and commercial law. (Ch. 3)

Cold War The post–World War II conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union. (Ch. 31)

collectivization Stalin's forcible consolidation, beginning in 1929, of individual peasant farms in the Soviet Union into large, state-controlled enterprises. (Ch. 30)

Columbian exchange The exchange of animals, plants, and diseases between the Old and the New Worlds. (Ch. 16)

Combination Acts English laws passed in 1799 that outlawed unions and strikes, favoring capitalist business owners over skilled artisans. Bitterly resented and widely disregarded by many craft guilds, the acts were repealed by Parliament in 1824. (Ch. 23)

commercial revolution The transformation of the economic structure of Europe, beginning in the eleventh century, from a rural, manorial society to a more complex mercantile society. (Ch. 14)

Common Market The European Economic Community created in 1957. (Ch. 31)

compass A tool for identifying north using a magnetic needle; it was made useful for sea navigation in Song times when placed in a protective case. (Ch. 13)

concubine A woman who is a recognized spouse but of lower status than a wife. (Chs. 13, 17)

Confucian classics The ancient texts recovered during the Han Dynasty that Confucian scholars treated as sacred scriptures. (Ch. 7)

Congress of Vienna A meeting of the Quadruple Alliance (Russia, Prussia, Austria, Great Britain) and France held in 1814–1815 to fashion a general peace settlement after the defeat of Napoleonic France. (Ch. 24)

conquistador Spanish for "conqueror"; a Spanish soldier-explorer, such as

Hernán Cortés or Francisco Pizarro, who sought to conquer the New World for the Spanish crown. (Ch. 16)

conservatism A political philosophy that stressed retaining traditional values and institutions, including hereditary monarchy and a strong landowning aristocracy. (Ch. 24)

constitutionalism A form of government in which power is limited by law and balanced between the authority and power of the government, on the one hand, and the rights and liberties of the subject or citizen, on the other; it includes constitutional monarchies and republics. (Ch. 18)

consuls Primary executives in the Roman Republic, elected for one-year terms, who commanded the army in battle, administered state business, and supervised financial affairs. (Ch. 6)

Continental System A blockade imposed by Napoleon in which no ship coming from Britain or its colonies was permitted to dock at any port controlled by the French. (Ch. 22)

Copernican hypothesis The idea that the sun, not the earth, was the center of the universe. (Ch. 19)

Coptic Christianity Orthodox form of Christianity from Egypt practiced in Ethiopia. (Ch. 20)

Cossacks Free groups and outlaw armies living on the borders of Russian territory from the fourteenth century onward. In the mid-sixteenth century they formed an alliance with the Russian state. (Ch. 18)

cottage industry Manufacturing with hand tools in peasant cottages and work sheds, a form of economic activity that became important in eighteenth-century Europe. (Ch. 19)

cowrie shells Imported from the Maldives, they served as the medium of exchange in West Africa. (Ch. 20)

craft guilds Associations of artisans organized to regulate the quality, quantity, and price of the goods produced as well as the number of affiliated apprentices and journeymen. (Ch. 14)

Creoles People of European descent born in the Americas. (Ch. 22)

crossbow A powerful mechanical bow developed during the Warring States Period. (Ch. 4)

Crusades Holy wars sponsored by the papacy for the recovery of the holy city of Jerusalem from the Muslims. (Ch. 14)

Crystal Palace The location of the Great Exhibition in 1851 in London, an architectural masterpiece made entirely of glass and iron. (Ch. 23)

cuneiform Sumerian form of writing; the term describes the wedge-shaped marks made by a stylus. (Ch. 2)

daimyo Regional lords in Japan, many of whom were self-made men. (Ch. 21)

Dao The Way, a term used by Daoists to refer to the natural order. (Ch. 4)

Dawes Plan The product of the 1924 World War I reparations commission, accepted by Germany, France, and Britain, that reduced Germany's yearly reparations, made payment dependent on German economic prosperity, and granted Germany large loans from the United States to promote recovery. (Ch. 28)

debate about women An argument about women's character, nature, and proper role in society that began in the later years of the fourteenth century and lasted for centuries. (Ch. 15)

Declaration of Independence The 1776 document in which the American colonies declared independence from Great Britain and recast traditional English rights as universal human rights. (Ch. 22)

deism Belief in a distant, noninterventionist deity, shared by many Enlightenment thinkers. (Ch. 19)

democracy A type of Greek government in which all citizens administered the workings of government. (Ch. 5)

dependency theory The belief, formulated in Latin America in the mid-twentieth century, that development in some areas of the world locks other nations into underdevelopment. (Ch. 31)

détente The progressive relaxation of Cold War tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union in the late 1960s and early 1970s. (Ch. 32)

devshirme A process whereby the sultan's agents swept the provinces for Christian youths to be trained as soldiers or civil servants. (Ch. 17)

dharma The Sanskrit word for moral law, central to both Buddhist and Hindu teachings. (Ch. 3)

dhimmis A term meaning "protected peoples"; they included Jews, Christians, and Zoroastrians. (Ch. 9)

Diet of Worms An assembly of representatives from the territories of the Holy Roman Empire convened by Charles V in the city of Worms in 1521. It was here that Martin Luther refused to recant his writings. (Ch. 15)

digital divide The gap between levels of access to computing, Internet, and telecommunications between rich and poor regions and populations. (Ch. 33)

dioceses Geographic administrative districts of the church, each under the authority of a bishop and centered on a cathedral. (Ch. 8)

divine right of kings The belief propagated by absolutist monarchs in Europe that they derived their power from God and were only answerable to him. (Ch. 18)

division of labor Differentiation of tasks by gender, age, training, status, or other social distinction. (Ch. 1)

diwān An administrative unit of government through which Arab soldiers were registered during the early years of the spread of Islam. (Ch. 9)

domesticated Plants and animals modified by selective breeding so as to serve human needs; domesticated animals will behave in specific ways and breed in captivity. (Ch. 1)

Dreyfus affair A divisive case in which Alfred Dreyfus, a Jewish captain in the French army, was falsely accused and convicted of treason. The Catholic Church sided with the anti-Semites against Dreyfus; after Dreyfus was declared innocent, the French government severed all ties between the state and the church. (Ch. 24)

dynastic cycle The theory that Chinese dynasties go through a predictable cycle from early vigor and growth to subsequent decline as administrators become lax and the well-off find ways to avoid paying taxes, cutting state revenues. (Ch. 13)

economic liberalism The theory, associated with Adam Smith, that the pursuit of individual self-interest in a competitive market would lead to rising prosperity and greater social equality, rendering government intervention unnecessary and undesirable. (Ch. 19)

Eightfold Path The eight-step code of conduct set forth by the Buddha in his first sermon. (Ch. 3)

emirs Arab governors who were given overall responsibility for public order, maintenance of the armed forces, and tax collection. (Ch. 9)

empiricism A theory of inductive reasoning that calls for acquiring evidence through observation and experimentation rather than reason and speculation. (Ch. 19)

Enabling Act An act pushed through the Reichstag by the Nazis in 1933 that gave Hitler absolute dictatorial power for four years. (Ch. 30)

enclosure The controversial process of fencing off common land to create privately owned fields that increased agricultural production at the cost of reducing poor farmers’ access to land. (Ch. 19)

encomienda system A system whereby the Spanish crown granted the conquerors the right to forcibly employ groups of indigenous people as laborers and to demand tribute payments from them in exchange for providing food, shelter, and instruction in the Christian faith. (Ch. 16)

endogamy The practice of marrying within a certain ethnic or social group. (Ch. 1)

enlightened absolutism Term coined by historians to describe the rule of eighteenth-century monarchs who, without renouncing their own absolute authority, took up the call to reform their governments in accordance with the rational and humane principles of the Enlightenment. (Ch. 19)

Enlightenment An intellectual and cultural movement in late-seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe and the wide world that used rational and critical thinking to debate issues such as political sovereignty, religious tolerance, gender roles, and racial difference. (Ch. 19)

epic poem An oral or written narration of the achievements and sometimes the failures of heroes that embodies peoples' ideas about themselves. (Ch. 2)

Epicureanism A system of philosophy based on the teachings of Epicurus, who viewed a life of contentment, free from fear and suffering, as the greatest good. (Ch. 5)

Esoteric Buddhism A sect of Buddhism that maintains that the secrets of enlightenment have been secretly transmitted from the Buddha and can be accessed through initiation into the mandalas, mudras, and mantras. (Ch. 13)

Estates General Traditional representative body of the three estates of France that met in 1789 in response to imminent state bankruptcy. (Ch. 22)

eunuchs Castrated males who played an important role as palace servants. (Ch. 7)

European Union (EU) An economic and political alliance of twelve European nations formed in 1993 that has since grown to include twenty-eight European nations. (Ch. 32)

Europe first policy The military strategy, set forth by Churchill and adopted by Roosevelt, that called for the defeat of Hitler in Europe before the United States launched an all-out strike against Japan in the Pacific. (Ch. 30)

evolution The idea, developed by Charles Darwin, that all life had gradually evolved from a common origin through a process of natural selection. (Ch. 24)

examination system A system of selecting officials in imperial China based on competitive written examinations. (Ch. 13)

existentialism The name given to a highly diverse and even contradictory philosophy that stresses the meaninglessness of existence and the search for moral values in a world of terror and uncertainty. (Ch. 28)

extraterritoriality The legal principle that exempts individuals from local law, applicable in China because of the agreements reached after China's loss in the Opium War. (Ch. 26)

Factory Act of 1833 English law that led to a sharp decline in the employment of children by limiting the hours that children over age nine could work and banning employment of children younger than nine. (Ch. 23)

fascism A movement characterized by extreme, often expansionist nationalism, anti-socialism, a dynamic and violent leader, and glorification of war and the military. (Ch. 30)

feminization of poverty The issue that those living in extreme poverty are disproportionately women. (Ch. 33)

feudalism A medieval European political system that defines the military obligations and relations between a lord and his vassals and involves the granting of fiefs. (Ch. 14)

fief A portion of land, the use of which was given by a lord to a vassal in exchange for the latter's oath of loyalty. (Ch. 14)

filial piety Reverent attitude of children to their parents extolled by Confucius. (Ch. 4)

Five Pillars of Islam The basic tenets of the Islamic faith; they include reciting a profession of faith in God and in Muhammad as God's prophet, praying five times daily, fasting and praying during the month of Ramadan, making a pilgrimage to Mecca once in one's lifetime, and contributing alms to the poor. (Ch. 9)

five-year plan Launched by Stalin in 1928 and termed the "revolution from above," its goal was to modernize the Soviet Union and generate a Communist society with new attitudes, new loyalties, and a new socialist humanity. (Ch. 30)

foot binding The practice of binding the feet of girls with long strips of cloth to keep them from growing large. (Ch. 13)

foraging A style of life in which people gain food by gathering plant products, trapping or catching small animals and birds, and hunting larger prey. (Ch. 1)

Four Noble Truths The Buddha's message that pain and suffering are inescapable parts of life; suffering and anxiety are caused by human desires and attachments; people can understand and triumph over these weaknesses; and this triumph is made possible by following a simple code of conduct. (Ch. 3)

free womb laws Laws passed across the nineteenth-century Americas that instituted a gradual form of abolition through which children born to slaves gained their freedom. (Ch. 27)

functionalism The principle that buildings, like industrial products, should serve the purpose for which they were made as well as possible. (Ch. 28)

general will A concept associated with Rousseau, referring to the common interests of all the people, who have displaced the monarch as the holder of sovereign power. (Ch. 19)

germ theory The idea that disease is caused by the spread of living organisms that can be controlled. (Ch. 24)

Ghana From the word for "war chief," the name of a large and influential African kingdom inhabited by the Soninke people. (Ch. 10)

Girondists A moderate group that fought for control of the French National Convention in 1793. (Ch. 22)

glasnost Soviet premier Mikhail Gorbachev's popular campaign for government transparency and more open media. (Ch. 32)

global warming The consensus view of an overwhelming majority of the world's scientists that hydrocarbons produced through the burning of fossil fuels have caused a greenhouse effect that has increased global temperatures over time. (Ch. 33)

Gothic The term for the architectural and artistic style that began in Europe in the twelfth century and featured pointed arches, high ceilings, and flying buttressess. (Ch. 14)

Grand Canal A canal, built during the Sui Dynasty, that connected the Yellow and Yangzi Rivers. It was notable for strengthening China's internal cohesion and economic development. (Ch. 7)

Grand Empire The empire over which Napoleon and his allies ruled, encompassing virtually all of Europe except Great Britain. (Ch. 22)

Great Leap Forward Mao Zedong's acceleration of Chinese development in which industrial growth was to be based on small-scale backyard workshops run by peasants living in gigantic self-contained communes. (Ch. 31)

great migration The mass movement of people from Europe in the nineteenth century; one reason that the West's impact on the world was so powerful and complex. (Ch. 25)

Great Mutiny / Great Revolt The terms used by the British and the Indians, respectively, to describe the last armed resistance to British rule in India, which occurred in 1857. (Ch. 26)

Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution A movement launched in 1965 by Mao Zedong that attempted to recapture the revolutionary fervor of his guerrilla struggle. (Ch. 31)

Great Wall A rammed-earth fortification built along the northern border of China during the reign of the First Emperor. (Ch. 7)

great white walls Discriminatory laws passed by Americans and Australians to keep Asians from settling in their countries in the 1880s. (Ch. 25)

Great Zimbabwe A ruined southern African city five-hundred to a thousand years old; it is considered the most impressive monument south of the Nile Valley and Ethiopian highlands. (Ch. 10)

green revolution Beginning in the 1950s, the increase in food production stemming from the introduction of high-yielding wheat, hybrid seeds, and other advancements. (Ch. 33)

gunboat diplomacy The imposition of treaties and agreements under threat of military violence, such as the opening of Japan to trade after Commodore Perry's demands. (Ch. 26)

hadith Collections of the sayings of and anecdotes about Muhammad. (Ch. 9)

Hammurabi's law code A proclamation issued by Babylonian king Hammurabi to establish laws regulating many aspects of life. (Ch. 2)

Harappan The first Indian civilization; also known as the Indus Valley civilization. (Ch. 3)

Haskalah A Jewish Enlightenment movement led by Prussian philosopher Moses Mendelssohn. (Ch. 19)

Hellenistic Literally means "like the Greek"; describes the period from the death of Alexander the Great in 323 B.C.E. to the Roman conquest of Egypt in 30

B.C.E., when Greek culture spread. (Ch. 5)

Hellenization The spread of Greek ideas, culture, and traditions to non-Greek groups across a wide area. (Ch. 5)

heresy A religious practice or belief judged unacceptable by church officials. (Chs. 8, 14)

Holocaust The attempted systematic extermination of all European Jews and other “undesirables” by the Nazi state during World War II. (Ch. 30)

hominids Members of the family Hominidae that contains humans, chimpanzees, gorillas, and orangutans. (Ch. 1)

hoplites Heavily armed citizens who served as infantrymen and fought to defend the polis. (Ch. 5)

horticulture Crop raising done with hand tools and human power. (Ch. 1)

Huguenots French Calvinists. (Ch. 15)

humanism A program of study designed by Italians that emphasized the critical study of Latin and Greek literature with the goal of understanding human nature. (Ch. 15)

iconoclastic controversy The conflict over the veneration of religious images in the Byzantine Empire. (Ch. 8)

id, ego, superego Freudian terms for the primitive, irrational unconscious (id), the rationalizing conscious that mediates what a person can do (ego), and the ingrained moral values that specify what a person should do (superego). (Ch. 28)

imam The leader in community prayer in Islam. (Ch. 9)

import substitution industrialization (ISI) The use of trade barriers to keep certain foreign products out of one’s country so that domestic industry can emerge and produce the same goods. (Ch. 31)

Inca The name of the dynasty of rulers who built the largest and last indigenous empire across the Andes. (Ch. 11)

Inca Empire The vast and sophisticated Peruvian empire centered at the capital city of Cuzco that was at its peak in the fifteenth century but weakened by civil war at the time of the Spanish arrival. (Ch. 16)

indentured laborers Laborers who agreed to a term of employment, specified in a contract. (Ch. 26)

Indian Civil Service The bureaucracy that administered the government of India. Entry into its elite ranks was through examinations that Indians were eligible to take, but these tests were offered only in England. (Ch. 26)

Indian National Congress A political association formed in 1885 that worked for Indian self-government. (Ch. 26)

Indo-European languages A large family of languages that includes English, most of the languages of modern Europe, ancient Greek, Latin, Persian, Hindi, Bengali, and Sanskrit. (Ch. 2)

indulgence A document issued by the pope that substituted for earthly penance or time in purgatory. (Ch. 15)

Industrial Revolution A term first coined in the 1830s to describe the burst of major inventions and economic expansion that took place in certain industries, such as cotton textiles and iron, between 1780 and 1850. (Ch. 23)

intifada Beginning in 1987, a prolonged campaign of civil disobedience by Palestinian youth against Israeli soldiers; the Arabic word *intifada* means "shaking off." (Ch. 32)

Iron Age Period beginning about 1100 B.C.E. when iron became the most important material for weapons and tools in some parts of the world. (Ch. 2)

iron law of wages Theory proposed by English economist David Ricardo suggesting that the pressure of population growth prevents wages from rising above the subsistence level. (Ch. 23)

Jacobin club A political club during the French Revolution to which many of the deputies of the Legislative Assembly belonged. (Ch. 22)

Jainism Indian religion whose followers consider all life sacred and avoid destroying other life. (Ch. 3)

janissaries Turkish for "recruits"; they formed the elite army corps. (Ch. 17)

"Japan, Inc." A nickname from the 1970s and 1980s used to describe what some considered the unfair relationship between Japan's business world and government. (Ch. 32)

jati The thousands of Indian castes. (Ch. 12)

Java War The 1825–1830 war between the Dutch government and the Javanese, fought over the extension of Dutch control of the island. (Ch. 26)

Jesuits Members of the Society of Jesus, founded by Ignatius Loyola in 1540, whose goal was the spread of the Roman Catholic faith through schools and missionary activity. (Chs. 15, 18)

jihad Religious war waged by Muslim scholars and religious leaders against both animist rulers and Islamic states that they deemed corrupt. (Ch. 25)

junta A government headed by a council of commanders of the branches of the armed forces. (Ch. 32)

Justinian's Code Multipart collection of laws and legal commentary issued in the sixth century by the emperor Justinian. (Ch. 8)

karma The tally of good and bad deeds that determines the status of an individual's next life. (Ch. 3)

khanates The states ruled by a khan; the four units into which Chinggis divided the Mongol Empire. (Ch. 12)

khipu An intricate system of knotted and colored strings used by early Andean cultures to store information such as census and tax records. (Ch. 11)

kibbutz A Jewish collective farm, first established by Zionists in Palestine, on which each member shared equally in the work, rewards, and defense. (Ch. 29)

Kilwa The most powerful city on the east coast of Africa by the late thirteenth century. (Ch. 10)

Koumbi Saleh The city in which the king of Ghana held his court. (Ch. 10)

laissez faire A doctrine of economic liberalism advocating unrestricted private enterprise and no government interference in the economy. (Ch. 24)

Lateran Agreement A 1929 agreement in which Mussolini in Italy recognized the Vatican as an independent state and agreed to give the church heavy financial support in return for the pope's public support. (Ch. 30)

latifundios Vast landed estates in Latin America. (Ch. 27)

law of inertia A law formulated by Galileo stating that motion, not rest, is the natural state of an object and that an object continues in motion forever unless stopped by some external force. (Ch. 19)

law of universal gravitation Newton's law that all objects are attracted to one another and that the force of attraction is proportional to the object's quantity of matter and inversely proportional to the square of the distance between them. (Ch. 19)

League of Nations A permanent international organization established during the 1919 Paris Peace Conference to protect member states from aggression and avert future wars. (Ch. 28)

Legalists Political theorists who emphasized the need for rigorous laws and laid the basis for China's later bureaucratic government. (Ch. 4)

Lerdo Law An 1856 Mexican law that barred corporate landholdings. (Ch. 27)

liberalism A philosophy whose principal ideas were equality and liberty; liberals demanded representative government and equality before the law as well as such individual freedoms as freedom of the press, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and freedom from arbitrary arrest. (Ch. 24)

liberation theology A movement within the Catholic Church to support the poor in situations of exploitation that emerged with particular force in Latin America in the 1960s. (Ch. 31)

loess Soil deposited by wind; it is fertile and easy to work. (Ch. 4)

logographic A system of writing in which each word is represented by a single symbol, such as the Chinese script. (Ch. 4)

Long March The 6,000-mile retreat of the Chinese Communist army in 1934 to a remote region on the northwestern border of China, during which tens of thousands lost their lives. (Ch. 29)

Lucknow Pact A 1916 alliance between the Hindus leading the Indian National Congress Party and the Muslim League. (Ch. 29)

Luddites Group of handicraft workers who attacked factories in northern England in 1811 and after, smashing the new machines that they believed were putting them out of work. (Ch. 23)

madrasa A school for the study of Muslim law and religion. (Ch. 9)

Mahayana The “Great Vehicle,” a tradition of Buddhism that aspires to be more inclusive. (Ch. 3)

Majlis The national assembly established by the despotic shah of Iran in 1906. (Ch. 29)

Mandate of Heaven The theory that Heaven gives the king a mandate to rule only as long as he rules in the interests of the people. (Ch. 4)

manifest destiny The doctrine that the United States should absorb the territory spanning from the original Atlantic states to the Pacific Ocean. (Ch. 27)

manorialism The economic system that governed rural life in medieval Europe, in which the landed estates of a lord were worked by the peasants under the lord’s jursidiction in exchange for his protection. (Ch. 14)

March Revolution The first phase of the Russian Revolution of 1917, in which unplanned uprisings led to the abdication of the tsar and the establishment of a provisional democratic government that was then overthrown in November by Lenin and the Bolsheviks. (Ch. 28)

Marshall Plan A 1948 American plan for providing economic aid to Europe to help it rebuild after World War II. (Ch. 31)

Mauryan Empire The first Indian empire, founded by Chandragupta. (Ch. 3)

May Fourth Movement A Chinese nationalist movement against foreign imperialists and warlord rule; it began as a 1919 student protest against the decision of the Paris Peace Conference to leave the Shandong Peninsula in the hands of Japan. (Ch. 29)

Maya A highly developed Mesoamerican culture centered in the Yucatán peninsula of Mexico. The Maya created the most intricate writing system in the Western Hemisphere. (Ch. 11)

megacities Cities with populations of 5 million people or more. (Ch. 33)

megafaunal extinction Die-off of large animals in many parts of the world, 45,000–10,000 B.C.E., caused by climate change and most likely human hunting. (Ch. 1)

Meiji Restoration The 1867 ousting of the Tokugawa Shogunate that “restored” the power of the Japanese emperors. (Ch. 26)

Mein Kampf Adolf Hitler’s autobiography, published in 1925, which also contains Hitler’s political ideology. (Ch. 28)

mercantilism A system of economic regulations aimed at increasing the power of the state derived from the belief that a nation’s international power was based on its wealth, specifically its supply of gold and silver. (Ch. 18)

Merovingian A dynasty of rulers that decisively unified the Franks under the reign of Clovis (ca. 481–511) and ruled the Frankish kingdom until the seventh century. (Ch. 8)

Mesoamerica The term used to designate the area spanning present-day central Mexico to Nicaragua. (Ch. 11)

Messiah In Jewish belief, a savior who would bring a period of peace and happiness for Jews; many Christians came to believe that Jesus was that Messiah. (Ch. 6)

Mexica The dominant ethnic group of what is now Mexico, who created an empire based on war and religion that reached its height in the fifteenth century. (Ch. 11)

Middle Passage Enslaved Africans' horrific voyage across the Atlantic to the Americas, under appalling and often deadly conditions. (Ch. 20)

middle powers Countries with significant economic influence that became increasingly assertive regional leaders after the Cold War. (Ch. 33)

migration chain The movement of peoples in which one strong individual blazes the way and others follow. (Ch. 25)

militarism The glorification of the military as the supreme ideal of the state with all other interests subordinate to it. (Ch. 28)

Mines Act of 1842 English law prohibiting underground work for all women and girls as well as for boys under ten. (Ch. 23)

Ming Dynasty The Chinese dynasty in power from 1368 to 1644; it marked a period of vibrant urban culture. (Ch. 21)

Moche A Native American culture that thrived along Peru's northern coast between 100 and 800 C.E. (Ch. 11)

modernism A variety of cultural movements at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth that rebelled against traditional forms and conventions of the past. (Ch. 28)

modernization The changes that enable a country to compete effectively with the leading countries at a given time. (Ch. 24)

modernization theory The belief, held in countries such as the United States in the mid-twentieth century, that all countries evolved in a linear progression from traditional to mature. (Ch. 31)

Mogadishu A Muslim port city in East Africa founded between the eighth and tenth centuries; today it is the capital of Somalia. (Ch. 10)

Monroe Doctrine An 1823 proclamation that established a U.S. sphere of influence over the Americas by opposing European imperialism on the continent. (Ch. 27)

moral economy The early modern European view that community needs predominated over competition and profit and that necessary goods should thus be sold at a fair price. (Ch. 18)

Mountain Led by Robespierre, the French National Convention's radical faction, which led the Convention in 1793. (Ch. 22)

movable type A system of printing in which one piece of type is used for each unique character. (Ch. 13)

Mozarabs Christians who adopted some Arab customs but did not convert. (Ch. 9)

Mughal A term used to refer to the Muslim empire of India, which was the largest, wealthiest, and most populous of the Islamic empires of the early modern world. (Ch. 17)

multinational corporations Business firms that operate in a number of different countries and tend to adopt a global rather than a national perspective. (Ch. 33)

Muslim League Political party founded in 1906 in colonial India that advocated for a separate Muslim homeland after independence. (Ch. 31)

mystery religions Belief systems that were characterized by secret doctrines, rituals of initiation, and sometimes the promise of rebirth or an afterlife. (Ch. 5)

Nahuatl The language of the Aztecs, which they inherited from the Toltecs. (Ch. 11)

Napoleonic Code French civil code promulgated in 1804 that reasserted the 1789 principles of the equality of all male citizens before the law and the absolute security of wealth and private property. (Ch. 22)

Nara Japan's capital and first true city; it was established in 710 and modeled on the Tang capital of Chang'an. (Ch. 7)

National Assembly French representative assembly formed in 1789 by the delegates of the third estate and some members of the clergy, the second estate. (Ch. 22)

nationalism The idea that each people had its own spirit and its own cultural unity, which manifested itself especially in a common language and history and could serve as the basis for an independent political state. (Ch. 24)

National Liberation Front The anticolonial movement in Algeria, which began a war against the French in 1954 and won independence in 1962. (Ch. 31)

NATO The North Atlantic Treaty Organization, an anti-Soviet military alliance of Western nations, formed in 1949. (Ch. 31)

Navigation Acts Mid-seventeenth-century English mercantilist laws that greatly restricted other countries' rights to trade with England and its colonies. (Ch. 18)

Nazism A movement born of extreme nationalism and racism and dominated by Adolf Hitler from 1933 until the end of World War II in 1945. (Ch. 30)

Neanderthals Group of *Homo erectus* with brains as large as those of modern humans that lived in Europe and western Asia between 200,000 and 30,000 years ago. (Ch. 1)

neocolonialism The establishment of political and economic influence over regions after they have ceased to be formal colonies. (Ch. 27)

Neo-Confucianism The revival of Confucian thinking that began in the eleventh century, characterized by the goal of attaining the wisdom of the sages, not exam success. (Ch. 13)

neoliberalism A return beginning in the 1980s to policies intended to promote free markets and the free circulation of capital across national borders. (Ch. 32)

Neolithic era Period beginning in 9000 B.C.E. during which humans obtained food by raising crops and animals and continued to use tools primarily of stone, bone, and wood. (Ch. 1)

New Culture Movement An intellectual revolution beginning in 1916 that attacked traditional Chinese, particularly Confucian, culture and promoted Western ideas of science, democracy, and individualism. (Ch. 29)

New Deal Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s plan to reform capitalism in the United States through forceful government intervention in the economy. (Ch. 30)

New Economic Policy (NEP) Lenin’s 1921 policy re-establishing limited economic freedom in the Soviet Union in an attempt to rebuild agriculture and industry in the face of economic disintegration. (Ch. 30)

New Imperialism The late-nineteenth-century drive by European countries to create vast political empires abroad. (Ch. 25)

New Order Hitler’s program, based on the guiding principle of racial imperialism, which gave preferential treatment to the Nordic peoples above “inferior” Latin peoples and, at the bottom, “subhuman” Slavs and Jews. (Ch. 30)

Nguyen Dynasty The last Vietnamese ruling house, which lasted from 1802 to 1945. (Ch. 26)

1911 Revolution The uprising that brought China’s monarchy to an end. (Ch. 26)

nixtamalization Boiling maize in a solution of water and mineral lime to break down compounds in the kernels, increasing their nutritional value. (Ch. 11)

nomads Groups of people who move from place to place in search of food, water, and pasture for their animals, usually following the seasons. (Ch. 12)

Nō theater A type of Japanese theater performed on a bare stage by one or two actors wearing brilliant brocade robes, one actor wearing a mask. The performers conveyed emotions and ideas as much through gestures, stances, and dress as through words. (Ch. 21)

oba The title of the king of Benin. (Ch. 20)

October Manifesto The result of a great general strike in Russia in October 1905, it granted full civil rights and promised a popularly elected Duma (parliament) with real legislative power. (Ch. 24)

oligarchs In Latin America, the small number of individuals and families that had monopolized political power and economic resources since the colonial era. (Ch. 27)

oligarchy A type of Greek government in which citizens who owned a certain amount of property ruled. (Ch. 5)

Olmec The earliest advanced Mesoamerican civilization. (Ch. 11)

Opium War The 1839–1842 war between the British and the Chinese over limitations on trade and the importation of opium into China. (Ch. 26)

Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) A cartel formed in 1960 by oil-exporting countries designed to coordinate oil production and raise prices, giving those countries greater capacity for economic development and greater leverage in world affairs. (Ch. 32)

Orthodox Church Another name for the Eastern Christian Church, over which emperors continued to have power. (Ch. 8)

Ottomans Ruling house of the Turkish empire that lasted from 1299 to 1922. (Ch. 17)

pagan Originally referring to those who lived in the countryside, the term came to mean those who practiced religions other than Judaism or Christianity. (Ch. 6)

Paleolithic era Period before 9000 B.C.E. during which humans used tools of stone, bone, and wood and obtained food by gathering and hunting. (Ch. 1)

Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) Created in 1964, a loose union of Palestinian refugee groups opposed to Israel and united in the goal of establishing a Palestinian state. (Ch. 31)

palm oil A West African tropical product often used to make soap; the British encouraged its cultivation as an alternative to the slave trade. (Ch. 25)

Pan-Africanists People who, through a movement beginning in 1919, sought black solidarity and envisioned a vast self-governing union of all African peoples. (Ch. 31)

pastoralism An economic system based on herding flocks of goats, sheep, cattle, or other animals. (Ch. 1)

paterfamilias The oldest dominant male of the family, who held great power over the lives of family members. (Ch. 6)

patriarchy Social system in which men have more power and access to resources than women, and some men are dominant over other men. (Ch. 1)

patricians The Roman hereditary aristocracy, who held most of the political power in the republic. (Ch. 6)

patronage Financial support of writers and artists by cities, groups, and individuals, often to produce specific works or works in specific styles. (Ch. 15)

pax Romana The "Roman peace," a period during the first and second centuries

C.E. of political stability and relative peace. (Ch. 6)

penance Ritual in which Christians asked a priest for forgiveness for sins and the priest set certain actions to atone for the sins. (Ch. 8)

peninsulares A term for natives of Spain and Portugal. (Ch. 22)

perestroika Economic restructuring and reform implemented by Soviet premier Mikhail Gorbachev that permitted an easing of government price controls on some goods, more independence for state enterprises, and the establishment of profit-seeking private cooperatives. (Ch. 32)

Permanent Mandates Commission A commission created by the League of Nations to oversee the developed nations' fulfillment of their international responsibility toward their mandates. (Ch. 29)

petrodollars The global recirculation by international banks of profits from the higher price of oil following the 1973 OPEC oil embargo. (Ch. 32)

Petrograd Soviet A counter-government to the 1917 Russian provisional government, this organization was a huge, fluctuating mass meeting of two to three thousand workers, soldiers, and socialist intellectuals. (Ch. 28)

pharaoh The title given to the king of Egypt in the New Kingdom, from a word that meant "great house." (Ch. 2)

philosophes A group of French intellectuals who proclaimed that they were bringing the light of knowledge to their fellow humans. (Ch. 19)

Phoenicians People of the prosperous city-states in what is now Lebanon who traded and founded colonies throughout the Mediterranean and spread the phonetic alphabet. (Ch. 2)

Plan de Ayala Document written by Zapatistas during the Mexican Revolution that demanded the government return all land, forests, and waters taken from rural communities. (Ch. 27)

Platonic ideals In Plato's thought, the eternal unchanging ideal forms that are the essence of true reality. (Ch. 5)

plebeians The common people of Rome, who were free but had few of the patricians' advantages. (Ch. 6)

polis Generally translated as "city-state," it was the basic political and institutional unit of ancient Greece. (Ch. 5)

politiques Catholic and Protestant moderates who sought to end the religious violence in France by restoring a strong monarchy and granting official recognition to the Huguenots. (Ch. 15)

polytheism The worship of many gods and goddesses. (Ch. 2)

popes Heads of the Roman Catholic Church, who became political as well as religious authorities. The period of a pope's term in office is called a pontificate. (Ch. 8)

Popular Front A party formed in 1936 in France that encouraged unions and launched a far-reaching New Deal–inspired program of social reform. (Ch. 30)

Porfiriato The regime of Porfirio Díaz, who presided in Mexico from 1876 to 1880 and again from 1884 to 1911. (Ch. 27)

predestination Calvin’s teaching that God decided at the beginning of time who would be saved and who damned, so people could not actively work to achieve salvation. (Ch. 15)

proletariat The Marxist term for the working class of modern industrialized society. (Ch. 24)

protected people The Muslim classification used for Hindus, Christians, and Jews; they were allowed to follow their religions but had to pay a special tax. (Ch. 12)

protectorate An autonomous state or territory partly controlled and protected by a stronger outside power. (Ch. 25)

Protestant Originally meaning “a follower of Luther,” this term came to be generally applied to all non-Catholic western European Christians. (Ch. 15)

Protestant Reformation A religious reform movement that began in the early sixteenth century and split the Western Christian Church. (Chs. 15, 18)

Ptolemy’s *Geography* A second-century work translated into Latin around 1410 that synthesized the classical knowledge of geography and introduced latitude and longitude markings. (Ch. 16)

public sphere An idealized intellectual space that emerged in Europe during the Enlightenment. Here, the public came together to discuss important social, economic, and political issues. (Ch. 19)

Punic Wars A series of three wars between Rome and Carthage in which Rome emerged the victor. (Ch. 6)

Pure Land A school of Buddhism that taught that by calling on the Buddha Amitabha, one could achieve rebirth in Amitabha’s Pure Land paradise. (Ch. 7)

Puritans Members of a sixteenth- and seventeenth-century reform movement within the Church of England that advocated purifying it of Roman Catholic elements, such as bishops, elaborate ceremonials, and wedding rings. (Ch. 18)

Qing Dynasty The dynasty founded by the Manchus that ruled China from 1644 to 1911. (Ch. 21)

Qizilbash Nomadic Turkish Sufis who supplied the early Safavid state with military troops in exchange for grazing rights. (Ch. 17)

Quechua The official language of the Incas, it is still spoken by most Peruvians today. (Ch. 11)

quinine An agent that proved effective in controlling attacks of malaria, which had previously decimated Europeans in the tropics. (Ch. 25)

Qur'an The sacred book of Islam. (Ch. 9)

reconquista A fourteenth-century term used to describe the long Christian crusade to wrest Spain back from the Muslims; clerics believed it was a sacred and patriotic mission. (Ch. 14)

Records of the Grand Historian A comprehensive history of China written by Sima Qian. (Ch. 7)

Reign of Terror The period from 1793 to 1794, during which Robespierre's Committee of Public Safety tried and executed thousands suspected of political crimes and a new revolutionary culture was imposed. (Ch. 22)

ren Humanity, the ultimate Confucian virtue. (Ch. 4)

Renaissance A French word meaning "rebirth," used to describe a cultural movement that began in fourteenth-century Italy and looked back to the classical past. (Ch. 15)

republicanism A form of government in which there is no monarch and power rests in the hands of the people as exercised through elected representatives. (Ch. 18)

revisionism An effort by various socialists to update Marxist doctrines to reflect the realities of the time. (Ch. 24)

Rig Veda The earliest collection of Indian hymns, ritual texts, and philosophical treatises, it is the central source of information on early Aryans. (Ch. 3)

Rocket The name given to George Stephenson's effective locomotive that was first tested in 1829 on the Liverpool and Manchester Railway and reached a maximum speed of 35 miles per hour. (Ch. 23)

Romanticism A movement in art, literature, and music characterized by a belief in emotional exuberance, unrestrained imagination, and spontaneity in both art and personal life. (Ch. 24)

Roosevelt Corollary A corollary to the Monroe Doctrine stating that the United States would correct what it saw as "chronic wrongdoing" in neighboring countries. (Ch. 27)

Russo-Japanese War The 1904–1905 war between Russia and Japan fought over imperial influence and territory in northeast China (Manchuria). (Ch. 26)

sacraments Certain rituals of the church believed to act as a conduit of God's grace, such as baptism. (Ch. 8)

Safavid The dynasty that ruled all of Persia and other regions from 1501 to 1722; its state religion was Shi'ism. (Ch. 17)

saints People who were venerated for having lived or died in a way that was spiritually heroic or noteworthy. (Ch. 8)

salons Regular social gatherings held by talented and rich Parisian women in their homes, where philosophes and their followers met to discuss literature, science, and philosophy. (Ch. 19)

samsara The transmigration of souls by a continual process of rebirth. (Ch. 3)

sans-culottes The laboring poor of Paris, so called because the men wore trousers instead of the knee breeches of the wealthy; the term came to refer to the militant radicals of the city. (Ch. 22)

Sanskrit India’s classical literary language. (Ch. 12)

sati A practice whereby a high-caste Hindu woman would throw herself on her husband’s funeral pyre. (Ch. 12)

satyagraha Loosely translated as “soul force,” which Gandhi believed was the means of striving for truth and social justice through love, suffering, and conversion of the oppressor. (Ch. 29)

scholar-official class Chinese educated elite that included both scholars and officials. The officials had usually gained office by passing the highly competitive civil service examination. (Ch. 13)

Scholastics Medieval professors who developed a method of thinking, reasoning, and writing in which questions were raised and authorities cited on both sides of a question. (Ch. 14)

Senate The assembly that was the main institution of power in the Roman Republic, originally composed only of aristocrats. (Ch. 6)

sensationalism An idea, espoused by John Locke, that all human ideas and thoughts are produced as a result of sensory impressions. (Ch. 19)

separate spheres A gender division of labor with the wife at home as mother and homemaker and the husband as wage earner. (Ch. 23)

sepoys The native Indian troops who were trained as infantrymen. (Ch. 17)

serf A peasant who lost his or her freedom and became permanently bound to the landed estate of a lord. (Ch. 14)

shah Persian word for “king.” (Ch. 17)

shamans Spiritually adept men and women who communicated with the unseen world. (Ch. 1)

shari’a Muslim law, which covers social, criminal, political, commercial, and religious matters. (Ch. 9)

shi The lower ranks of Chinese aristocracy; these men could serve in either military or civil capacities. (Ch. 4)

Shi’a Arabic term meaning “supporters of Ali”; they make up one of the two main divisions of Islam. (Ch. 9)

Shinto The Way of the Gods, Japan’s native religion. (Ch. 7)

shogun The Japanese general-in-chief. (Ch. 13)

shore trading A process for trading goods in which European ships sent boats ashore or invited African dealers to bring traders and slaves out to the ships. (Ch. 20)

Silk Road The trade routes across Central Asia linking China to western Eurasia.

(Ch. 7)

Social Darwinism The application of the theory of biological evolution to human affairs, it sees the human race as driven to ever-greater specialization and progress by an unending economic struggle that determines the survival of the fittest. (Ch. 24)

social hierarchies Divisions between rich and poor, elites and common people that have been a central feature of human society since the Neolithic era. (Ch. 1)

socialism A radical political doctrine that opposed individualism and that advocated cooperation and a sense of community; key ideas were economic planning, greater economic equality, and state regulation of property. (Ch. 24)

Sokoto caliphate Founded in 1809 by Uthman dan Fodio, this African state was based on Islamic history and law. (Ch. 25)

Solidarity Led by Lech Wałęsa, an independent Polish trade union organized in 1980 that worked for the rights of workers and political reform. (Ch. 32)

sorting A collection or batch of British goods that would be traded for a slave or for a quantity of gold, ivory, or dyewood. (Ch. 20)

sovereignty Authority of states that possess a monopoly over the instruments of justice and the use of force within clearly defined boundaries and in which private armies present no threat to central control; seventeenth-century European states made important advances toward sovereignty. (Ch. 18)

spinning jenny A simple, inexpensive, hand-power spinning machine created by James Hargreaves about 1765. (Ch. 23)

Srivijaya A maritime empire that held the Strait of Malacca and the waters around Sumatra and adjacent islands. (Ch. 12)

stateless societies African societies bound together by ethnic or blood ties rather than by being political states. (Ch. 10)

steam engines A breakthrough invention by Thomas Savery in 1698 and Thomas Newcomen in 1705 that burned coal to produce steam, which was then used to operate a pump; the early models were superseded by James Watt’s more efficient steam engine, patented in 1769. (Ch. 23)

steppe Grasslands that are too dry for crops but support pasturing animals; they are common across much of the center of Eurasia. (Ch. 12)

Stoicism A philosophy, based on the ideas of Zeno, that held that people could only be happy when living in accordance with nature and accepting whatever happened. (Ch. 5)

Sudan The African region surrounded by the Sahara, the Gulf of Guinea, the Atlantic Ocean, and the mountains of Ethiopia. (Ch. 10)

sultan An Arabic word used by the Ottomans to describe a supreme political and military ruler. (Ch. 17)

Sunna An Arabic term meaning “trodden path.” The term refers to the deeds and sayings of Muhammad, which constitute the obligatory example for Muslim life. (Ch. 9)

Sunnis Members of the larger of the two main divisions of Islam; the division between Sunnis and Shi'a began in a dispute about succession to Muhammad, but over time many differences in theology developed. (Ch. 9)

Swahili Meaning "People of the Coast," the term used for the people living along the East African coast and on nearby islands. (Chs. 10, 20)

Sykes-Picot Agreement The 1916 secret agreement between Britain and France that divided up the Arab lands of Lebanon, Syria, southern Turkey, Palestine, Jordan, and Iraq. (Ch. 29)

Taghaza A settlement in the western Sahara, the site of the main salt-mining center. (Ch. 20)

Taiping Rebellion A massive rebellion by believers in the religious teachings of Hong Xiuquan, begun in 1851 and not suppressed until 1864. (Ch. 26)

Tale of Genji, The A Japanese literary masterpiece about court life written by Lady Murasaki. (Ch. 13)

Tanzimat A set of radical reforms designed to remake the Ottoman Empire on a western European model. (Ch. 25)

taotie A stylized animal face commonly seen in Chinese bronzes. (Ch. 4)

tariff protection A government's way of supporting and aiding its own economy by laying high taxes on imported goods from other countries, as when the French responded to the flood of cheaper British goods in their country by imposing high tariffs on some imported products. (Ch. 23)

tax-farming Assigning the collection of taxes to whoever bids the most for the privilege. (Ch. 12)

Tenochtitlan The largest Aztec city, built starting in 1325. The Spanish admired it when they entered in 1519. (Ch. 11)

Teotihuacan The monumental city-state that dominated trade in classical era Mesoamerica. (Ch. 11)

Thermidorian reaction A reaction in 1794 to the violence of the Reign of Terror, resulting in the execution of Robespierre and the loosening of economic controls. (Ch. 22)

Thirty Years' War A large-scale conflict extending from 1618 to 1648 that pitted Protestants against Catholics in central Europe, but also involved dynastic interests, notably of Spain and France. (Ch. 18)

Tiananmen Square The site of a Chinese student revolt in 1989 at which Communists imposed martial law and arrested, injured, or killed hundreds of students. (Ch. 32)

Timbuktu Originally a campsite for desert nomads, it grew into a thriving city under Mansa Musa, king of Mali and Africa's most famous ruler. (Ch. 10)

Tokugawa Shogunate The Japanese government in Edo founded by Tokugawa Ieyasu. It lasted from 1603 to 1867. (Ch. 21)

totalitarianism A radical dictatorship that exercises complete political power and control over all aspects of society and seeks to mobilize the masses for action. (Ch. 30)

total war Practiced by countries fighting in World War I, a war in which the government plans and controls all aspects of economic and social life in order to make the greatest possible military effort. (Ch. 28)

Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo The 1848 treaty between the United States and Mexico in which Mexico ceded large tracts of land to the United States. (Ch. 27)

Treaty of Lausanne The 1923 treaty that ended the Turkish war and recognized the territorial integrity of a truly independent Turkey. (Ch. 29)

Treaty of Paris The 1763 peace treaty that ended the Seven Years' War, according vast French territories in North America and India to Britain and Louisiana to Spain. (Ch. 22)

Treaty of Tordesillas The 1494 agreement giving Spain everything west of an imaginary line drawn down the Atlantic and giving Portugal everything to the east. (Ch. 16)

Treaty of Verdun A treaty ratified in 843 that divided Charlemagne's territories among his three surviving grandsons; their kingdoms set the pattern for the modern states of Germany, France, and Italy. (Ch. 8)

Treaty of Versailles The 1919 peace settlement that ended World War I; it declared Germany responsible for the war, limited Germany's army to one hundred thousand men, and forced Germany to pay huge reparations. (Ch. 28)

trench warfare Fighting behind rows of trenches, mines, and barbed wire; used in World War I with a staggering cost in lives and minimal gains in territory. (Ch. 28)

tributary system A system first established during the Han Dynasty to regulate contact with foreign powers. States and tribes beyond China's borders sent envoys bearing gifts and received gifts in return. (Ch. 7)

Triple Entente The alliance of Great Britain, France, and Russia in the First World War. (Ch. 28)

Truman Doctrine The 1945 American policy of preventing the spread of Communist rule. (Ch. 31)

Tuareg Major branch of the nomadic Berber peoples who controlled the north-south trans-Saharan trade in salt. (Ch. 20)

ulama Religious scholars who interpret the Qur'an and the Sunna, the deeds and sayings of Muhammad. (Chs. 9, 17)

umma A community of people who share a religious faith and commitment rather than a tribal tie. (Ch. 9)

Valladolid debate A debate organized by Spanish king Charles I in 1550 in the city of Valladolid that pitted defenders of Spanish conquest and forcible conversion against critics of these practices. (Ch. 16)

vassal A knight who has sworn loyalty to a particular lord. (Ch. 14)

vernacular literature Literature written in the everyday language of a region rather than Latin; this included French, German, Italian, and English. (Ch. 14)

viceroyalties The name for the four administrative units of Spanish possessions in the Americas: New Spain, Peru, New Granada, and La Plata. (Ch. 16)

viziers Chief assistants to caliphs. (Ch. 17)

War Communism The application of the total-war concept to a civil conflict; the Bolsheviks seized grain from peasants, introduced rationing, nationalized all banks and industry, and required everyone to work. (Ch. 28)

Warring States Period The period of Chinese history between 403 B.C.E. and 221 B.C.E., when states fought each other and one state after another was destroyed. (Ch. 4)

Washington Consensus Policies restricting public spending, lowering import barriers, privatizing state enterprises, and deregulating markets in response to the 1980s debt crisis in Latin America. (Ch. 32)

water frame A spinning machine created by Richard Arkwright that had a capacity of several hundred spindles and used waterpower; it therefore required a larger and more specialized mill — a factory. (Ch. 23)

wergeld Compensatory payment for death or injury set in many barbarian law codes. (Ch. 8)

white man's burden The idea that Europeans could and should civilize more primitive nonwhite peoples and that imperialism would eventually provide nonwhites with modern achievements and higher standards of living. (Ch. 25)

witch-hunts Campaign against witchcraft in Europe and European colonies during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in which hundreds of thousands of people, mostly women, were tried, and many of them executed. (Ch. 15)

Yahweh All-powerful god of the Hebrew people and the basis for the enduring religious traditions of Judaism. (Ch. 2)

yin and yang A concept of complementary poles, one of which represents the feminine, dark, and receptive, and the other the masculine, bright, and assertive. (Ch. 4)

Young Turks Fervent patriots who seized power in the revolution of 1908, forcing the conservative sultan to implement reforms; they helped pave the way for the birth of modern secular Turkey. (Ch. 25)

yurts Tents in which the pastoral nomads lived; they could be quickly dismantled and loaded onto animals or carts. (Ch. 12)

zaibatsu Giant conglomerate firms established in Japan beginning in the Meiji period and lasting until the end of World War II. (Ch. 29)

Zen A school of Buddhism that emphasized meditation and truths that could not be conveyed in words. (Ch. 13)

Zionism The movement toward Jewish political nationhood started by Theodor Herzl. (Ch. 24)

Zoroastrianism Religion based on the teachings of Zoroaster that emphasized the individual’s responsibility to choose between good and evil. (Ch. 2)

Notes

Chapter 3

1. *Rig Veda 10.90*, in *Sources of Indian Tradition* by Ainslie Thomas Embree, Stephen N. Hay, and William Theodore De Bary. Reproduced with permission of COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS in the format Book via Copyright Clearance Center.
2. *Strabo* 15.1.55, trans. John Buckler.
3. Quoted in H. Kulke and D. Rothermund, *A History of India*, 3d ed. (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 62.
4. Embree et al., *Sources of Indian Tradition*, p. 148. Reproduced with permission of COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS in the format Book via Copyright Clearance Center.

Chapter 4

1. James Legge, trans. and ed., *The Chinese Classics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1865–1895), p. 126, slightly modified.
2. Ibid., p. 531.
3. Victor H. Mair, Nancy S. Steinhardt, and Paul R. Goldin, eds., *Hawai‘i Reader in Traditional Chinese Culture* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2005), p. 117.
4. Wing-tsit Chan, trans. and ed., *A Sourcebook in Chinese Philosophy* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 39. Reproduced with permission of PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS in the format Book via Copyright Clearance Center.
5. Ibid., p. 129.
6. Ibid., pp. 140–141.
7. Ibid., p. 209.

Chapter 7

1. Li Yuning, ed., *The First Emperor of China* (White Plains, N.Y.: International Arts and Sciences Press, 1975), pp. 275–276, slightly modified.
2. Burton Watson, trans., *Records of the Grand Historian of China*, vol. 2 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), p. 499.
3. Arthur Waley, trans., *More Translations from the Chinese* (New York:

Knopf, 1919), p. 27.
4. *Sources of Japanese Tradition,* by William Theodore de Bary, Donald Keene, George Tanabe, and Paul Varley, eds. Reproduced with permission of COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS in the format Book via Copyright Clearance Center.

Chapter 9

1. Quoted in B. F. Stowasser, "The Status of Women in Early Islam," in *Muslim Women*, ed. F. Hussain (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984), p. 25.
2. F. E. Peters, *A Reader on Classical Islam* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 250.
3. Quoted in B. Lewis, ed. and trans., *Islam from the Prophet Muhammad to the Capture of Constantinople*. Vol. 2: *Religion and Society*, 35w from p. 126. © 1974 by Bernard Lewis. Used by permission of Oxford University Press, USA.
4. Ibid., pp. 154–157.
5. R. Hillenbrand, "Cordoba," in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, vol. 3, ed. J. R. Strayer (New York: Scribner's, 1983), pp. 597–601.
6. Margaret Smith, *Readings from the Mystics of Islam* (London: Luzac and Co., 1950), p. 11.

Chapter 10

1. T. Spear, "Bantu Migrations," in *Problems in African History: The Precolonial Centuries*, ed. R. O. Collins et al. (New York: Markus Weiner Publishing, 1994), p. 98.
2. J. S. Trimingham, *Islam in West Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 6–9.
3. R. A. Austen, "The Trans-Saharan Slave Trade: A Tentative Census," in *The Uncommon Market: Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic Slave Trade,* ed. H. A. Gemery and J. S. Hogendorn (New York: Academic Press, 1979), pp. 1–71, esp. p. 66.
4. Quoted in J. O. Hunwick, "Islam in West Africa, A.D. 1000–1800," in *A Thousand Years of West African History*, ed. J. F. Ade Ajayi and I. Espie (New York: Humanities Press, 1972), pp. 244–245.
5. Quoted in A. A. Boahen, "Kingdoms of West Africa, c. A.D. 500–1600," in *The Horizon History of Africa* (New York: American Heritage, 1971), p. 183.
6. Al-Bakri, *Kitab al-mughrib fdhikr bilad Ifriqiya wa'l-Maghrib*

(Description de l'Afrique Septentrionale), trans. De Shane (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1965), pp. 328–329.

7. Quoted in R. Oliver and C. Oliver, eds., *Africa in the Days of Exploration* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965), p. 10.
8. Quoted in Boahen, "Kingdoms of West Africa," p. 184.
9. This quotation and the next appear in E. J. Murphy, *History of African Civilization* (New York: Delta, 1972), pp. 109, 111.
10. Pekka Masonen and Humphrey J. Fisher, "Not Quite Venus from the Waves: The Almoravid Conquest of Ghana in the Modern Historiography of Western Africa," *History in Africa* 23 (1996): 197–232.
11. Quoted in Murphy, *History of African Civilization*, p. 120.
12. Quoted in Oliver and Oliver, *Africa in the Days of Exploration*, p. 18.
13. See H. G. Marcus, *A History of Ethiopia*, updated ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), pp. 17–20.
14. Ibn Battuta, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta, A.D. 1325–1354*, vol. 1, ed. H. A. R. Gibb (London: University Press, 1972), pp. 379–380.
15. Austen, "The Trans-Saharan Slave Trade," p. 65; J. H. Harris, *The African Presence in Asia* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1971), pp. 3–6, 27–30; P. Wheatley, "Analecta Sino-Africana Recensa," in Neville Chittick and Robert Rotberg, *East Africa and the Orient* (New York: Africana Publishing, 1975), p. 109.
16. I. Hrbek, ed., *General History of Africa*. Vol. 3: *Africa from the Seventh to the Eleventh Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press; New York: UNESCO, 1991), pp. 294–295, 346–347.

Chapter 11

1. *Narrative of the Incas by Juan de Betanzos*, trans. and ed. Roland Hamilton and Dana Buchanan from the Palma de Mallorca manuscript, p. 138.
2. Michael Coe, *Mexico from the Olmecs to the Aztecs*, 5th ed. (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2002), p. 107.
3. Ross Hassig, *War and Society in Ancient Mesoamerica* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), p. 56.
4. Ibid., p. 49.
5. Ibid., pp. 81, 85.

Chapter 12

1. Trans. in Denis Sinor, "The Establishment and Dissolution of the Türk

Empire," in *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*, ed. Denis Sinor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 307.

2. Edward C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, vol. 1 (London: Kegan Paul, 1910), pp. 19–20, slightly modified.

Chapter 13

1. *The Travels of Marco Polo, the Venetian*, ed. Manuel Komroff (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1926), p. 235.
2. Peter H. Lee, ed., *Sourcebook of Korean Civilization* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), p. 327.
3. *The Pillow Book of Sei Shonagon*, edited and translated by Ivan Morris, p. 258. Reproduced by permission of COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS in the format Republish in a book via Copyright Clearance Center.

Chapter 16

1. Thomas Benjamin, *The Atlantic World: Europeans, Africans, Indians and Their Shared History, 1400–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 141.
2. Herbert S. Klein, "Profits and the Causes of Mortality," in *The Atlantic Slave Trade*, ed. David Northrup (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath, 1994), p. 116.

Chapter 17

1 *Memoirs of Zehir-Ed-Din Muhammed Baber: Emperor of Hindustan*, trans. John Leyden and William Erskine (London: Longman and Cadell, 1826), p. 333.

2 Quoted in M. C. Beach, *The Imperial Image: Paintings for the Mughal Court* (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1981), pp. 9–10.

3 Quoted in S. K. Ikram, *Muslim Civilization in India* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), p. 202.

4 Quoted in K. M. Panikkar, *Asia and Western Domination* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1965), p. 35.

5 Quoted in W. Bingham, H. Conroy, and F. W. Iklé, *A History of Asia*, vol. 2 (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1967), p. 74.

Chapter 18

1. Theodore K. Rabb, *The Struggle for Stability in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 10.
2. Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987), pp. 165–170.

Chapter 19

1. Quoted in G. L. Mosse et al., eds., *Europe in Review* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1964), p. 156.
2. D. E. Mungello, *The Great Encounter of China and the West, 1500–1800*, 2d ed. (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005), p. 98.
3. Quoted in Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze, ed., *Race and the Enlightenment: A Reader* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), p. 33.
4. Aurora Wolfgang, *Gender and Voice in the French Novel, 1730–1782* (Aldershot, U.K.: Ashgate, 2004), p. 8.
5. Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982), p. 255.

Chapter 20

1. P. D. Curtin, *Economic Change in Precolonial Africa: Senegambia in the Era of the Slave Trade* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1975), pp. 34–35; J. A. Rawley, *The Transatlantic Slave Trade: A History* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005).
2. Pieter de Marees, *Description of the Gold Kingdom of Guinea*, trans. and ed. Albert van Dantzig and Adam Jones (1602; repr., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 226–228; William Bosman, *A New Description of the Coast of Guinea*, ed. John Ralph Willis (London: Frank Cass, 1967), p. 461.
3. Quoted in R. Hallett, *Africa to 1875* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1970), p. 151.
4. A. ibn-Fartura, “The Kanem Wars,” in *Nigerian Perspectives*, ed. T. Hodgkin (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. 111–115.
5. “The Kano Chronicle,” quoted in *Nigerian Perspectives*, ed. T. Hodgkin (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. 89–90.
6. *Equiano’s Travels: The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano*, ed. P. Edwards (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 1996), p. 4.
7. J. Iliffe, *Africans: The History of a Continent* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 68.
8. See A. J. R. Russell-Wood, *The Portuguese Empire: A World on the*

Move (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), pp. 11–13.

9. Ibid., pp. 35–38.
10. P. E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 25, Table 2.1, “Trans-Saharan Slave Trade, 650–1600.”
11. Iliffe, *Africans*, p. 77.
12. Quoted in H. Thomas, *The Slave Trade* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997), p. 21.
13. G. Gerzina, *Black London: Life Before Emancipation* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1995), pp. 29–66 passim; quotation from p. 53.
14. R. Shell, *Children of Bondage: A Social History of the Slave Society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652–1838* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1994), pp. 285–289.
15. See D. Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), chap. 3; and the review/commentary by J. E. Inikori, *American Historical Review* 106.5 (December 2001): 1751–1753.
16. R. Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern, 1492–1800* (New York: Verso, 1998), pp. 79–80.
17. *Equiano’s Travels*, pp. 23–26.
18. Rawley, *The Transatlantic Slave Trade*, pp. 45–47.
19. Robert W. July, *A History of the African People* (Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press, 1998), p. 171.
20. J. Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 138–142.
21. Robert W. July, *Precolonial Africa: An Economic and Social History* (New York: Scribner’s, 1975), pp. 269–270.
22. A. G. Hopkins, *An Economic History of West Africa* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973), p. 119.
23. P. Manning, *Slavery and African Life: Occidental, Oriental, and African Slave Trades* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 22–23 and chap. 3, pp. 38–59.

Chapter 21

1. L. J. Gallagher, trans., *China in the Sixteenth Century: The Journals of Matthew Ricci, 1583–1610* (New York: Random House, 1953), p. 23.
2. Pei-kai Cheng and M. Lestz, with J. Spence, eds., *The Search for Modern China: A Documentary History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999), p. 106.

Chapter 22

1. Donald Sutherland, *France, 1789–1815: Revolution and Counterrevolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 420.
2. John K. Thornton, "'I Am the Subject of the King of Congo': African Political Ideology and the Haitian Revolution," *Journal of World History* 4.2 (Fall 1993): 181–214.

Chapter 23

1. N. F. R. Crafts, *British Economic Growth During the Industrial Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 32.
2. John Allen, *The British Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 1–2.
3. P. Bairoch, "International Industrialization Levels from 1750 to 1980," *Journal of European Economic History* 11 (Spring 1982): 269–333.
4. Quoted in J. Bowditch and C. Ramsland, eds., *Voices of the Industrial Revolution* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1961), p. 55, from Thomas Malthus, *Essay on the Principle of Population*, 4th ed. (1807).
5. Quoted in E. R. Pike, *"Hard Times": Human Documents of the Industrial Revolution* (New York: Praeger, 1966), p. 109.
6. Quoted in J. Humphries, ". . . 'The Most Free from Objection' . . . : The Sexual Division of Labor and Women's Work in Nineteenth-Century England," *Journal of Economic History* 47 (December 1987): 941.
7. H.-J. Voth, *Time and Work in England, 1750–1830* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 268–270; also pp. 118–133.
8. Joel Mokyr, *The Enlightened Economy: An Economic History of Britain, 1700–1850* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), p. 455.
9. Quoted in W. A. Hayek, ed., *Capitalism and the Historians* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), p. 126.
10. Quoted in D. Geary, ed., *Labour and Socialist Movements in Europe Before 1914* (Oxford: Berg, 1989), p. 29.
11. Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000).

Chapter 24

1. J. McKay, *Tramways and Trolleys: The Rise of Urban Mass Transport*

in Europe (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1976), p. 81.
2. “*La Citoyenne* in the World: Hubertine Auclert and Feminist Imperialism,” *French Historical Studies* 31.1 (Winter 2009): 63–84.

Chapter 25

1. P. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa*, 2d ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 142.
2. Quoted in J. Iliffe, *Africans: The History of a Continent* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 169.
3. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery*, p. 15.
4. R. Oliver, *The African Experience* (New York: Icon Editions, 1991), pp. 164–166.
5. Quoted in H. Wheaton, *Elements of International Law* (London: Stevens & Sons, 1889), p. 804.
6. Quoted in Bernard Porter, *The Lion’s Share: A Short History of British Imperialism, 1850–1970* (London: Longman, 1975), p. 134.
7. Quoted in Anthony Thomas, *Rhodes* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1996), p. 194.
8. Walter Bagehot, *Physics and Politics, or Thoughts on the Application of the Principle of “Natural Selection” and “Inheritance” to Political Society* (New York: D. Appleton, 1873), pp. 43, 49.
9. Rudyard Kipling, *The Five Nations* (London, 1903).
10. Quoted in Earl of Cromer, *Modern Egypt* (London, 1911), p. 48.
11. Qasim Amin, *The Liberation of Women and The New Woman* (The American University of Cairo Press, 2000), p. 6.

Chapter 26

1. Quoted in K. M. Panikkar, *Asia and Western Dominance: A Survey of the Vasco da Gama Epoch of Asian History* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1959), p. 116.
2. Ssu-yu Teng and J. K. Fairbank, *China’s Response to the West: A Documentary Survey* (New York: Atheneum, 1971), p. 26.
3. Ibid., p. 76, modified.

Chapter 27

1. Jürgen Buchenau, *Mexican Mosaic: A Brief History of Mexico* (Wheeling, Ill.: Harlan-Davidson, 2008), p. 2.
2. Jaime E. Rodriguez O., *Down from Colonialism: Mexico’s Nineteenth*

Century Crisis (Los Angeles: Chicano Studies Center Research Publications, UCLA, 1983), p. 15.

3. David Rock, *Argentina, 1516–1987: From Spanish Colonization to Alfonsín* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), p. 154.
4. Quoted in Nicolas Shumway, *The Invention of Argentina* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), p. 147.
5. Quoted in Luis A. Pérez, *The War of 1898: The United States and Cuba in History and Historiography* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), p. 32.
6. Quoted in Arturo Morales Carrión, *Puerto Rico: A Political and Cultural History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1983), pp. 187–188.

Chapter 28

1. Erich Maria Remarque, *All Quiet on the Western Front*, trans. A. W. Wheen (New York: Fawcett, 1996), p. 13.
2. Winston Churchill, *The World Crisis*, 1911–1918 (New York: Free Press, 2005), p. 96.
3. Remarque, *All Quiet*, pp. 134–135.
4. Siegfried Sassoon, *The Memoirs of George Sherston: Memoirs of an Infantry Officer* (New York: Literary Guild of America, 1937), p. 74.
5. Quoted in Keith Sinclair, *The Growth of New Zealand Identity*, 1890–1980 (Auckland, N.Z.: Longman Paul, 1987), p. 24.
6. Svetlana Palmer and Sarah Wallis, eds., *Intimate Voices from the First World War* (New York: William Morrow, 2003), p. 221.
7. Ethel Alec-Tweedie, *Women and Soldiers*, 2d ed. (London: John Lane, 1918), p. 29.
8. Janet S. K. Watson, “Khaki Girls, VADS, and Tommy’s Sisters: Gender and Class in First World War Britain” *The International History Review* 19 (1997): 49.
9. Quoted in H. Nicolson, *Peacemaking* 1919 (New York: Grosset & Dunlap Universal Library, 1965), pp. 8, 31–32.
10. Quoted ibid., p. 24.
11. Quoted in John Macquarrie, *Existentialism* (New York: Penguin Books, 1972), p. 15.
12. G. Greene, *Another Mexico* (New York: Viking Press, 1939), p. 3.
13. Quoted in A. H. Barr, Jr., *What Is Modern Painting?* 9th ed. (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1966), p. 25.

Chapter 29

1. Howard M. Sachar, *A History of Israel: From the Rise of Zionism to Our Time* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), p. 109.
2. H. Armstrong, *Turkey in Travail: The Birth of a New Nation* (London: John Lane, 1925), p. 75.
3. Quoted in Lord Kinross, *Atatürk: A Biography of Mustafa Kemal, Father of Modern Turkey* (New York: Morrow, 1965), p. 181.
4. Lawrence James, *Raj: The Making and Unmaking of British India* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), p. 458.
5. Quoted in E. Erikson, *Gandhi's Truth: On the Origins of Militant Nonviolence* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1969), p. 225.
6. M. K. Gandhi, *Non-Violent Resistance* (*Satyagraha*) (New York: Schocken Books, 1961), p. 365.
7. Quoted in W. T. de Bary, W. Chan, and B. Watson, *Sources of Chinese Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), pp. 768–769.
8. Quoted in J. F. Fairbank, E. O. Reischauer, and A. M. Craig, *East Asia: Tradition and Transformation* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973), p. 774.
9. Quoted in B. I. Schwartz, *Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951), p. 74.
10. Quoted in W. T. de Bary, R. Tsunoda, and D. Keene, *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, vol. 2 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), p. 269.
11. Institute of Pacific Relations, *Agrarian China: Selected Source Material from Chinese Authors* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), p. 1.

Chapter 30

1. Quoted in S. B. Clough et al., eds., *Economic History of Europe: Twentieth Century* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), pp. 243–245.
2. E. Halévy, *The Era of Tyrannies* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1965), pp. 265–316, esp. p. 300.
3. Carl J. Friedrich and Zbigniew K. Brzezinski, *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy*, 2d ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965), pp. 21–23.
4. I. Kershaw, *The Nazi Dictatorship: Problems and Perspectives of Interpretation*, 2d ed. (London: Edward Arnold, 1989), p. 34.
5. See Robert C. Tucker, *Stalin in Power: The Revolution from Above, 1928–1941* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1992).
6. Lewis Siegelbaum and Andrei Sokolov, *Stalinism as a Way of Life: A Narrative in Documents* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press,

2000), pp. 38–39.

7. Joseph Stalin, “Speech to First All-Congress Conference of Managers of Socialist Industry, February 4, 1931,” in Joseph Stalin, *Leninism* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1940), pp. 365–366.

8. Robert Service, *Stalin: A Biography* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005), p. 266.

9. Quoted in I. Deutscher, *Stalin: A Political Biography*, 2d ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 325, fn. 1.

10. Steven Rosefielde, *Red Holocaust* (New York: Routledge, 2010), p. 259, fn. 12.

11. Malcolm Muggeridge, *Chronicles of Wasted Time. Chronicle 1: The Green Stick* (New York: William Morrow, 1973), pp. 234–235.

12. M. Malia, *The Soviet Tragedy: A History of Socialism in Russia, 1917–1991* (New York: Free Press, 1995), pp. 227–270; see also the controversial work by historian John Archibald Getty, *Origins of the Great Purges: The Soviet Communist Party Reconsidered, 1933–1938* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

13. Oleg V. Khlevniuk, *Master of the House: Stalin and His Inner Circle* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2009), p. xix.

14. R. Vivarelli, “Interpretations on the Origins of Fascism,” *Journal of Modern History* 63 (March 1991): 41.

15. Ion Smeaton Munro, *Through Fascism to World Power: A History of the Revolution in Italy* (London: Alexander Maclehose, 1933), p. 120.

16. Christopher Seton-Watson, *Italy from Liberalism to Fascism, 1870–1925* (London: Methuen, 1967), p. 661.

17. Ibid.

18. W. Brustein, *The Logic of Evil: The Social Origins of the Nazi Party, 1925–1933* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1996), pp. 52, 182.

19. Karl Dietrich Bracher, *The German Dictatorship: The Origins, Structure, and Effects of National Socialism*, trans. Jean Steinberg (New York: Praeger, 1970), p. 146.

20. Quoted in R. Stromberg, *An Intellectual History of Modern Europe* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1966), p. 393.

21. Quoted in R. Moeller, *The Nazi State and German Society: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin’s, 2010), p. 108.

22. See Claudia Koonz, *Mothers in the Fatherland: Women, the Family, and Nazi Politics* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1987).

23. D. N. Dilks, “Appeasement Revisited,” *University of Leeds Review* 15 (1972): 28–56.

24. See Frank McDonough, *Neville Chamberlain, Appeasement, and the*

British Road to War (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998).
25. Winston Churchill, *The Second World War: The Gathering Storm* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1948), p. 318.
26. Izidors Vizulis, *The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of 1939: The Baltic Case* (New York: Praeger, 1990), p. 16.
27. Anthony Read, *The Devil's Disciples: Hitler's Inner Circle* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2004), pp. 571–572.
28. Jeremy Noakes and Geoffrey Pridham, eds., "Message from Hermann Göring to Reinhard Heydrich, 31 July, 1941," in *Documents on Nazism, 1919–1945* (New York: Viking Press, 1974), p. 486.
29. See, for example, Christopher Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York: HarperCollins, 1992); Robert Gellately, *Backing Hitler: Consent and Coercion in Nazi Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Ian Kershaw, *Hitler, the Germans, and the Final Solution* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2008).
30. H. Willmott, *The Great Crusade: A New Complete History of the Second World War* (New York: Free Press, 1989), p. 255.
31. J. Dower, *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon, 1986).

Chapter 31

1. Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Constance Farrington (New York: Grove Press, 1968), pp. 43, 93–94, 97, 102.
2. Chinua Achebe, *Things Fall Apart* (London: Heinemann, 2000), pp. 124–125.
3. Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, ed., *Foundations of Pakistan: All-India Muslim League Documents*. Vol. 2: *1924–1947* (Karachi: National Publishing House, 1970), p. 338.
4. Quoted in K. Bhata, *The Ordeal of Nationhood: A Social Study of India Since Independence, 1947–1970* (New York: Atheneum, 1971), p. 9.
5. Cited in Sami Hanna and George Gardner, *Arab Socialism: A Documentary Survey* (Leiden: Brill, 1969), p. 106.
6. Mao Zedong, *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tsetung* (Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1972), p. 61.
7. Quoted in R. Hallett, *Africa Since 1875: A Modern History* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1974), pp. 378–379.
8. Quoted in Samuel Farber, *Cuba Since the Revolution of 1959: A Critical Assessment* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2011), p. 22.

9. *Congressional Record: Proceedings and Debates of the 84th Congress, 2nd Session* (May 22, 1956–June 11, 1956), C11, Part 7 (June 4, 1956), pp. 9389–9403.
10. Regarding Gandhi’s methods: see M. L. King, Jr., *Stride Toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story* (New York: Perennial Library, 1964), p. 67. Regarding evil laws: quoted in S. E. Morison et al., *A Concise History of the American Republic* (New York: Oxford University Press), p. 697.

Chapter 32

1. *Jornal do Brasil*, March 14, 1976, quoted in Roberto Jorge Ramalho Cavalcanti, “O presidente Ernesto Geisel e o estabelecimento do retorno à democracia ao Brasil pós Regime Militar de 1964,” *Governo e Politica*, November 7, 2010, http://www.webartigos.com/artigos/artigo-o-presidente-ernesto-geisel-e-o-estabelecimento-do-retorno-a-democracia-ao-brasil-pos-regime-militar-de-1964/51497/.
2. CIA Director Richard Helms, notes on Nixon’s plan for Chile, September 15, 1970, accessed October 14, 2012, http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB8/docs/doc26.pdf.
3. D. Birmingham and P. Martin, eds., *History of Central Africa: The Contemporary Years Since 1960* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 59.

Chapter 33

1. Francis Fukuyama, “The End of History?” *The National Interest*, Summer 1989, p. 3.
2. United Nations High Commisssioner for Human Rights (UN Refugee Agency), “Europe Situation,” updated January 24, 2017, http://www.unhcr.org/europe-emergency.html.
3. Quoted in Judith Richter, *Holding Corporations Accountable: Corporate Conduct, International Codes, and Citizen Action* (London: Zed Books, 2002), p. 55.
4. Quoted in Simon Robinson, “Nestlé Baby Milk Substitute and International Marketing: A Case History,” in *Case Histories in Business Ethics*, ed. Chris Megone and Simon Robinson (New York: Routledge, 2002), p. 141.
5. Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring* (1962; repr., New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1994), pp. 1–3, 7–8.
6. Jesse Green, “When Political Art Mattered,” *New York Times*,

December 7, 2003, http://www.nytimes.com/learning/teachers/featured_articles/20031208r

7. United Nations, “Critical Areas of Concern,” *Report of the Fourth World Conference on Women* (New York: United Nations Department for Policy Coordination and Sustainable Development, 1995), ch. 1, annex II, ch. 3, pp. 41–44, http://www.un.org/esa/gopher-data/conf/fwcw/off/a--20.en. See also Population Reference Bureau, *Women of Our World 2005* (Washington, D.C.: Population Reference Bureau, 2005) for the latest data and ten-year follow-up to the Beijing meeting.
8. Paul Ehrlich, *The Population Bomb* (New York: Ballantine, 1968), p. 11.
9. James Gockowski and S. Oduwole, *Labor Practices in the Cocoa Sector of Southwest Nigeria with a Focus on the Role of Children* (Ibadan, Nigeria: International Institute of Tropical Agriculture, 2003), p. 23.

Index

A NOTE ABOUT THE INDEX: Names of individuals appear in boldface. Letters in parentheses following pages refer to the following:

(d) documents
(b) boxed features
(i) illustrations, including photographs and artifacts
(m) maps
(f) figures, including charts and graphs

A

Aachen, Germany, 222, 223
Abbas I (“the Great,” Persia), 475, 478
    Armenia and, 486–487*(d)*, 490
Abbas, Mahmoud, 959
Abbasid caliphate (Islam), 234, 235–236, 237
    Mongols and, 238, 327
    prosperity under, 246
    Turks and, 321
Abbess, 381. *See also* Monks and monasteries
Abd al-Jabbar (theologian), 253
Abd al-Rahman III (Umayyads), 382
Abduh, Muhammad, 748
Abdülhamid II (Ottoman Empire), 747, 748
Abelard, Peter, 394
Abolition of slavery, 655, 692, 738
    in Americas, 633, 796, 798, 798*(m)*
    in England, 581, 589, 730
    French, 648, 655
    in Mexico, 653
    movements for, 730
    of Saint-Domingue slavery, 646, 648
    slave trade and, 652, 655
Aboriginal peoples. *See also* Native Americans

- in Australia, 719, 752, 778, 779*(i)*

Abortion
- in Japan, 611
- in Soviet Union, 895
- women's rights and, 1003

Abraham (prophet), 50, 231

Abrahamic religions, 50, 962*(m)*

Absenteeism, of clergy, 420, 500

Absolutism (Europe), 498, 506, 510–511*(d)*
- in Austria, 513–514
- enlightened, 548–551
- in France, 507–513, 514
- in Spain, 506–508

Abu Bakr (Islam), 234

Abu Hamid al-Ghazali, on marriage etiquette, 241*(d)*

Abuja, Nigeria, 958

Abu'l-Fazl (historian), 479

Academies
- of Plato, 126
- of science, 540

Acadia, 521

Acamapichtli (Mexica), 307

Accident insurance (Germany), 720

Achebe, Chinua, 928

Acre, fall of, 385

Acropolis, 116
- of Athens, 121, 122

Actium, Battle of, 149, 150*(b)*

Activism, 998. *See also* Environment; Human rights; specific movements
- liberalism and, 990
- by women in Chiapas, Mexico, 1004*(d)*

ACT UP, AIDS research and, 1002

Adal (Muslim state), 573

Adams, John (English captain), slave trade and, 587

Address of French Citizenesses to the National Assembly (d'Aelders), 629*(d)*

Adenauer, Konrad, 948

Administration. *See also* Government; Politics and political thought
- of American colonies, 451–454
- of China, 172–173

  - of Christian Church, 208
  - of Ghana, 270
  - of Gupta India, 333–334
  - of Islam, 234, 236
  - of Mali, 271–272
  - Mongol, 325, 329
  - Muslim techniques of, 268
  - of Persian Empire, 53–54
- *Admonitions for Women* (Ban Zhao), 181*(b)*
- *Adoration of the Magi* (Botticelli), 409*(i)*
- Adulis, Aksum, 273
- *Aedes aegypti* mosquito, 1008*(d)*
- Aegean Sea region, 53, 114, 114*(m)*, 116, 131. *See also* Greece (ancient); specific locations
- **Aeneas** (Trojans), 151
- *Aeneid* (Virgil), 151–153
- **Aeschylus**, 121
- **Aesop**, *Fables* of, 250*(d)*
- **Affonso I.** *See* Nzinga Mbemba
- **al-Afghani, Jamal al-Din**, 748
- Afghanistan, 863*(m)*. *See also* Khurasan
  - al-Qaeda and, 991–993
  - Greek culture and, 77*(i)*
  - modernization of, 863–864
  - Muslims in, 233
  - refugees in, 990
  - Soviets and, 976, 978, 991
  - Taliban in, 991
  - Turks in, 334, 335
- Afghans
  - Marathas and, 492
  - in Safavid Empire, 492
- Africa. *See also* Slaves and slavery; Slave trade; Sub-Saharan Africa; Trans-Saharan trade; specific locations
  - in 19th–early 20th centuries, 730
  - agriculture in, 17, 261–263, 264, 580
  - *Australopithecus* in, 5
  - Bantu language and people in, 258, 263–264
  - cocoa holdups and, 938–939
  - colonialism in, 732–738
  - cross-cultural connections in, 284–285

decolonization in, 920, 938–940, 939*(m)*, 942, 954
dependency theory in, 925, 927
Dutch and, 517
Dutch slaves from, 577
early descriptions of, 262*(d)*
economy in, 260
empires in, 269–284
Europe and, 522, 564
First World War and, 827
geography of, 260–261, 261*(m)*
gold in, 439
Great Depression in, 890
HIV/AIDS in, 1006, 1007*(m)*
human origins in, 2, 6, 7*(m)*
imperialism in, 568, 732–743, 744–745*(d)*
independence in, 591, 941*(d)*
investments in, 742
Islam in, 268–269, 268*(m)*, 730, 731
kings and kingdoms in, 264–265, 269–284
land in, 570
medicine in, 1006
merchants in, 731
migrants from, 995
minerals in, 281
mothers in, 571*(i)*
nationalism in, 724, 890
Pan-Africanism and, 938, 941*(d)*
politics in, 970–971
Portugal and, 442–444, 942
protectorates in, 732
racism and, 461
reforms in, 971
religions in, 265
resistance to imperialism in, 742–743
salt trade in, 270, 491
“scramble for” (1880–1914), 730, 732–734
Second World War in, 907*(m)*
slavery and, 267, 626, 730
slave trade and, 258, 440, 577–589, 584*(i)*, 585–589
societies in, 258, 261–265
southern, 281–284

- Third World countries in, 924–925
- trade in, 243, 265–267, 266*(m)*, 284, 439–440
- urban areas in, 268
- women in, 265, 996, 1003

African Americans. *See also* Africans; Blacks; Slaves and slavery
- civil rights and, 948, 954

African National Congress (ANC), 967, 970

African Queen, The (movie), 740

Africans. *See also* Slaves and slavery
- in Brazil, 451, 456, 580–581
- in Europe, 577
- in Saint-Domingue, 646
- as slaves, 268, 415–416, 456, 579, 588, 626
- for sugar plantations, 580

Africanus, Leo, on Timbuktu, 568*(d)*

Afrikaners (South Africa), 735–736, 737
- Basotho and, 744*(d)*
- Indians and, 867

Afro-Asian bloc, in UN, 924

Afroeurasia
- human evolution in, 6
- trade in, 438–441, 439*(m)*, 456

Afro-Portuguese community, in Kongo, 456

Afterlife
- in China, 91, 171*(i)*
- in Egypt, 42
- in mystery religions, 126, 131–133, 161
- Zoroastrianism and, 55

Agadez, 568

Against the Murderous, Thieving Hordes of the Peasants (Luther), 424

Agathias, on Franks, 216*(d)*

Age-grade systems, in Senegambia, 567

Age-group categories, in Inca Empire, 299*(d)*

Agents of change, in Europe and western Asia, 200

Age of Anxiety, 1920s as, 845–848

Age of crisis, 17th century as, 503–506

Age of Division (China), 182

Agni (god), 68

Agora, 116

Agra
- Babur’s capture of, 476

  - as Indian capital, 490
  - Taj Mahal in, 480, 480*(i)*
- Agricultural revolution, in China, 601
- Agricultural Revolution, Neolithic, 13–22
- Agriculture. *See also* Farms and farming; Horticulture; Plantations
  - in Africa, 261–263, 264, 281, 580, 585, 589
  - in Americas, 456
  - in arts, 91
  - of Bantu-speakers, 264
  - of barbarian groups, 215
  - in China, 88–89, 97, 350, 352*(i)*, 972
  - chinampa, 306, 308*(i)*
  - in Egypt, 43, 748
  - in Ethiopia, 274
  - gender-based labor and, 17
  - in Germany, 388*(i)*
  - green revolution and, 1005–1006
  - Hammurabi’s code on, 39
  - Hebrew, 50
  - in India, 62, 336
  - Industrial Revolution and, 662
  - in Japan, 370, 611
  - in Korea, 615
  - in Mali, 271
  - Maya, 300
  - mechanization of, 995
  - Neolithic, 13–22
  - in North America, 294, 294*(m)*
  - Paleolithic-Neolithic transition and, 5
  - in Palestine, 864, 865, 865*(i)*
  - plantation, 554
  - plow and, 21–22
  - production increases in, 626
  - Sassanid, 203
  - in Senegambia, 567
  - slavery and, 22–23, 240, 652
  - Soviet, 893, 894
  - in Spanish America, 650
  - spread of, 18, 18–19*(m)*
  - in Sumer, 34
  - Swahili, 575

  in West Africa, 571
Aguinaldo, Emilio, 879*(i)*
Ahmad, Muhammad, 732
Ahmadinejad, Mahmoud, 961
Ahuitzotl (Aztec Empire), 310–311
Ahuramazda (god), 55
AIDS. *See* HIV/AIDS
Airlift, Berlin, 922*(i)*, 923
Air pollution. *See* Environment; Pollution
Air pump, 535
Aisne, Second Battle of, 831
Ajanta cave temples, painting in, 74*(i)*, 334*(i)*
Akan people, 572
Akbar (Mughal India), 476, 479, 488*(i)*
  and Muslim-Hindu relations, 488
  trade and, 489
Akhenaton (Egypt), 41*(i)*, 44
Akkad and Akkadians, 37, 38*(i)*
Aksum, 273–277, 273*(m)*
Alaric (Visigoths), 201*(i)*
Alaska, human migration to, 290
Alberdi, Juan Bautista, 806
Albert of Mainz, 421–422
Alchemy, 538
Alcohol, in China, 599
Alemanni people, 201*(i)*
Alembert, Jean le Rond d', 543, 544, 549*(d)*
Alexander I (Russia), 643
Alexander II (Russia), 706, 707
Alexander VI (Pope), 418
Alexander the Great, 127, 128*(m)*
  conquests of, 128*(m)*
  Persia and, 53, 77, 127
Alexandra (Russia), 834, 834*(i)*
Alexandria, 128, 130, 709
  library of, 130, 134
  Muslims in, 268
  riots in, 750
  trade and, 261, 439
Alfonsín, Raúl, 964
Alfonso II (Aragon), 378*(i)*

Algarve, Portugal, slaves in, 577
Algebra, 249, 534, 539
Algeciras Conference (1906), 821
Algeria
    France and, 698, 747, 930, 940
    Ottomans and, 471–472, 747
    rock painting in, 263*(i)*
    in Second World War, 913
Algiers, 698
Algonquin Indians, 521
Algorithm, 534
Alhambra, 237*(i)*
Ali (Muhammad’s cousin and son-in-law), 234
Allende, Salvador, 963
Alliance(s). *See also* specific alliances
    in American Revolution, 632
    Aztec, 307, 310
    of Cortés, 450
    Delian League as, 121
    First World War and, 818, 821, 821*(m)*, 823, 827
    France-Ottomans, 472
    Franco-Russian (1892), 821
    Quadruple, 692
    Safavid, 475
    Second World War and, 904, 908–910
    Seven Years’ War and, 627
Alliance for Germany, 978
Allies (First World War), 856
    Italy in, 824
    mobilization of, 828
    at Paris Peace Conference, 818, 840, 842, 856
    Russia and, 839
Allies (Second World War), 905–906, 912–913
All Quiet on the Western Front (Remarque), 824
Almoravids (North Africa), 268
Alooma, Idris (Kanem-Bornu), 570
Alpacas, 292
Alphabet
    in Americas, 290
    Arabic, 574
    Etruscan use of Greek, 143

  Greek, 136
  Latin, 574
  Phoenician, 49, 49*(i)*
  Roman, 49, 136
  Slavic, 382
  in Turkey, 863
al-Qaeda, 976, 991–993
Alsace, Lorraine and, 720, 842
Altan Khan (Mongolia), 598
Alternate residence system (Japan), 607, 608
Altiplano, 292, 296
Amanullah Khan (Afghanistan), 863, 863*(m)*
Amazon forest, Inca and, 298
Ambrose of Milan (Bishop), 208, 209*(i)*
Amenhotep III (Egypt), 43–44
America(s), 288. *See also* Latin America; specific locations and peoples
  in 19th century, 785
  abolition in, 796, 798, 798*(m)*
  in age of liberalism, 788
  cities in, 314
  colonies in, 449–456, 519–522
  Columbian exchange in, 456
  Columbus and, 446–447*(d)*, 446–448
  crops in, 19, 288, 456, 796
  diseases in, 288, 506–507
  Dutch in, 517
  environment of, 291, 292
  European encounter and, 311–314
  human migration to, 9
  immigrants in, 807*(i)*
  Jesuits in, 430
  naming of, 448
  populations of, 291, 449
  rural areas in, 314–315
  settlement of, 290–291, 455–456
  slave-imported diseases in, 572
  slavery and, 577, 580, 730, 795–796
  societies of, 290–296, 795–796
  Spain and, 418, 419, 445–448, 650–655
  trade in, 290
  wealth from, 458

American Far East Air Force, 910–911
American Indians. *See* Native Americans
American Revolution, 625*(i)*, 631–633, 632*(m)*, 655, 693
Américo, Pedro, 801*(i)*
Amerindians. *See also* Native Americans
    for sugar plantations, 580
Amin, Qasim, 750
Amistad, 729*(i)*
Amon (god), 42
Amon-Ra (god), 42
Amphoras, 130*(i)*
Amritsar Massacre, 866
Amsterdam, population of, 554
Anabaptists, 424
Analects (Confucius), 100, 102–103*(d)*
Analytic geometry, 539
Anarchism
    in Italy, 723
    in Russia, 707
    in Spain, 723
Anarcho-syndicalism, 806
Anasazi culture, 293, 294*(m)*
Anatolia. *See also* Turkey
    Byzantine defeat in, 321
    Greece and, 116
    Hittites in, 44
    iron in, 47
    Ottoman Empire in, 468, 471, 472
    Turks in, 237–238
Ancestors
    in Africa, 265
    in Andes region, 295–296
    in China, 90
    in India, 338
    Maya, 301
    in Rome, 148
Ancient world. *See* Humans; specific locations
Andalusia, interfaith relations in, 251
Andes Mountains region, 288. *See also* Inca Empire
    ancestors in, 295–296
    burials in, 289*(i)*

  - civilizations of, 292–293
  - kinship in, 295
  - rebellions in, 652
  - settlement of, 290
  - slavery in, 652
  - Spanish in, 451
  - transportation in, 290
- **Andrew II** (Hungary), 379
- Anesthesia, 680
- Angkor Thom, Bayon relief at, 342*(i)*
- Angkor Wat, 340
- Angles, 218
- Anglican Church (Church of England), 426, 501, 515
- Anglo-Boer (South African) War (1899–1902), 737
- Anglo-Dutch Wars, 522
- Anglo-French Entente (1904), 821
- Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, 961
- Anglo-Persian Oil Company, 863
- Anglo-Russian Agreement (1907), 821
- Anglo-Saxons, 218, 821
  - helmet of, 218*(i)*
  - laws of, 205*(d)*
  - Vikings and, 378
- Angola
  - health in, 1006
  - Portugal and, 577, 588*(i)*, 942, 966
  - slavery and, 581, 583, 585
  - South Africa and, 967
  - white rule in, 942
- **Anguissola, Sofonisba**, 415*(i)*
- Animals. *See also* Cattle
  - in Africa, 263, 280*(i)*
  - in Chinese art, 91
  - domestication of, 19–21, 62, 263
  - llamas and alpacas, 292
  - Paleolithic, 10
  - pastoralism and, 21
  - scientific study of, 537
- Animism, 12, 268
- **An Lushan** (China), 188
- Annam (northern Vietnam), 327

Anne (Saint), 382*(i)*
Anne of Austria, 508, 509*(d)*
Anne of Brittany, 418
Annexations
    by China, 605
    of Hawaii, 780
    of Korea by Japan, 778
Anopheles mosquito, 1008*(d)*
Anthropology, use of term *race* and, 9
Anti-apartheid movement, 998
    in Britain, 969*(i)*
    in United States, 969*(i)*
Anticolonial nationalism, 766
Antifederalists (U.S.), 633
Antiforeign reactions, in Asia, 783
Antigone (Sophocles), 121
Antigonus and Antigonids, 129, 147
Anti-imperialism, 854, 857
Antiliberalism, after 1871, 719
Antioch
    as Crusader state, 384
    fall in Crusades, 386*(d)*
Anti-poverty programs, CCT as, 1005
Anti-Semitism, 719. *See also* Jews and Judaism; Nazi Germany
    anti-immigrant sentiment and, 864
    in France, 720
    Hitler and, 900
    Jewish emancipation and, 722–723
    in Russia, 722*(i)*
    in Spain, 419
Anti-Socialist Laws (Germany, 1890), 723
Antiwar sentiment, in Vietnam War, 936*(i)*, 937*(i)*, 949
Antonine dynasty (Rome), 154
Antony, Marc, 149, 150*(b)*
Antwerp, painting in, 518*(d)*
Anubis (god), 42, 132
Anxiety. *See* Age of Anxiety
Anyang, China, 90, 90*(i)*
Apartheid, in South Africa, 967–968*(d)*, 967–970
Apollo (god), 126
“Appeal for the Abolition of Slavery” (Equiano), 557*(d)*

Appeasement, of Hitler, 903
Apprenticeships, for children, 664
April Theses (Lenin), 835
Aqueducts, Roman, 147, 156*(i)*, 157
Aquinas, Thomas (Saint), 394
Aquitaine, 378, 398, 399
Arabia, 228, 230. *See also* Arabs and Arab world
  spread of Islam from, 228, 232–234, 233*(m)*, 277
Arabian Nights, The. *See* *Thousand and One Nights, The*
Arabian peninsula, 857, 859
Arabian Sea region, 128
  navigation in, 243
  Portugal and, 489
Arabic language, 248
  alphabet in, 49, 574
  culture transmitted by, 236, 249
  in East Africa, 573
  in Egypt, 748
  Ibn Battuta’s writings in, 247
  in Islamic empires, 478
  manuscript in, 230*(i)*
  Qur’an in, 230
  scholarship in, 534
  in trade, 242
Arabic numerals, 92, 334
Arab-Israeli conflicts, 959–960
  in 1948, 931, 931*(m)*
  Six-Day War (1967), 931
  Yom Kippur War (1973), 956, 959
Arab movement, 857
Arabs and Arab world. *See also* Arab-Israeli conflicts; Islam; Israel; Jews and Judaism; Middle East; Moors; Muslims; Palestine
  Africa and, 260, 268
  Balfour Declaration and, 860–861
  East Africa and, 278, 731
  Egyptian leadership of, 960–961
  First World War and, 826–827, 842, 859
  independence for, 861, 864
  Islam and, 224, 233, 238, 268, 318
  Jerusalem and, 384
  Jews in Palestine and, 864–865

  learning in, 534
  nationalism of, 860–861*(d)*
  nuclear power in, 991
  Omani Arabs, 577
  Ottoman rule in, 472
  Persia and, 203, 863
  revolt by (1916), 857–861
  Sahara trade and, 439, 580
  slave trade and, 280
  society and economic structure of, 230
  Songhai and, 568
  Spain and, 419
  Swahili culture and, 574
  trade and, 81, 243, 438
  women and, 240
Arab socialism, 930
Arab Spring (2011), 961
Arafat, Yasir, 959
Aragon, Christian-Muslim fighting in, 385
Arakel of Tabriz, on Armenian deportation, 486*(d)*
Aramaean people, 238
Aramaic script, 77
Ara Pacis (altar), 152*(d)*
Arbenz, Jacobo, 963
Archaeology
  crop cultivation and, 17
  human evolution and, 4*(i)*, 5, 8
Archaic age (Greece), 116–120
Archaic Period (Egypt), 42*(f)*
Archimedes, 134, 135*(b)*
Archimedian screw, 134, 135*(b)*
Architecture
  Byzantine, 382
  of cathedrals, 394–395
  in East Asia, 190
  Gothic, 395
  Islamic, 469*(i)*, 479–480, 480*(i)*
  Maya, 300, 302
  in Nazi Germany, 902
  Romanesque, 395
  in Rome, 156*(i)*

Archons (magistrates), 119
Ardashir I (Sassanid), 202–203
Arellius, Pliny on, 350*(d)*
Argentina
    coup d'état in, 964
    demography of, 627
    dirty war in, 964–965, 1007
    economy in, 943, 964, 965
    female head of state in, 1003
    in Great Depression, 889
    hand painting from, 15*(i)*
    immigration to, 709, 806–807
    industry in, 802, 806, 807
    language in, 297
    missing children in, 984
    Paraguay and, 802
    populism in, 943–945
    railroads in, 667, 802, 804, 807
    same-sex marriage in, 1002*(i)*
    student strike in, 949
    television in, 1007
    transgender rights in, 1002
Arguin, North Africa, Portugal and, 443
Arianism. *See* Arius and Arianism
Arias, Oscar, 963
Aristarchus of Samos, 134
Aristocracy. *See also* Elites; Nobility; Patricians (Rome); specific countries
    in China, 93, 95, 105–106, 182
    in Europe, 376
    in Ghana, 270
    in Hungary, 514
    in Japan, 364–366
    in Korea, 362
    labor, 711
    in Rome, 143
    in Spain, 507
Aristophanes, 121–122
Aristotle, 126–127
    Islam and, 249
    on physics, 535, 537

    Politics, The, 125*(i)*
    on slaves, 461
    on universe, 535, 535*(i)*
Arius (Alexandria) and Arianism, 208, 219, 221
Arjuna (god), 76, 77
Ark of the Covenant, 275*(b)*, 276
Arkwright, Richard, 663, 665*(b)*
Armada (Spain), 431
Armed forces. *See also* Military; Navy; Soldiers; Warriors; specific battles and wars
    in conservative authoritarian state, 890
    in Egypt, 43, 748
    in England, 663
    in France, 508, 720, 721*(i)*
    in Ghana, 270–271
    in Greek poleis, 116–117
    in Ottoman Empire, 746
    Roman Empire and, 143, 147, 152, 154, 158–159*(b)*
    in Russia, 526, 527
    Spanish, 650
Armenia and Armenians, 862
    Christian, 485, 859
    forced relocation from Persia, 486–487*(d)*
    genocide toward, 859, 859*(i)*
    India and, 490
    as traders, 522
Armenian Christians, 485, 859
Armistice, in First World War, 840, 842
Armor, 399*(i)*
Arms and armaments. *See* Nuclear weapons; Weapons
Arms limitation treaty, naval, 872
Arms race, 990–991, 991*(i)*
Army Order No. 1 (Russia), 835
Arouet, François Marie. *See* Voltaire
Arranged marriages
    in China, 873*(b)*
    in Islam, 240
Art(s). *See also* specific arts and artists
    in China, 91, 107*(i)*, 174, 354
    Chinese influence in East Asia, 190
    Etruscan, 142*(i)*

  gardening as, 478*(i)*, 480–481
  Greco-Buddhist art and, 77*(i)*
  in Hellenistic Greece, 113*(i)*
  in India, 334
  Islamic, 469*(i)*
  in Japan, 606
  Minoan, 115
  modernism in, 847
  in Mughal Empire, 478–479
  in Nazi Germany, 902
  in Ottoman Empire, 478–479
  Paleolithic, 11
  Persian, 54
  Realism in, 719
  in Renaissance, 408, 411–415
  Roman, 157*(i)*
  Romanticism in, 718–719
  in Safavid Empire, 478–479
Arthashastra, 78
Arthur (England), 418
Artillery, Hellenistic, 134
Artisans
  in Egypt, 43
  in England, 672, 684–685
  in India, 64–65*(i)*
  medieval, 392
  Neolithic, 24
  sciences and, 540
  in social order, 503
Art of War, The (Sun Wu), 97–100
Aryan peoples
  in India, 60, 63–69, 66*(i)*
  Nazi concept of, 907
Asama, Mount, 609
Asante kingdom, 265
  Queen Mother Yaa Asantewaa rally of, 745*(d)*
Ascetics and asceticism
  Christian, 210–211
  in India, 69, 72
  Sufis and, 250
Ashikaga Shogunate (Japan), 369, 605, 606

  - Takauji, 369
- Ashley Mines Commission, 680*(d)*
- **Ashoka** (India), 60, 61*(i)*, 77, 79
  - Buddhism and, 182
  - Greek language and, 130
- Asia. *See also* East Asia; Middle East; specific locations
  - in 1914, 765*(m)*
  - Alexander the Great in, 128
  - American immigrants from, 808
  - balance of power in, 53
  - British expansion in, 764
  - Buddhism in, 76
  - comparison of countries in, 783
  - crops in, 19
  - cultural exchange in, 318
  - decolonization in, 920, 932, 932*(m)*, 934–935, 938
  - dependency theory in, 925, 927
  - East African culture and, 278
  - economic growth in, 971–974
  - emigration from, 780–782
  - European expansion in, 522
  - European New Imperialism in, 739
  - First World War and, 827, 854, 856
  - Great Depression in, 890
  - green revolution in, 1005
  - growth and development in, 971–976
  - humans in, 6, 8, 9
  - imperialism in, 758, 760–767, 856
  - independence in, 783
  - industrialization in, 674
  - Inner, 175–177
  - Islam in, 783
  - Japanese expansion in, 908–911
  - Japanese mandates in, 872
  - Latin America immigrants from, 806
  - maritime trade in, 614–616
  - material culture in, 338, 784
  - medicine in, 1006
  - migration from, 753
  - nationalism in, 724, 854, 856–879, 880, 969
  - New World crops in, 617

  - plague in, 329–332
  - Portugal and, 445, 454, 489
  - resistance to imperialism in, 742–743
  - Russia and, 523, 707
  - search for westward route to, 448
  - slave trade in, 458
  - Soviet Union and, 856
  - technologies in, 783
  - trading posts in, 517
  - West and, 545, 618–619
  - women in, 996

“Asia for the Asians” policy, of Japan, 876, 908
Asia Minor. *See also* Turkey
  - Rome and, 147
  - Turks and, 321

Asian people, in South Africa, 967
“Asian Tigers,” 971–972, 971*(m)*
Asiento, 512*(m)*
al-Assad, Bashar, 961
Assamese language, 334
Assassination. *See* specific individuals
Assemblies. *See also* Estates (Dutch assemblies)
  - colonial, 631
  - Dutch, 517
  - in France, 508, 634
  - in Greece, 119–120
  - in India, 68
  - in Rome, 140, 145

Assembly line, in China, 605
Assimilation
  - of Celtic peoples, 217–218
  - of Chinese immigrants, 781
  - of Christians by Ottomans, 473
  - in French colonies, 942
  - of Mongols in China, 328
  - into Muslim society, 238, 251

Assyria, 51–52, 53*(m)*
  - Egypt and, 48
  - empire of, 52
  - Hebrews and, 50
  - military in, 52*(i)*

  - Persians and, 52
- **Astell, Mary**, 548
- Astrakhan, 524
- Astrolabe, 442
- Astrology, 538
- Astronomy
  - Arab, 534
  - in China, 357*(b)*
  - Hellenistic, 134
  - in India, 81, 337*(b)*
  - Islamic, 236, 249, 481
  - Jesuits and, 619
  - Maya, 301
  - Mesoamerican, 290
  - navigation and, 442
  - Newton and, 537
  - Scientific Revolution and, 535–537
  - spread of ideas, 333
- Aswan region, dam in, 930
- **Atahualpa** (Inca), 312–313, 313*(d)*, 451
- **Atatürk** (Mustafa Kemal), 858*(m)*, 862–863, 862*(i)*
- **Athena** (god), 121
- Athens, 115, 116, 119–120
  - citizenship in, 123
  - democracy in, 119
  - as empire, 121
  - gender in, 124–125*(i)*
  - Peloponnesian War and, 121
  - Persian wars and, 120
  - philosophers in, 126
  - society in, 119–120
  - women in, 123
- Atlantic Ocean region. *See also* Exploration; Transatlantic trade; specific locations
  - 18th century trade in, 522
  - culture and community in, 556–558
  - economy of, 551–556, 555*(m)*, 662
  - English settlements in, 519
  - Enlightenment in, 558–560
  - exploration of, 442–443
  - Jews in economy of, 558

  revolutions in, 624–655
  slave trade in, 416, 441
Atlatls, 8
Atmospheric nuclear testing, ban on, 990
Atomic age, expansion of, 990–991
Atomic bomb. *See also* Nuclear weapons
  in Second World War, 915, 915*(i)*
  after Second World War, 922
  testing ban, 990
Atomic theory, 126, 845, 846*(i)*
Atomist philosophies, Descartes and, 539
Aton (god), 41*(d)*, 46*(b)*
Attila (Huns), 218
Auclert, Hubertine, 719–720
Audiencia (judges), 454
Auerstädt, battle at, 643
Augsburg, Peace of, 425, 472, 501*(m)*, 502, 504, 506
Augustine of Hippo (Saint), 212–213
Augustus (Octavian, Rome), 140, 149–154, 151*(i)*
  Antony and, 150*(b)*
  Ara Pacis and, 152*(d)*
Augustus (title), 163
Aurangzeb (India), 476–477, 488, 492
Auschwitz concentration camp, 885*(i)*, 909*(b)*
Austerlitz, Battle of, 643
Australia
  Aboriginal peoples in, 778, 779*(i)*
  Asian migration to, 782
  emigration to, 779*(i)*
  First World War and, 826
  Great Depression in, 886
  hand markings from, 14*(i)*
  humans in, 343
  investment in, 752
  migrants in, 752
  railroads in, 667
  as settler colony, 778–779
  whites in, 780
  women’s voting rights in, 719
Australian Colonies Government Act (England, 1850), 780
Australopithecus, 5

Austria, 722. *See also* Austria-Hungary; Austrian Empire; Habsburg dynasty; Holy Roman Empire
  anti-Semitism in, 723
  Congress of Vienna and, 692, 701
  expansion of, 513–514, 513*(m)*
  First World War and, 821, 824
  after First World War, 840, 842
  France and, 637, 641, 642, 643, 645
  German Confederation and, 705
  in Grand Alliance (1701), 512
  Habsburgs in, 513–514
  Hitler and, 904
  in Holy Alliance, 692
  Hungary and, 700, 701, 722
  Italy and, 701
  under Joseph II, 550
  Karlowitz treaty and, 492
  Ottomans and, 746
  Poland and, 550*(m)*
  Prussia and, 627, 701, 705, 706, 722
  in Quadruple Alliance, 692
  religious toleration in, 551
  Rome and, 152
  Sardinia and, 703
  in Second Coalition, 641
  in Seven Years' War, 627
  in Triple Alliance, 821
Austria-Hungary
  First World War and, 820, 824, 831
  after First World War, 840, 842
  Hungary in, 722
  industrialization and, 671
  nationalism in, 721–722, 822
  Ottomans and, 822
  socialism and, 723
  Turks and, 859
Austrian Empire
  1848 revolution and, 700–701
  multinational nature of, 693
Austro-Hungarian Empire. *See* Austria-Hungary
Austronesian languages, 343

Austro-Prussian War, 705*(m)*, 706
Authoritarianism. *See also* Dictators and dictatorships; Totalitarianism
  in Chile, 963–964
  conservative, 890
  in First World War, 835
  after First World War, 884
  in India, 866
  in Japan, 775
  of Napoleon, 640, 642
  people under, 984
  resistance to, 984–985
  in Russia, 981
Authority. *See* Power (political)
Authors. *See* Writing; specific writers
Autobiography (Garibaldi), 704*(b)*
Autumn Harvest Uprising (China), 872
Auxiliary Service Law (Germany), 828
Avars, 202
Averroës, 249, 253
Avesta, 55
Avicenna, 249, 253
Avignon, pope in, 400
Awdaghost (town), 269
Axes, Paleolithic, 10*(i)*
Axial Age, 127
Axis powers (Second World War), 904, 908–910
Ay Khanoum (Bactrian city), 129
Ayllu (Inca clan), 295, 298
Aymara language, 297
Azores, 443
Azov, Russia and, 526
Aztec (Mexica) Empire, 288, 291, 306–311, 307*(m)*
  altar from, 312*(i)*
  Codex Chimalpopoca, 304*(d)*
  Cortés in, 306, 311–312
  Diaz on, 452*(d)*
  end of, 311–312
  Europeans and, 311–312, 437*(i)*
  government of, 306–307
  Huitzilopochtli in, 307, 309*(b)*
  human sacrifice in, 309*(i)*, 310–311

lifestyle in, 307–310
limits of, 310–311
Maya and, 302
Spain and, 306, 311–312, 449–450
tortillas in, 291–292
views of Christian conversion in New Spain, 462*(d)*

B

Ba’ath Party (Iraq), 961
Babur (Mughal India), 468, 476, 481
    non-Muslim subjects of, 485–486
Baby formula, regulation of, 999–1000
Babylon and Babylonia, 38, 40*(i)*
    Assyria and, 52
    Cyrus and, 54*(d)*
    Hammurabi in, 38, 39
    Hebrews and, 50
    scholarship from, 534
Babylonian Captivity, of Hebrews, 50
Bacon, Francis, 538–539
Bacterial revolution, 708
Bactria, 127, 129*(i)*, 130, 175
Baghdad, 228, 235, 827. *See also* Iraq
    culture in, 235, 534
    First World War and, 827
    Mongols in, 238, 327, 327*(i)*
    Ottomans in, 473
    Safavids and, 475
    slave market in, 247*(i)*
    Turks in, 237, 334–335
Bahamas, 447
Bahia, 454, 583
al-Bakri (Islam), on Ghana, 269–270
Balance of power
    Congress of Vienna and, 706
    in constitutional government, 514
    industrialization and, 660
    in Italian Renaissance, 409*(b)*
    after Napoleonic wars, 692
Baldwin, Stanley, 844
Balfour, Arthur, 860
Balfour Declaration (1917), 860–861, 864
Balkan region. *See also* specific locations
    First World War and, 722, 820, 822*(m)*
    independence in, 747

  nationalism in, 746, 822
  Ottomans and, 400, 470, 747*(m)*, 820, 821*(m)*, 822
  slaves from, 441, 577
Balkan wars (1912, 1913), 822, 857
Baltic region. *See also* Scandinavia; specific countries
  Nazi invasion of, 906
  Russia and, 526, 527
  Soviet Union and, 978
  after Soviet Union, 981
Bamiyan, 182*(i)*
Bananas, in Africa, 263
Bands. *See* Families; Kinship
Bandung, Indonesia, Afro-Asian Conference in (1955), 925
Ban family (China), 175, 181*(b)*
Bangladesh, 62, 335, 976
  CCT programs in, 1005
  female head of state in, 1003
  ISIS terrorism in, 993
Banking
  in continental Europe, 673
  corporate, 673–674
  crisis in 2008, 998
  in Florence, 408, 409
  in Great Depression, 886
  in Mexico, 957
  petrodollars and, 956
Bank of France, 642
Bankruptcy
  of Ottoman Empire, 747
  in Spain, 507
Banners (Manchu army units), 603, 605
Banpo, China, 20*(i)*
Bantu language and people, 258, 263–264
  in southern Africa, 281
  Swahili and, 574
  use of term, 264
Baptism (Christian), 213, 219, 382
Barbados, 519
Barbarians. *See also* Franks; Germanic peoples; specific groups
  laws of, 217
  migrations by, 200, 213–218, 215*(m)*

  religions of, 217
  Roman and Byzantine views of, 216*(d)*
  Roman Empire and, 202
  society of, 213–217
Barbarossa. *See* Frederick I Barbarossa (Hohenstaufen)
Barber, Francis, 577
Barbosa, Duarte, on Swahili city-states, 578–579*(d)*
Bards, barbarian, 217
Bar-Hebraeus, Gregory, *Laughable Stories* by, 249, 250*(b)*
Baring, Evelyn (Lord Cromer), 750
Barometer, 535
Barranquilla, Colombia, 802*(i)*
Barrões (historian), on Portuguese seizure of trade, 489
Barros, João de, *Da Asia*, 282*(d)*
Baseball, in Japan, 935*(i)*
Bases and Points of Departure for Argentine Political Organization (Alberdi), 806
Basotho peoples, 744*(d)*
Basra (city), 827
Bastille, storming of, 634
Bataan Death March, 914*(i)*
Batavia (Jakarta, Indonesia), 617
Bath, England, Roman bath in, 148*(i)*
Bathing, in Rome, 147, 148*(i)*
Batista, Fulgencio, 945
Battering rams, 134
Battle(s). *See* specific battles and wars
Battle of Britain, 906
Bauhaus, 848
Bavaria, Magyars in, 376
Baxter, Ethel, 830
Bayezid I (Sultan), 401*(d)*
Bayle, Pierre, 542, 544
Bay of Fundy, 521
Bay of Pigs invasion, 945
Bayon Relief, at Angkor Thom, 342*(i)*
Bazaar economy, 996, 996*(i)*
B.C.E., 5n
Bearn, Countess of, 378*(i)*
Beautiful, The (Bhaskara), 337*(b)*
Beccaria, Cesare, 544

Bedouins, 230, 232, 238
Beethoven, Ludwig van, 718
Behavior
  Chinese and European views on, 427*(d)*
  codification of, 33, 50
  middle-class expectations of, 710
Behr, Mark, *Smell of Apples, The*, 968*(d)*
Beijing, 353, 597*(i)*. *See also* Tiananmen Square
  as Chinese capital, 596–597
  Christians in, 618
  Japan and, 877
  May Fourth Movement and, 870, 874–875*(d)*
  Ming Dynasty in, 596–597
Belarus, 551
  nuclear weapons and, 991
Belgian Congo, 734, 734*(i)*, 942, 970. *See also* Democratic Republic of the Congo
Belgium
  Africa and, 732, 942
  banking in, 673
  after Congress of Vienna, 692
  decolonization and, 942
  in First World War, 824, 833*(d)*
  grain from, 157
  industrialization and, 671, 674
  Nazis and, 906
  Netherlands and, 431
  Spanish Netherlands and, 512*(m)*
  transportation in, 673
Belgrade, 980
Belitung ship, 244*(i)*
  pottery from, 245*(i)*
Belize, 300
Belley, Jean-Baptiste, 625*(i)*
Ben Ali, Zine (Tunisia), 960
Benedict XVI (Pope), 927
Benedict of Nursia (Saint), 211
Benefices, clerical, 420, 500
Bengal
  as Bangladesh, 929–930
  Islam in, 335

- Portuguese in, 476

Bengali language, 334

Benguela, Angola, slave trade and, 581

Benin, 566, 567–568
- Dahomey and, 585
- Edo artifact from, 565*(i)*
- oba of, 566*(i)*, 567–568
- slavery and, 577, 586

Benin City, 568

Benue region, Africa, 264

Berbers, 260, 265–267, 267*(i)*. *See also* Moors; Tuareg people
- caravan trade and, 267
- Ghana and, 269
- Islam and, 238, 268
- trans-Saharan trade and, 572

Bering land bridge, 8–9, 9*(m)*, 290

Berlin. *See also* Germany
- academy of science in, 540
- blockade and airlift of, 922*(i)*, 923
- revolution in (1848), 700*(i)*, 701
- Soviets in, 913

Berlin Conference (1884–1885), 732

Berlin Wall, 947, 978, 980*(i)*

Bernard of Clairvaux (Saint), 383*(b)*

Bernstein, Eduard, 723

Bethmann-Hollweg, Theobald von, 824

Bezels of Wisdom, The (Ibn al-’Arabi), 251

Bhagavad Gita, 76–77

Bhakti movement (Hindu), 482

Bhaskara (India), 337*(b)*

Bhutto, Benazir, 976, 976*(i)*, 992

Bible (Christian), 211–212. *See also* New Testament
- Islam and, 231

Bible (Hebrew), 49–50
- Greek translation of, 130
- Islam and, 231

Bight of Benin, slaves from, 581, 583

Big Three, after First World War, 840

Bihar, India, 336

Bill of exchange, 242–243

Bill of Rights

  in England (1689), 516
  in Japan, 934
  in United States, 633
Bin Laden, Osama, 976, 992
Biographies of Exemplary Women (China), 178*(d)*, 180
Biological weapons, 961, 992
Biosphere, 4
Bipedalism, 5, 7
Birth control, 711, 1003
Bishops (Christian), 163, 208, 209. *See also* Pope(s)
Bismarck, Otto von, 705–706, 720
  Berlin Conference and, 732
BJP (Indian nationalist party), 976
Black Death (plague), 329–332, 396–397, 396*(i)*, 397*(i)*
  French state after, 418
Black Legend, of Spanish colonialism, 461
Black people. *See also* Africa; African Americans; Slaves and slavery; Slave trade; specific locations
  in 18th-century London, 580*(i)*
  as Brazilian peddlers, 583*(i)*
  enslavement of, 268, 280, 456, 577
  in Europe, 577
  racism toward, 461
  slavery associated with, 580
  in South Africa, 967, 970
  in southern Africa, 966
  in western Europe, 415–416
Black Sea region
  Greeks in, 119*(m)*
  Russia and, 526
Black Shirts, in Italy, 899
Blake, William, 684
Blitz, in London, 906*(i)*
Blitzkrieg (lightning war), 906
Blockades
  in First World War, 828
  Napoleonic, 643
Blood circulation, 540
Blood sacrifice. *See also* Human sacrifice
  Aztec, 309*(b)*, 310, 311
  Maya, 301, 302

Bloody Sunday (Russia), 707, 707*(i)*
Blumenbach, Johann Friedrich, 9
Boats. *See* Ships and shipping
Boccaccio, Giovanni, on plague, 398*(d)*
Bodh Gaya, 72
Bodhisattvas, 75, 182, 189
Boers, 734
Boer War. *See* South African War
Bogotá, 652
Bohemia
  Habsburg rule of, 513
  nationalism in, 700
  Thirty Years' War and, 505
Boko Haram, in Nigeria, 959
Boleyn, Anne, 426
Bolívar, Simón, 653, 653*(i)*
Bolivia, 653
  demography of, 627
  language in, 297
  War of the Pacific and, 802
Bologna, university in, 393
Bolsa Família (Brazil), 1005
Bolsheviks (Soviet Union). *See also* Communist Party; Soviet Union
  China and, 870
  First World War and, 818, 835, 838
  Nazi Germany and, 905
  women's roles and, 895
Bombay (Mumbai), 489
Bombs and bombings. *See also* Atomic bomb; Nuclear power; Terrorism; Weapons
  of China, 877
  London bomb shelter and, 906*(i)*
  in Second World War, 906
Bonaparte family. *See also* Napoleon I; Napoleon III
  Joseph, 643
Bonny (city), slave trade and, 583, 587*(d)*
Book(s). *See also* Literature
  in Carolingian Renaissance, 223
  Chinese, 104*(d)*, 173–174, 175, 190, 354, 599
  in Islam, 248, 482
  Maya, 301

  in Mughal India, 479
  printing and, 411
  as summae, 394
  urban life and, 556
Book of Changes (China), 107
Book of Documents (China), 92–93, 108
Book of Isaiah, The, 54*(d)*
Book of Songs (China), 93, 94*(d)*, 108
Book of the Dead (Egypt), 42
Book of the Sea (Piri Reis), 481
Boom-and-bust cycles
  in Chile's economy, 964
  oil embargo and, 957
Borders. *See also* Boundaries; Frontiers
  African colonial, 938
  of China, 605
  Congress of Vienna and, 697
  of Israel, 959
  of Roman Empire, 164
  of Russia, 526, 605
  U.S.-Mexico, 993
Borneo, Chinese immigrants in, 781
Borobudur (Buddhist temple complex), 341
Borodino, Battle of, 643
Bosman, William, 568, 586*(d)*
Bosnia, annexation of, 822
Bosnia-Herzegovina, 822, 980
Bosporus, strait of, 164
Bossuet, Jacques-Bénigne, 510*(d)*
Boston Tea Party, 631
Botticelli, Sandro, *Adoration of the Magi*, 409*(i)*
Boule (Greek council), 120
Boulton, Matthew, 667
Boundaries. *See also* Borders; Frontiers
  in Africa, 970, 971
Bourbon dynasty. *See also* specific monarchs
  in France, 507, 512, 655
  in Naples and Sicily, 701
  in Spain, 650, 652
Bourgeoisie, 626
  Marx on, 696

in Russia, 833
Bourke-White, Margaret, 887*(i)*
Bouvet, Joachim, on Kangxi emperor, 509*(d)*
Boxer Uprising (China), 676, 772, 772*(i)*
Boyars, 523
Boycotts, of Nestlé, 998–999
Boyle, Robert, 539, 540
Boyne, Battle of the, 516
Boys. *See* Children; Men; Warriors
B.P., 5n
Brahe, Tycho, 536, 539
Brahman (ultimate reality), 69, 76
Brahmans and Brahmanism (India), 60, 66, 69, 70
Brahmins (priests), 68
Brain, human evolution and, 4, 5, 7–8
Braque, Georges, 848
Brasilia, 945, 945*(i)*
Brassey, Thomas, 669*(d)*
Brazil
  abolition in, 798–799, 800–801*(d)*, 802
  Africans in, 451, 456
  anti-apartheid movement in, 998
  Bolsa Família in, 1005
  dictatorship in, 945, 965–966
  Dutch and, 517
  economy in, 943, 945, 965–966
  female head of state in, 1003
  in Great Depression, 889
  independence of, 653–655
  indigenous people in, 626–627
  industrialization in, 806
  Japanese-Brazilians working in Japan, 995*(i)*
  Japanese immigrants in, 806–807
  Jesuits in, 430
  monarchy in, 788, 793, 795, 802
  New State in, 945
  nuclear weapons and, 991
  OPEC and, 956
  Paraguay and, 802
  populism in, 943, 945
  Portugal and, 451, 454, 653–655

- railroads in, 667
- rock band on globalization in, 999*(d)*
- slavery and, 457, 579, 580–581, 583, 652, 655, 814
- as South American leader, 990
- student strike in, 949
- television in, 1007

Bread
- in European diet, 389*(i)*
- riots over, 504

Breast-feeding, Paleolithic, 11

Breeding, of animals, 19

Brest-Litovsk, Treaty of, 839, 843

Breviary of Alaric, 201*(i)*

Brexit, 984, 993, 995

Brezhnev, Leonid, 947, 978

Bride wealth
- in Southeast Asia, 438
- in West Africa, 570

Brinksmanship
- by Iran, 961
- in North Korea, 991

Bristol, England, slave trade and, 583

Britain. *See also* England (Britain); Great Britain
- Battle of (1940), 906
- Germanic peoples in, 218
- Rome and, 218
- Vikings in, 376

British East India Company
- Armenian merchants and, 631
- in India, 489, 490–491, 490*(m)*, 675*(d)*, 760, 761, 762*(d)*

British Empire, 498, 734–737, 751. *See also* Colonies and colonization; England (Britain); specific locations
- in India, 489, 490–491, 760–764
- U.S. economy and, 791

British Factory Acts (1802–1833), 677

British North America. *See* America(s); Colonies and colonization; England (Britain); specific locations

British South Africa Company, 737

British West Indies. *See* West Indies

British Women's Social and Political Union, 691*(i)*

Brittain, Vera, 832*(i)*

Brittany, 418
Bronze, 24
  in China, 90, 91, 91*(i)*, 96*(i)*, 106*(i)*, 175*(i)*, 177
  in Egypt, 43
  in India, 72*(i)*
Bronze Age, 5, 24, 47–48
  China in, 89
  Greece in, 112, 114
  Vietnam in, 190
Bronze Age Collapse, 47, 115, 116
Brooks, Rupert, 825*(d)*
Brothel, in Paris, 714*(i)*
Brueghel, Pieter, the Younger, 518*(d)*
Bruges, 392
Brunel, Isambard Kingdom, 669*(d)*
Bruni, Leonardo, letter by, 412*(d)*
Brzezinski, Zbigniew, 892
Bubonic plague, 329–332, 396. *See also* Black Death
  Justinian Plague and, 396
Buddha, 72–74, 127, 183*(i)*. *See also* Buddhism
  Gandharan frieze depicting, 73*(i)*
  Japanese statue of, 194
  Maitreya, 188, 596
  Sudatta and, 75*(b)*
Buddha Amitabha, 369
Buddhism
  in arts, 183*(i)*, 185, 334*(i)*
  Ashoka and, 61*(i)*, 79–80
  Borobudur temple complex of, 341
  in Central Asia, 182
  Chan (Zen), 189, 363, 369
  in China, 76, 182–185, 186*(m)*, 188, 189
  in East Asia, 182, 190, 348
  Esoteric, 366
  in Hellenistic kingdoms, 130
  in India, 60, 72–76, 79–80
  in Japan, 76, 193*(i)*, 194, 364, 365, 369–370, 606
  in Korea, 192, 362, 363, 615
  Mahajanaka palace life and, 74*(i)*
  Mahayana, 74–75, 182
  Mongols and, 322, 598

- monks and nuns in, 74, 183*(i)*, 184, 184–185*(d)*
- Muslims and, 336
- Pure Land, 189, 369
- in Southeast Asia, 182, 318, 341, 438
- spread of, 170, 182–185, 186*(m)*
- in Tibet, 76, 182, 598
- Uighurs and, 321

Bueno, Reyita Castillo, on slavery and freedom in Cuba, 812–813*(d)*
Bueno de Andrada, António Manuel, 800–801*(d)*
Buenos Aires, 652, 709, 709*(i)*
Buffer state, after First World War, 840
Buffon, Comte de (Georges-Louis Leclerc), 546
Buffum, David, 902
Buildings. *See also* Architecture; specific buildings and types
- in Islamic empires, 479–480

Bukhara, Mongols in, 328
Bulgaria
- Eastern Christianity in, 382
- in First World War, 824
- independence of, 747
- Rome and, 152

Bulgars, 202
Bullion. *See also* Gold; Silver
- Europe flooded by, 572
- Spanish, 458

Bureaucracy. *See also* Government
- in Africa, 269, 567, 938
- in China, 95, 105–106, 175, 362, 597
- in conservative authoritarian state, 890
- in Europe, 378
- in India, 78, 476, 761
- in Java, 766
- in Nazi Germany, 901
- in Russia, 525, 526
- Safavid, 473
- Sassanid Persian, 203

Burgundian Code, 205*(d)*
Burgundians, 215, 399
Burgundy
- Estates of, 510*(d)*
- Habsburgs and, 419

Burials
  ancient, 8, 12
  in Andes, 289*(i)*
  in China, 90*(i)*, 91, 95
Burke, Edmund, 636
Burma (Myanmar)
  Burmese people in, 340
  dissidents in, 977*(d)*
  England and, 764
  Thais in, 340
Burundi, 264
  atrocities in, 971
  health in, 1006
Bush, George W., Iraq and, 992, 993
Bushido, in Japan, 368
Business. *See also* Commerce; Trade
  in China, 173
  Muslim innovations in, 242–243
Byzantine, use of term, 208
Byzantine Empire, 200, 202–208, 202*(m)*, 232, 382. *See also* Constantinople; Eastern Roman Empire
  barbarians and, 216*(d)*
  in China, 91, 107*(i)*, 192
  Christianity in, 213, 382
  Crusades and, 385
  end of, 400
  icons and, 213
  intellectual thought in, 203–206
  Islam and, 202, 224, 234
  Ottomans and, 470
  Russia and, 523
  Sassanids and, 202–203, 233
  Seljuk Turks and, 321
  trade and, 273
  Turks and, 237–238, 470
  women in, 207*(i)*
Byzantium (city), 164. *See also* Byzantine Empire; Constantinople
  epidemics in, 195*(d)*

C

Cabildos (councils), 454, 652
Cabot, John, 448
Cabral, Pedro Álvares, 451
Cacao, 293, 300–301
Caesar (title), 164
Caesar, Julius, 149, 150*(b)*
  Celts and, 218
  Gallic War, The, 158*(d)*
Caesarion, 150*(b)*
Cahokia, 294–295, 295*(i)*
Cai Lun (China), 175
Cairo, 237, 260
  modernization of, 748
  revolt in (2011), 960
  trade in, 242, 439
Cajamarca, Peru, 312
Calabar, slave trade and, 583
Calais, 399
Calcutta (Kolkata), 489
Calendar(s)
  in China, 357*(b)*
  Christian, 381
  in French Revolution, 638
  Maya, 301, 303*(d)*
  Mesoamerican, 290
  Nabta Playa stone circle as, 24*(i)*
  Neolithic, 26
  Olmec, 293
Calendar Round, 293, 303*(d)*
Calicut, India, 445
California
  Chinese settlers in, 781
  gold in, 810
  Spain and, 554
Caligula (Rome), 154

Caliphs and caliphates, 234–235. *See also* Umayyad Dynasty
  Abbasid, 235–236
  Fatimid, 237, 237*(m)*
  in India, 334
  Sokoto, 731
  Turks and, 321
Callao-Lima-Oroya railroad, 803*(i)*
Calligraphy, 182, 354, 355*(d)*, 483*(i)*
Calvin, John, and Calvinism, 426–427, 501. *See also* Puritans
  Ecclesiastical Ordinances for the City of Geneva, 427*(d)*
  in France, 502–503
  Huguenots and, 501
  Netherlands and, 431
  in Scotland, 515
Cambodia (Kampuchea)
  France and, 766, 935
  in Indochina, 935
  Khmer Empire in, 340
  migration to U.S. from, 993
Camels, 21, 265, 267*(i)*
  in trans-Saharan trade, 572
Cameroon, 258, 264, 971
Camp David Accords (1979), 959, 960
Canaan, 50
Canada
  Chinese in, 782, 782*(i)*
  Dominion of, 809, 809*(m)*
  exploration of, 448
  French in, 448–449, 521
  gay marriage in, 1002
  immigration to, 782, 782*(i)*, 809
  investment in, 752
  NAFTA and, 957
  population of, 809
  railroads in, 667, 810*(i)*
  Seven Years' War and, 630, 630*(m)*
  slavery abolished in, 796
Canals. *See also* specific canals
  in England, 662, 662*(m)*
  Panama Canal, 751, 812–813
  Persian, 54

Canal Zone, 813
Canary Islands
    Greek expansion to, 118
    Guanche people from, 441
Cannae, battle at, 147
Cannibalism, in West Africa, 572
Canon law, 164
Canton, China. *See* Guangzhou
Canute (Viking), 378
Cape Colony, 577*(m)*, 736
    Dutch and, 734
    England and, 732, 734, 735–736
    slaves in, 577, 578
    in Union of South Africa, 737
Cape Guardafui, 277
Cape of Good Hope, 260, 444–445, 577
Cape Town, 517
Cape Verde, Portugal and, 966
Capital (financial), slavery and, 685
Capital cities. *See* specific cities
Capitalism
    in China, 974
    imperialism and, 742
    industrialization and, 684
    multinational corporations and, 998
    Roosevelt, Franklin D., on, 888
    after World War I, 884
Capitulary de Villis, The, 223*(d)*
Captaincies, 454
Caravan trade
    Berbers and, 267
    in China, 176
    Ghana and, 269
    Islamic, 242, 268
    routes of, 265
    Sassanids and, 203
    in Senegambia, 566
Caravel, 442
Carbon dioxide, emissions reduction of, 1002
Carbon emissions, 1000
Cárdenas, Cuauhtémoc, 957

Cárdenas, Lázaro, 957
Cardinals (Catholic Church), 380
Caribbean region. *See also* >specific locations
  Dutch and, 517
  England and, 519, 521, 685, 796
  France and, 521, 556
  independence in, 624, 651*(m)*
  Olmecs in, 293*(m)*
  pirates in, 556
  plantation agriculture in, 554
  slavery in, 457, 554, 581, 652, 796
  Spain and, 448, 449, 521, 556, 655
  U.S. military intervention in, 993
Carlos III (Spain), 558
Carlos IV (Spain), 558
Carolina, settlement of, 519
Carolingian Empire, 221, 376
  division of, 376
Carolingian Renaissance, 223
Carpets, in Islamic empires, 478, 479*(i)*
Carranza, Venustiano, 805
Carson, Rachel, 1000
Cartels, OPEC as, 956
Carter, Jimmy, 959
Cartesian dualism, 539
Carthage, 146–147
Cartography, 442, 481
Cartwright, Edmund, 664
Cash crops. *See* Crops; specific crops
Cash economy, Africa and, 738
Casta paintings, 463*(i)*
Caste system
  Buddhism and, 72
  Hinduism and, 77
  in India, 60, 68–69, 81, 335, 336–337, 761, 929
  Islam and, 335
  Sikhs on, 482
Castiglione, Baldassare, portrait of, 407*(i)*
Castiglione, Giuseppe, 605*(i)*
Castile, Christian-Muslim fighting in, 385
Castle, The (Kafka), 847

Castles. *See also* specific castles
    in Japan, 606, 607–608, 607*(i)*
Castro, Fidel, 942, 945, 946, 946*(i)*
Casualties. *See* specific battles and wars
Catalan Atlas (1375), Mansa Musa in, 441*(i)*
Çatal Hüyük, Turkey, 24
Catalonia, uprising in, 504
Catarina de San Juan, 460*(b)*
Cateau-Cambrésis, Treaty of, 430
Cathedrals, 208
    medieval, 394–395
Catherine (Saint), 214*(b)*
Catherine de' Medici, 430
Catherine of Aragon, 418, 426
Catherine the Great (Russia), 548–549, 551, 632
Catholic Church. *See* Roman Catholic Church
Catholic Enlightenment, 543
Catholic League, 505
Catholic Reformation, 428–430, 498, 502
Cattle. *See also* Animals
    domestication of, 21
    in India, 336
Caucasians
    enslavement of, 268
    use of term, 9
Caucasus region, 550, 707
    Ottomans, Russia, and, 747, 826
    slaves from, 577
    Soviet Union and, 978
Caudillos and caudillismo, 790, 791, 791*(i)*
Cavalry
    in China, 97
    in Greece, 117
Cave art
    Buddhist temples and, 183*(i)*, 185, 334*(i)*
    hand marks as, 11, 14*(i)*, 15*(i)*
    in Lascaux Cave, 16*(i)*
Cavour, Camillo Benso di, 701–703
CCT (conditional cash transfer) programs, 1005
C.E., 5n
Ceauşescu, Nicolae, 978

Celebi, Abi Ahmet, 481
Celebrations, Christian, 219
Celibacy
  Buddhist, 184
  Christian clerical, 380, 420, 424
Cell phones, 989*(i)*, 1007
Celtic languages, 215
Celts (Gauls), 143, 213, 215, 217–218
Cenotes (wells), 300
Censorship
  in Egypt, 960
  in First World War, 830
  in Russia, 706
Census, in China, 172–173, 350
Central Africa. *See also* Africa; specific locations
  Islam in, 731
Central America. *See also* Latin America; specific locations
  civil wars in, 962–963
  colonies in, 451–454
  independence in, 651*(m)*, 790
  Panama Canal in, 751, 812–813
  railroads in, 810
  slavery in, 652
  U.S. military intervention in, 993
Central Asia. *See also* Asia; Xiongnu people; specific locations
  Buddhism in, 182
  camels and, 265
  China and, 175–176, 181*(b)*, 187
  conflict in, 991
  diseases in, 329–332
  Islam in, 333
  Mongols in, 238, 325, 328, 329, 332
  Nestorian Christians in, 329
  nomads of, 320–323, 333
  Russia and, 707
  steppes in, 320
  Turks in, 320
Central Europe. *See also* specific locations
  Calvinism in, 501*(m)*
  Enlightenment in, 544
  Jews in, 722, 723

- nationalism in, 695
- Otto I in, 378–379
- revolutions of 1848 in, 698–701
- Thirty Years' War in, 504–506

Central Intelligence Agency. *See* CIA

Centralization
- in Andes society, 295–296
- state, 464

Central Powers (First World War), 826, 831, 856

Central States, in China, 95

Ceramics. *See also* Pottery
- army, in Qin China, 172*(i)*
- in China, 22*(i)*
- in East Asia, 190
- in India, 62, 63*(i)*
- in Korea, 363

Cereals. *See also* Crops; specific crops
- in Africa, 261

Certificates of deposit, in China, 350

Ceuta, Morocco, 443

Ceylon (Sri Lanka), 62, 489, 517
- Buddhism in, 76, 182
- Burmese and, 340
- Cholas in, 334
- Zheng He and, 614

Chad, Lake, 264

Chadwick, Edwin, 684, 708

Chamberlain, Neville, 903*(i)*, 904–905

Champlain, Samuel de, 521

Chan (Zen) Buddhism, 189, 363, 369

Chandragupta I (India), 77, 78–79, 333

Chang'an, China, 187, 187*(i)*, 188, 194, 364, 596

Chaplin, Charlie, 848

Charcoal, 664

Chardin, Jean, on Persian Armenians, 487*(d)*

Chariots
- in China, 90
- Hittite, 47*(i)*
- Hyksos, 43
- of Medes, 55*(i)*
- Roman races and, 157

Charlemagne, 220, 222–224, 222*(i)*, 376
  conquests of, 222*(m)*
Charles I (England), 514–515, 516
Charles I (Spain). *See* Charles V (Holy Roman Empire; Charles I of Spain)
Charles II (England), 516, 522
Charles II (Spain), 512
Charles III (Spain), 627, 650
Charles V (Holy Roman Empire; Charles I of Spain), 419, 420*(m)*, 448
  abdication of, 425, 502
  Cortés's letter to, 452
  Luther and, 422
  Magellan and, 448
  Netherlands under, 430–431
  New Laws in American colonies and, 454
  Reformation and, 425, 500
  Safavids and, 472
  Valladolid debate and, 461
Charles VII (France), 399, 418
Charles X (France), 698
Charles Martel (Franks), 221
Charles the Bald, 223
Charles the Great. *See* Charlemagne
Chartist movement, 685, 697
Châtelet, **marquise du** (Gabrielle-Emilie Le Tonnelier de Breteuil), 542–543, 544
Chattel slavery, 567, 577
Chaumont, Treaty of, 645
Chavín culture, 295
Chechnya, Putin and, 981
Checks and balances, 633
Cheka, 839
Chelebi, Katib, on tobacco, 484–485*(d)*
Chemical weapons, 992
Chemistry, in Scientific Revolution, 540
Chen Duxiu, on May Fourth Movement, 874*(d)*
Cheng Yi (China), 358–359
Chengzu (Yongle, China), 596–597, 614
Chen Liang (China), letter to Zhu Xi, 360*(d)*
Chennai. *See* Madras
Che Ruoshui (China), *Jiaoqi ji*, 360*(d)*

Chess (game), 253*(i)*
Chess Game, The (Anguissola), 415*(i)*
Chiang Kai-shek. *See* Jiang Jieshi
Chiapas, Mexico, ceremonial complex in, 303*(d)*
Chicago School of architects, 847
Chichén Itzá, 300, 301*(i)*
Chicken pox vaccine, 1006
Chiefs
    African female, 265
    in barbarian society, 216, 217
Chikamatsu Monzaemon (Japan), 609
Chikungunya, 1006, 1008*(d)*
Childbearing and childbirth
    in Athens, 123
    in China, 358
    in Paleolithic society, 11
    women’s control over, 1003
Child labor
    in factories, 661*(i)*, 664, 677
    in mines, 678–679, 680–681*(d)*
    UN on, 1003
Child-marriage, in India, 69
Child mortality, 17, 679, 1006
Children. *See also* Child labor; Child mortality
    in Africa, 570
    in Argentina, 964
    education in Mexico for, 1005
    in India, 338
    on kibbutz, 865*(i)*
    in middle class, 710
    missing, 984
    Mongol, 322
    Paleolithic, 11
    rights of, 1003–1005
    as soldiers, 837*(i)*
    in workforce, 661*(i)*, 664, 677
Chile, 653
    demography of, 627
    economy in, 799, 802, 963–964
    female head of state in, 1003
    free-market policies in, 980

  - in Great Depression, 890
  - human rights abuses in, 964
  - Inca Empire and, 297
  - language in, 297
  - Meiggs in, 803*(d)*
  - missing children in, 984
  - railroads in, 667, 802, 803*(d)*
  - Stone Age houses in, 20*(i)*
  - War of the Pacific and, 802
- **Chimalpopoca** (Mexica), 307
- Chimu culture and people, 296
- China. *See also* Central Asia; Chinese people; Manchuria; Mao Zedong; Mongols; Nationalist China; Xiongnu people; specific rulers, empires, and dynasties
  - 1911 revolution in, 773, 856, 870
  - in 1914, 765*(m)*
  - 1923 revolution in, 870
  - 1949 revolution in, 924
  - Africans in, 940*(i)*
  - Age of Division in, 182
  - agriculture in, 88–89, 97, 350, 352*(i)*, 972
  - arts in, 91, 107*(i)*, 174, 182
  - Australia and, 779
  - Black Death in, 396
  - black slaves in, 280
  - book burning in, 173
  - Boxers in, 676
  - bronze in, 90, 91 91*(i)*, 106*(i)*
  - Buddhism in, 76, 182–185, 186*(m)*, 188, 189
  - bureaucracy in, 175
  - burials in, 90*(i)*, 91, 95
  - Central Asia and, 175–176, 181*(b)*, 187
  - Central States in, 95
  - Christianity in, 502*(i)*, 545, 618, 618*(i)*
  - cities in, 352
  - civilizations of, 88–89
  - classes in, 89, 91, 93, 172, 177, 359–362
  - classical age in, 86
  - climate in, 88, 601–602, 603
  - coins in, 96*(i)*
  - communism in, 856, 870, 871*(d)*, 877, 878*(m)*, 922, 932, 934, 971

Confucianism in, 100–102
crops in, 89, 352, 352*(i)*, 601, 603
cultural impact of, 341
Cultural Revolution in, 921*(i)*, 972
culture in, 89, 91, 182
diseases in, 601, 603
dissidents in, 977*(d)*
dynasties in, 350
economy in, 93–95, 177, 187, 350–353, 362, 438, 602–603, 605, 617, 972–974, 984
elites in, 604
emigration from, 780–781, 782
emperors in, 603–605
England and, 489, 494, 620, 767–769
ethnic groups in, 182, 359–362
eunuchs in, 182, 188, 597
European trade and, 619
examination system in, 188, 353, 357*(b)*, 357*(i)*, 598–599, 603
expansion of, 594, 605
families in, 93, 101*(i)*, 102, 177–180, 599, 872
farming in, 91, 106, 173, 175, 177, 180*(i)*, 352, 352*(i)*, 601
foot binding in, 359, 360–361*(d)*, 361*(i)*
geography of, 88
giraffe in, 280*(i)*
government in, 93, 173, 175, 350, 603, 972
in Great Depression, 890
Great Leap Forward in, 932, 934
Great Wall in, 173
green revolution in, 1005
Han Dynasty in, 173–175, 174*(m)*
hereditary occupations in, 359
imperialism in, 758, 767–773, 870
industrialization and, 671, 672, 676
industry in, 91, 352, 362, 605, 890
infant deaths in, 771*(d)*
Inner Asia and, 175–177
intellectual thought in, 92, 103–108, 104*(d)*, 173–175, 870–872
internal problems of, 769–770
iron in, 93
Japan and, 190, 354*(m)*, 365, 601, 607, 608, 615, 772, 778, 870, 876–878, 890, 908, 914

Jesuits in, 502*(i)*, 545, 618*(i)*
Jin Dynasty in, 353
Jurchen people in, 348
Kangxi emperor of, 508
Khitans and, 348
Korea and, 186, 187, 191–192, 362, 363, 601, 778
land in, 177, 180, 601, 872, 877
Legalists in, 86, 105–107, 173
lifestyle in, 91, 93–95, 177–180, 599–601, 603
literature in, 93, 174, 181, 188–189, 190, 599, 601*(i)*
logographic writing in, 86, 92, 92*(i)*
lords in, 91, 93, 97
magnetic compass from, 243
Manchuria and, 88, 190, 603, 876, 877
manufacturing in, 605
medieval period in, 350–353
metallurgy in, 89, 91, 177, 352
migration in, 753
military in, 90, 172*(i)*, 182, 187, 353, 603
military technology in, 97–100
Ming Dynasty in, 596–603
missionaries in, 618, 769
Mongols and, 327, 328, 332, 348, 359–362, 594
as multiethnic empire, 594
Nanjing Treaty in, 769*(i)*
nationalism in, 724, 854, 857, 869, 876, 932
navigation instruments from, 442
Neolithic, 20*(i)*
nomads in, 88, 97, 175–177
Northern Dynasties in, 182
nuclear weapons testing and, 991
Opium War in, 767–769
painting in, 355*(d)*, 355*(i)*
paper in, 175
paper money in, 332*(d)*, 350, 350*(i)*
peasants in, 350
Philippines and, 767
philosophy in, 86, 100–102
poetry in, 93, 95, 188–189
politics in, 187
Polo in, 329

population of, 172–173, 177, 350, 489, 601, 603, 769, 780
porcelain in, 602, 605
Portuguese and, 616
poster art in, 933*(d)*, 933*(i)*
pottery in, 22*(i)*
poverty in, 353
printing in, 410
protests in, 871*(i)*
Qin Dynasty in, 95, 172–173
Qing Dynasty in, 494, 535, 594, 603–605
rebellions in, 182, 188
Red Turbans in, 596
as regional power, 990
religions in, 90, 100–102, 182, 188
republic in, 870
revolts in, 504
revolutions in, 773, 872
rice in, 89, 352, 352*(i)*, 597, 601
Rome and, 160, 180
Russia and, 605, 707
scholar-officials in, 173, 353–356, 357*(b)*, 357*(i)*, 362, 598–599
schools in, 248
sciences and, 534
Second World War and, 877
self-strengthening movement in, 770–772
Shang Dynasty in, 86, 89–92, 90*(m)*
silk in, 176
silver and, 458, 602–603, 617
slavery in, 91
social media in, 1007–1010
society in, 89, 90–91, 93–95, 182
Song Dynasty in, 348, 350–359, 355*(d)*
Southern Dynasties in, 182
spells in, 132*(d)*
Tang Dynasty in, 185, 187–189, 188*(m)*
taxation in, 106, 173, 177
textiles in, 179*(d)*, 605
Thais in, 340
trade in, 93–94, 96*(b)*, 131, 160, 170, 173, 174*(m)*, 176, 177, 187, 188, 350–352, 362, 489, 598, 602–603, 614, 620–621
Turks and, 187–188, 320

  unification of, 170, 196, 870, 876
  in United Nations, 924
  urban areas in, 187*(i)*, 599, 601
  use of term, 88
  Vietnam and, 186, 187, 190–191, 339, 340
  views of proper behavior in, 427*(d)*
  warlords in, 182, 353, 870, 871*(d)*, 877
  Warring States Period in, 87*(i)*, 90*(m)*, 93, 95–100, 97*(m)*, 103, 170, 608
  wealth in, 90, 93–95
  weapons in, 90, 97, 352
  Western views of, 545
  western world and, 160, 438, 619, 767–773, 770–772
  women in, 178*(d)*, 180, 184–185, 184–185*(d)*, 188, 356–359, 356*(i)*
  writing in, 86, 92, 173
  Yuan Dynasty in, 359
  Zhou Dynasty in, 86, 87*(i)*, 90*(m)*, 91*(i)*, 92–95
  Zimbabwe and, 966
Chinampa agriculture, 306, 308*(i)*
Chinese language, 248
  written form of, 170
Chinese people, as immigrants, 781, 782, 807
Chinggis Khan (Mongols), 238, 318, 323*(i)*, 326*(m)*
  Delhi sultanate and, 336
  Mongol Empire and, 323–325, 598
  Secret History of the Mongols and, 322, 324–325*(d)*
  successors to, 325–328
  wife of, 322
Chinoiserie, 558*(i)*
Chinos (slaves from East Indies), 460
Chintz (printed cotton), 491*(i)*
Chivalry, 390–391
Ch’oe Ch’ung-hon (Korea), 363
Chola state (India), 334, 341
Cholera, 708, 761
  reduction of deaths from, 1006
Cholula, 450
Chosŏn Dynasty (Korea), 191, 364, 615, 778
Christ. *See* Jesus Christ
Christendom. *See* Christianity and Christians

Christian Church, 200. *See also* Christianity and Christians; Church(es); Orthodox Christianity; Protestant Reformation; Roman Catholic Church
  clerical celibacy in, 380
  in Europe, 379–384
  growth of, 164, 208–211
  hierarchy in, 163
  medieval challenges to, 400
  schism in, 380
  secular authority of, 209
Christian humanists, 410
Christianity and Christians. *See also* Coptic Christians; Jesuits; Missions and missionaries; Monks and monasteries; Orthodox Christianity; Protestants and Protestantism; Roman Catholic Church; specific groups and orders
  in 14th century, 400
  as Abrahamic religion, 50, 962*(m)*
  African imperialism and, 732, 738*(i)*, 742
  Armenian, 859
  Armenian traders and, 522
  in China, 502*(i)*, 545, 618, 618*(i)*
  classical culture and, 211–212
  Clovis and, 221
  Constantine and, 208, 209
  conversion and, 218–219, 459–461
  Crusades and, 253, 384–388, 386–387*(d)*
  in England, 219
  in Ethiopia, 273–277, 274*(i)*
  evolution of, 163
  expansion of, 382–384
  after First World War, 845
  in French Revolution, 638
  humanism and, 408
  in Hungary, 379
  in Iberian Peninsula, 382
  in India, 490
  in Ireland, 219
  Islam and, 231, 238, 239
  in Japan, 608, 618
  Jews and, 388
  Mongols and, 329

  Muslims and, 251–253, 484–488
  Nestorian, 188
  Nicene, 208
  Nicopolis Battle and, 401*(d)*
  in Nubia, 273
  Ottomans and, 400, 473, 746
  persecution of, 165*(d)*
  in Philippines, 767
  rise of, 160–161
  in Rome, 164, 165*(d)*, 208
  in Russia, 382
  spread of, 162–163, 194, 218–219, 220*(m)*
  in Vietnam, 766
  women and, 162, 212
Christmas, 219
Chu (Chinese state), 95, 104*(d)*
Chulalongkorn (Siam), 767
Church(es). *See also* specific religions
  architecture of, 395
  in Nazi Germany, 902
  Protestants and, 500–501
Church and state
  in Ethiopia, 277
  in France, 418
  in Italy, 898
  Protestantism and, 424
  in Turkey, 862–863
Church councils. *See* Councils (Christian)
Churchill, Winston, 56
  on "iron curtain," 923
  Nazi Germany and, 903, 906
  Second World War and, 912–913
  at Yalta, 913, 913*(i)*
Church of England. *See* Anglican Church
CIA, in Latin America, 811
Cientificos (technocrats), 804
Cinco de Mayo, 793
Cinqué, Joseph (Sengbe Pieh), 729*(i)*
Ciompi revolt (Florence), 402
Circle of the Rue Royale, Paris, 1868, The, 674*(i)*
Circum-Caribbean region, 790, 799, 810, 811. *See also* Caribbean

region
Circumnavigation of globe, 448
Cirebon shipwreck, glassware from, 245*(i)*
Cities and towns. *See also* Urban areas; Urbanization; specific locations
  in Africa, 268
  in Americas, 290, 291, 314, 450, 450*(m)*
  building of, 479–480
  in China, 187, 187*(i)*, 188, 352, 601
  civilization and, 33, 34
  clergy in, 500
  in Egypt, 43
  Hellenistic, 129, 130–131
  in India, 62, 63, 64*(i)*, 335, 760
  industrialization and, 677, 679–680, 697, 708–709
  in Italy, 408, 417*(i)*
  in Japan, 608, 609
  in Korea, 363
  in medieval Europe, 391–392
  out-migration to, 996
  population in, 554, 626, 679
  revolts in, 402
  Roman, 148–149, 155–157
  Soviet, 894
  in Spanish America, 454, 652
  walls around, 392
Citizens and citizenship
  in Athens, 119, 120, 123
  in China and Rome compared, 180
  Greek, 116
  in Nazi Germany, 902
  rights in France, 628–629*(d)*
  in Rome, 144, 144*(m)*, 154
  in Sparta, 118–119
City-states
  Babylon as, 38–39
  in East Africa, 277–280, 564
  Etruscan, 142
  Greek, 116–118, 127
  Hausa, 570
  in Indian Ocean region, 445
  in Italy, 408

  in Maya region, 300
  in Mesoamerica, 288
  as republics, 517
  in Sumer, 116
  Swahili, 573, 574–577
  in Valley of Mexico, 306
City walls. *See* Walls
Civil Code (Napoleon, 1804), 642
Civil Constitution of the Clergy (France), 636
Civil disobedience, 867
  Gandhi on, 868*(d)*
Civilization(s). *See also* Culture(s); specific locations
  of Americas, 292–296
  of China, 88–92
  concept of, 32, 33, 34
  of India, 62–68, 63*(m)*
  of Mesopotamia, 34–39
  Western imperialism and, 741–742
Civil liberties, in First World War, 828
Civil rights. *See also* specific rights and freedoms
  for African Americans, 948, 949, 954
  for Jews, 722
Civil service. *See also* Bureaucracy; Civil service examination system
  in India, 760, 761–764
  in Korea, 362, 615
  in Nazi Germany, 902
Civil service examination system
  in China, 188, 353, 357*(b)*, 598–599, 603
  in Korea, 362, 615
Civil war(s)
  in Afghanistan, 976
  in Central America, 962–963
  in Congo, 970
  in England, 515–516, 516*(m)*
  in France, 503
  in Guatemala, 965*(i)*
  in Islam, 234
  in Japan, 594, 605, 606
  in Netherlands, 430–431
  in Rome, 140, 146, 149
  in Russia, 838–839, 839*(m)*

  - in Safavid Empire, 475
  - in Soviet Union, 893
  - in Spain, 888, 904
  - in Syria, 961
  - in United States, 631–632, 655, 790, 791, 796
  - in Yugoslavia (former), 980
- Clans. *See also* specific groups
  - in Africa, 264
  - in Japan, 364
  - Mongol, 322
  - nomad, 320
- Clark Air Base, Japanese attack on, 911
- Class. *See also* Caste system; Elites; Hierarchy; specific classes
  - in 19th century, 709–711
  - in Aztec Empire, 307–310
  - in barbarian society, 215, 216–217
  - in China, 89, 91, 93, 172, 177, 353, 359–362
  - clergy as, 503
  - communism and, 893
  - in Ethiopia, 274
  - in Europe, 388–392
  - in European colonies, 556
  - First World War and, 844
  - in France, 720
  - in Ghana, 270
  - imperialism and, 740
  - in India, 760, 761–764
  - in Islam, 268
  - in Italy, 898
  - in Japan, 773, 774
  - in Korea, 362–363
  - in Latin America, 454
  - liberal politics and, 694
  - merchants as, 503
  - nobles as, 503
  - peasants as, 503
  - religious life and, 381
  - in Rome, 145
  - in Russia, 527
  - social inequality and, 709–711
  - social order, peasants, and, 503

  in Sparta, 118–119
  women’s opportunities and, 1003
Class conflict
  Marx on, 696
  nationalism and, 719
Class-consciousness, 684
Classical culture. *See also* Classical period
  Christianity and, 211–212
  historical periods and, 166
  Muslims and, 534
  in Renaissance, 408, 410, 411–414
Classical economists. *See* Ricardo, David; Smith, Adam
Classical liberalism, 633
  U.S. Constitution and, 633
Classical period, in Greece, 114*(m)*, 120–127
Classic of Filial Piety (China), 101*(i)*, 180, 599
Classification systems
  for humans, 4–5, 9
  for living things, 537
Claudius (Rome), 154
Clemenceau, Georges, 840
Clement VII (Pope), 400, 426
Cleopatra VII (Egypt), 129, 149, 150*(b)*
Clergy, 626. *See also* Monks and monasteries; Nuns; Priests and priestesses; specific orders
  in Catholic Reformation, 428–430, 502
  celibacy of, 380
  as first order, 503
  in France, 634, 636
  immorality of, 420
  in Middle Ages, 400
  Protestant Reformation and, 420, 421, 421*(i)*, 500–501
  regular, 211
Clermont (steamship), 668
Climate. *See also* Little ice age
  in 14th century, 395
  in 17th century, 503
  in Africa, 260
  in Andean region, 292
  Bronze Age Collapse and, 47
  change in, 295

  - in China, 88, 601–602, 603
  - disease and, 572, 1006
  - in Ghana, 269
  - global warming and, 1000–1002, 1000*(i)*
  - hominids and, 6
  - in India, 62
  - in Korea and Japan, 192*(m)*
  - Mesopotamian, 34
  - Neolithic horticulture and, 13
  - of southern Africa, 281

Climate change, 998

Clinton, Hillary Rodham, 1003*(i)*

Clocks
  - in China, 619
  - pendulum, 535
  - time divisions and, 36

Cloistered government, in Japan, 364

Closed-country policy (Japan), 618

Cloth and clothing. *See also* Cotton and cotton industry; Silk; Textiles and textile industry
  - in India, 62, 855*(i)*
  - industrialization and, 662
  - in Japan, 612–613*(d)*
  - in Middle Ages, 392
  - Mongol, 322
  - from West Africa, 572
  - women and, 178*(i)*

Clotild (Franks), 221

Clove plantations, slaves for, 579, 731

Clovis (Franks), 220–221

Coal and coal mining. *See also* Mines and minerals
    in England, 662, 664–666, 678–679, 680–681*(d)*
Coal and Steel Community, 948
Coalitions, political, 720
Coca, 292
Cocoa holdups, 938–939
Code Noir (1685), 646
Code of Manu, 81
Codes of law. *See* Law codes; specific codes
Codex Chimalpopoca (Aztecs), 304*(d)*
Codex Telleriano (Aztecs), 305*(i)*
Coercive Acts (U.S., 1774), 631
Coffee and coffee industry
    in Brazil, 796, 799, 806
    in India, 760
    in Islamic lands, 482–484, 483*(i)*
    slaves for, 581
Coins
    in China, 96*(i)*, 614
    Cleopatra on, 150*(i)*
    in India, 77, 80, 81
    in Mogadishu, 280*(i)*
    Roman, 145*(i)*, 150*(b)*, 151
Coke, 667
Colbert, Jean-Baptiste (France), 521
    letters to, 510*(d)*
    mercantilism and, 513
Cold War
    Africa and, 938, 970
    arms race during, 990
    end of, 978–984, 980*(i)*
    in Europe (1950s), 923*(m)*, 947–948
    origins of, 920, 922
    totalitarianism and, 946
    Vietnam and, 935
Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, 719
Coliseum (Rome), 156*(i)*
Collective ritual, Sui, 252*(d)*
Collectivization
    apocalyptic visions of, 896*(d)*
    in China, 972

  - in Soviet Union, 894, 896–897*(d)*, 897*(i)*
- College of cardinals, 380
- Colleges. *See* Universities and colleges
- Cologne, 160
- Colombia, 651*(m)*, 653. *See also* Gran Colombia
  - Inca Empire and, 297
- Colonialism, 498, 724. *See also* Colonies and colonization; Imperialism; Nationalism; specific countries
  - in Africa, 258, 732–738
  - dependency theory and, 925, 927
  - end of, 950
  - Fukuzawa Yukichi and, 774–775*(d)*
  - legacies of, 951
  - Lerdo Law and, 793
  - neocolonialism and, 795
  - by United States, 767, 811
- Colonies and colonization. *See also* Imperialism; Revolution(s); specific countries and colonies
  - in 15th and 16th centuries, 444*(m)*
  - administration of American, 451–454
  - in Africa, 732–734
  - American Revolution and, 631–633, 632*(m)*
  - in Americas, 449–456
  - in Asia, 758, 856
  - Asia and European immigrants to, 780–781
  - in Brazil, 451
  - British, 662, 685, 751, 780
  - Chinese in, 617
  - Chinese migrants to, 753
  - Dutch, 765–766
  - elites in, 556
  - empires of, 519–522
  - European, 498, 732–734
  - exports from, 554
  - exports to, 674, 675
  - First World War and, 827, 842, 849–850, 856
  - French, 513, 521–522, 624, 698, 720
  - Greek, 118, 119*(m)*, 142
  - Indian trade and, 489–490
  - industrialization and, 783
  - Islamic empires and, 488

  - Japanese, 876
  - labor from India in, 782
  - leaders in, 742–743
  - mercantilism and, 522
  - mixed-race peoples and, 626–627
  - Nazi, 907
  - neocolonialism and, 998
  - Phoenician, 48–49, 48*(m)*
  - Portuguese, 451, 454, 517, 650, 966
  - Protestantism in, 427
  - settler, in Pacific Ocean region, 778–779
  - Spain and, 451–454, 517, 650–655, 651*(m)*
  - trade and, 506
  - in Vietnam, 766
  - wealth from, 458
- Color bar system, in southern Africa, 736
- Coloureds, in South Africa, 967
- Columbian exchange, 456
- **Columbus, Christopher**
  - Crusades and, 388
  - voyages to Americas, 446–447*(d)*, 446–448, 448*(m)*
- Combination Acts (England, 1799), 684–685
- Comedy, Greek, 121–122
- Comfort women, in Second World War, 911
- Comitatus (war band), in barbarian society, 216
- Commerce. *See also* Business; Trade; specific countries
  - Armenian, 490
  - in China, 350
  - Chinese migrants in, 781
  - Christian-Muslim contact and, 251
  - Dutch, 517, 519*(m)*
  - in East Africa, 278, 574*(m)*
  - in Egypt, 748
  - Hellenistic, 130–131
  - in India, 81, 334, 489–490
  - in Japan, 608
  - by minority groups, 522
  - in Ottoman Empire, 746
  - in South China Sea, 438
  - triangle trade in, 584
- Commercial revolution, 392–393

Committee of Public Safety (France), 638, 640
Common law, in England, 379
Common Market, 948, 982
Common people. *See also* Peasants; Serfs and serfdom
  Aztec, 307, 308–309
  in Egypt, 43
  as French third estate, 634
  in India, 68
  in Japan, 609–611
  literacy of, 395
  in Rome, 145
  in Russia, 527
Common Sense (Paine), 631
Commonwealth Immigration Restriction Act (Australia, 1901), 782
Communes, in China, 934
Communication(s)
  in Americas, 290
  in East Asia, 170
  England-India, 760
  Inca, 298, 300
  innovation in, 1010
  Mongols and, 326*(m)*, 329–333
  Persian, 54
  telegraph and, 680, 751
  vocal, 6
Communications technologies, 1006–1010
Communism. *See also* Bolsheviks; Communist Party; Marxism; Soviet Union
  in Africa, 970
  in China, 854, 877, 878*(m)*, 922
  collapse in Europe, 978–981
  in Cuba, 945–946, 945*(m)*
  after First World War, 839
  in Indochina, 879
  nationalist movements and, 962–963
  Nazis and, 902
  Russia after, 980–981
  in Soviet Union, 856, 892, 893–898, 922
  totalitarianism and, 892
  in Yugoslavia, 980
Communist Manifesto, The (Marx and Engels), 696

Communist Party. *See also* Communism; Marxism
    in China, 870, 871*(d)*, 971
    in France, 888
    in Nazi Germany, 901
    in Poland, 978
    in Russia/Soviet Union, 839, 895, 980
Communist Third International, 870
Community. *See also* specific locations
    in Atlantic world, 556–558
    in Senegambia, 567
Community Compact for Southern Ganzhou (Wang Yangming), 427*(d)*
Comonfort, Ignacio, 793
Company of the East Indies (France), 513
Compass, 243, 352, 442, 446
    in China, 534
Compendious History of the Cotton-Manufacture, 1823, The (Guest), 682–683*(d)*
Competition, imperialism and, 739
Computers, 1006
    digital divide and, 1010
    personal, 1007
Comuneros Revolt (New Granada), 652
Concentration camps, in Holocaust, 885*(i)*, 902, 908, 908*(i)*
Concertación (Chile), 964
Concilium plebis (Rome), 146
Concord, Massachusetts, fighting at, 631
Concordat of 1801, 642
Concubines, 23
    in China, 358
    in Egypt, 43
    Inca, 289*(i)*
    Ottoman, 473, 474*(b)*
    slaves as, 239, 473
    West African women as, 730–731
Condition of the Working Class in England, The (Engels), 684
Condorcanqui, José Gabriel. *See* Tupac Amaru II (Peru)
Condorcet, **marquis de**, 547–548
Confederate States of America, 796
Confederations. *See also* German Confederation
    Mongol, 238
    nomad, 320

Confession, Christian, 219
Confessions, The (Augustine), 213
Conflict. *See* War(s) and warfare; specific battles and wars
Confucius and Confucianism, 127, 535
    in China, 86, 100–102, 177
    Confucian classics, 173, 353
    Daoism and, 103–105
    European thinkers on, 545
    government and, 102, 103*(d)*
    spread of, 100–101
    teachings of, 102–103*(d)*, 356, 598–599
Congo. *See also* Belgian Congo; Congo Free State; Kongo kingdom
    Belgium and, 732, 734, 734*(i)*
    cash crops in, 734
    health in, 1006
    Jesuits in, 430
Congo Free State, 732, 734, 734*(i)*, 735*(d)*
Congo River region, 263, 264, 732
Congress of Berlin (1878), 747
Congress of People's Deputies (Soviet Union), 978
Congress of Vienna (1815), 692, 693*(i)*, 697, 701
Congress Party (India). *See* Indian National Congress Party
Connecticut, 519
Conquest. *See* Colonies and colonization; Exploration; specific countries
Conquest of the Desert (Argentina), 802
Conquistadors, 311, 312, 313*(d)*, 450–451
    indigenous workers and, 454
Conrad, Joseph, 742
Conscription. *See* Draft (military)
Conservative authoritarianism, 890
Conservative Party (England), 844, 888, 889*(d)*
Conservatives and conservatism
    after 1815, 690, 692–693, 697
    French Revolution and, 636–637
    new, in Germany, 706
Consistory (Geneva), 426–427
Constance, council of, 400
Constantine (Rome), 163, 164, 165*(d)*, 202, 208, 209
Constantine V (Byzantine Empire), 213
Constantinople, 164, 202. *See also* Istanbul

- Crusades and, 206, 384, 385
- fall to Ottomans, 534
- in First World War, 826
- after First World War, 862
- lifestyle in, 206–208
- Ottomans in, 470, 470*(i)*, 471, 523
- patriarch of, 380, 400
- size of, 392

Constituent Assembly
- in France, 698
- in Russia, 834, 838–839

Constitution(s)
- in Brazil, 795
- in China, 972
- in EU, 983
- in France, 635, 642, 698
- in German Confederation, 701
- in Mexico, 806
- in Nigeria, 959
- Ottoman, 746
- in Russia, 708
- in Sudan, 731
- in United States, 424, 633, 790, 791, 796, 798
- in Venezuela, 652–653

Constitutional Charter (France), 693, 698

Constitutional Convention (U.S.), 633

Constitutionalism, 498, 506
- in Americas, 790
- in England and Dutch Republic, 514–517
- in Japan, 775

Constitutionalists (Mexico), 805, 806

Constitutional monarchy
- in England, 514, 516
- in France, 624, 635–636
- in Germany, 775
- in Russia, 834

Constitution of Cadiz (1812), 652

Consuls (Rome), 143, 146

Consumer revolution and consumerism, 558*(i)*
- in Atlantic world, 551, 626

Consumption

  carbon emissions and, 1000
  European, 532, 556
  by workers, 679
Containment policy, 927
Continental Europe. *See also* Europe
  industrialization in, 660, 672, 673*(m)*
Continental System, of Napoleon, 643
Contraceptives. *See* Birth control
Contras, in Nicaragua, 963
Convention. *See* National Convention (France)
Convention People's Party (Ghana), 940
Convents, 381. *See also* Monks and monasteries; Nuns
  in Ethiopia, 274
  Reformation and, 425
Conversations on the Plurality of Worlds, 541*(i)*
Conversion. *See also* Missions and missionaries; specific religions
  to Christianity, 163, 218–219, 459–461, 742
  of Clovis, 221
  of French Protestants to Catholicism, 541
  to Islam, 251, 485, 488
  Islamic social status and, 238
  of Mongols, 322
  in New Spain, 462
Conversos (Spanish Jewish converts, New Christians), 419
Convicts, in Australia, 778
Cook, James, 778
Copán, 300
Copernican hypothesis, 536, 536*(i)*
Copernicus, Nicolaus, 536, 539, 540
Copper, 24
  in Chile, 963
Coptic Christians, 209, 238, 273, 573, 574
Coques, Gonzales, *Young Scholar and His Wife, The*, 518*(i)*
Coral Sea, Battle of the, 914
Córdoba, Argentina, 949
Córdoba, Spain, 206, 228
  culture in, 246, 534
  mosque and cathedral in, 380*(i)*
  size of, 392
  Umayyads in, 382
Cordobazo, 949

Corinth, 114*(m)*, 127*(i)*
Corn. *See* Maize
Cornwallis, Charles, 491
Coromandel coast, India, 438
Coronation
    of Charlemagne, 222
    of Ethiopian rulers, 275*(b)*
Corporate banking, 673–674
Corporation, multinational, 998
Corpus Juris Civilis (Justinian), 203
Correia, Mae Aurélia, 585
Corruption, in Nigeria, 958
Cort, Henry, 667
Cortés, Hernán, 306, 311–312, 449*(i)*, 450
    Doña Marina and, 453*(i)*
    letter to Charles I, 452*(d)*
Cosimo de' Medici, 409*(b)*
Cosmology
    of Aristotle, 535
    Aztec, 304*(d)*
    Chinese, 173–174
    in India, 69
    mathematics and, 537
Cossacks, 522, 524–525, 526, 527, 548–550
Costa Rica, 791, 810, 963
Cottage industry, 551, 554*(i)*
    after 1815, 679, 697
    in England, 662*(m)*, 663, 664
    vs. factory work, 676–677
Cotton and cotton industry
    in Americas, 796
    in China, 352, 601
    in England, 663–664
    factories in, 676–677
    in India, 438, 489, 491*(i)*, 674, 675*(d)*, 676*(i)*, 760
    in Japan, 611
    manufacturing and, 663
    in Mexico, 293
    slavery and, 685
    steam power in, 667
    in West Africa, 572

Councils (Christian)
    of Constance, 400
    in Eastern Church, 209
    Lateran, 380
    of Nicaea, 208–209
    of Trent, 428, 502
Councils (civil). *See* Assemblies; specific locations
Counter-Reformation, 428, 502
Countryside. *See* Rural areas
Coups d'état
    in Argentina, 964
    in France, 640, 698
    against Gorbachev, 980
    in Guatemala, 927, 963
    in Latin America, 927
Court (law)
    in French Revolution, 638
    in India, 764*(i)*
    in medieval Europe, 379
    Parlement of Paris as, 379, 508
Court (royal)
    in Ethiopia, 275*(b)*
    in Ghana, 270
    of Harun al-Rashid, 246
Courtesans, in Greece, 123*(i)*
Courtiers, in Japan, 364
Courtly love, 390–391*(d)*, 391, 478*(i)*
Covenant
    between Jews and Yahweh, 50
    of League of Nations, 840, 856
Cowrie shells, trade and, 572
Cradles of civilization, 33
Craft guilds, 392. *See also* Guilds
Crafts and craft workers
    in China, 177
    in England, 685
    in European Middle Ages, 392
    Greek, 120*(i)*, 122
    in India, 62
    in Japan, 614*(i)*
    sciences and, 540

Cranach, Lucas, the Elder, on Luther's wedding, 425*(i)*
Crash (financial). *See* Financial crash; Stock market crash
Crassus (Rome), 149
Creation accounts, history and, 2
Credit. *See* Great Depression; Wealth
Creoles, 455, 506, 558, 646
  Enlightenment and, 558–560
  Latin American independence and, 650–655
  use of term, 556
Crete, 114–115, 114*(m)*
Crime. *See also* Law(s); Law codes
  barbarian punishment of, 217
Crimean War, 705*(m)*, 706
Crisis, 17th-century age of (Europe), 503–506
Crisis of the 3rd century (Rome), 163, 164
Croatia, 980, 981*(m)*
Croats, in Austrian Empire, 700
Cro-Magnon peoples, 8
Cromer, Lord. *See* Baring, Evelyn
Crompton, Samuel, 664, 665*(b)*
Cromwell, Oliver, 515–516, 522, 663
Crops. *See also* >specific crops and types
  in 16th century, 551
  in Africa, 263
  in Americas, 19, 288, 291, 292
  in Asia, 19
  in China, 89, 352, 352*(i)*, 601, 603
  in Columbian exchange, 456
  development of, 19
  food yield of, 10, 18
  green revolution and, 1005
  in India, 62, 336
  introduced into Europe, 551
  of Maya, 300
  from New World in Asia, 617
  North American, 293
  planting of, 13–19
  spread of, 18, 18–19*(m)*
  sugar as, 457
  Swahili, 575
  in West Africa, 571

Crossbow, in China, 97
Cross-cultural connections. *See also* Silk Road; Trade; specific issues
  with Africa, 284–285
  Afroeurasian trade world and, 438–441
  in Asia, 318
  Atlantic revolutions era and, 625*(i)*
  attitude and belief changes from, 459–464
  Celtic-Roman connections, 217–218
  in Central and southern Asia, 318
  Chinese and European views on behavior, 427*(d)*
  Christian-Muslim, 251–253
  in East Africa, 278, 573–577
  in East Asia, 190–194
  East-West communication and, 329–333
  in Eurasia, 196–197
  Indian, 80–81, 82
  in Islam, 478
  Mongols and, 329–333
  along Silk Road, 131, 182, 203
  trade and, 24–26, 243*(m)*, 532, 534–535
Crowder, Enoch, 811
Crucifixion
  of Japanese Christians, 618
  of Jesus, 162
Crusader states, 384, 385
Crusades, 253, 384–388, 385*(m)*
  consequences of, 385–388
  in Constantinople, 206
  course of, 384–385
  Islam and, 253
  Nicopolis Battle and, 401
  spice introductions and, 441
  Turks and, 237–238
Cruz, Oswaldo, antimosquito campaign of, 1008*(i)*
Crystal Palace, 668, 670*(i)*
Ctesiphon, Iraq, 232–233
Cuauhtemoc (Aztec Empire), 312
Cuba. *See also* Castro, Fidel
  abolition of slavery in, 798–799, 813–814*(d)*
  Angola and, 966, 967
  Chinese labor for, 782

  Columbus in, 446*(d)*
  communism in, 945–946, 945*(m)*
  embargo on, 945
  independence of, 798, 811
  slavery in, 589, 655, 730, 798–799, 812–813*(d)*
  Spain and, 449, 655, 798–799, 811
  Spanish-American War and, 811–812
  United States and, 811–812, 879*(i)*, 945
Cuban missile crisis, 945, 947
Cuban Revolution, 942, 945–946
Cubells y Ruiz, Enrique Martínez, 715*(i)*
Cubism, 848
Cueva de las Manos (Cave of the Hands), Argentina, 15*(i)*
Cugoana, Ottbah, 547
Cults. *See also* Mystery religions
  in Africa, 731
  in China, 89, 95
  Inca, 296
  of Isis, 133, 133*(i)*
  of Maitreya Buddha, 596
  of *Roma et Augustus*, 151
  Roman, 161
  of saints, 381
  Tonghak movement (Korea), 778
Cultural exchange. *See* Cross-cultural connections; specific cultures
Cultural Revolution (China), 921*(i)*, 972
Culture(s). *See also* Art(s); Bronze Age; Civilization(s); Classical period; Cross-cultural connections; Enlightenment; Neolithic era; Scientific Revolution; Writing; specific cultures
  agriculture and, 17
  in Andes region, 296
  Arabic language and, 249
  in Asia, 783
  Athenian, 121–122
  in Atlantic world, 556–558
  in Australia, 779
  Bantu, 263–264
  in China, 89, 91, 182, 187, 188–189, 534, 872
  Chinese influence on East Asian, 190–194
  Crusades and, 388
  in East Asia, 190–195, 348

  Enlightenment and, 545–546, 549*(d)*
  Etruscan, 142
  European, 534
  expansionism and, 459–464
  French, 514, 638
  Greek influence on Roman, 147
  Hellenistic, 127, 129–130
  in Inca Empire, 298
  of India, 80–81, 82, 334–336, 338–341
  of Indian Ocean region, 438–439
  Islamic, 228, 246–251, 268, 478–484
  in Japan, 192, 364–366, 369–370, 605, 606, 775
  in Korea, 191–192
  language and, 157, 249
  in medieval Europe, 393–395
  Minoan, 115
  Muslim, 534
  in Nile Valley, 38*(m)*
  Paleolithic, 11–13
  railroad and, 668
  regional, 333–338
  Renaissance (European), 408–415
  Roman, 147–148, 153
  in southwest Asia, 32–39, 38*(m)*
  Soviet, 895
  Srivijayan, 341
  in stateless societies, 269
  Swahili, 278, 574–575
  Tamil, 81–82
  in Teotihuacan, 302
  of Turks, 859, 862–863
Culture System (Indonesia), 766
Cuneiform writing, 32*(i)*, 35, 37
Curie, Marie and **Pierre**, 845
Currency. *See also* Coins; Money; Paper money
  in Brazil, 965
  Cowrie shells as, 572
  euro as, 982, 983
Cush, 461
Customs union. *See Zollverein*
Cuzco and Cuzco region, 296, 297, 312, 450, 451

  - Andean Indian rebellion in, 651*(m)*, 652
- **Cybele** (god), 129
- Cylinder seals, 32*(i)*, 40*(i)*
- Cyprus
  - Britain and, 747
  - Ottomans and, 472
- **Cyril**, Slavic alphabet of, 382
- Cyrus Cylinder, 54*(d)*
- **Cyrus the Great** (Persia), 50, 53, 54*(d)*
- Czechoslovakia
  - after First World War, 842
  - Nazi Germany and, 903*(i)*, 904–905, 904*(m)*
  - Soviets and, 922–923, 978, 979*(b)*
  - Velvet Revolution in, 978, 979*(b)*
- Czech people, in Austrian Empire, 700
- Czech Republic. *See* Bohemia; Czechoslovakia

D

Da Asia (Barros), 282*(d)*
Dadaism, 848
Da Gama, Vasco, 444–445, 575
Dahlak Archipelago, 273
Dahomey (modern Benin), slave trade in, 585–588
Daily life. *See* Lifestyle
Daimyo (Japan), 606, 607, 608–609, 609*(i)*, 773
Dalai Lama, 598
Dalí, Salvador, 848
Damascus, 861
  Islam and, 234, 235
Da Nang, 190
Dante, 253
Danton, Georges Jacques, 638
Danube River region, 152, 157, 163, 202
Danzig, 905
Dao and Daoism, 86, 103–105
Daoqiong, 185*(d)*
Daozong, 185*(d)*
Dardanelles, 826
Darfur, Islam in, 268
Darius I (Persia), 31*(i)*, 53, 55, 77
Darius III (Persia), 130*(i)*
Dark Ages
  in Greece, 116
  in Merovingian period, 224
  use of term, 374
Darwin, Charles, 714–715
Dating systems, 5n
Daughter of Han, A (Ning Lao), 873*(b)*
Dauphin. *See* Charles VII (France)
David (Michelangelo), 414*(i)*
David, Jacques-Louis, 635*(i)*, 642*(i)*
David of Bethlehem (Hebrews), 50
Dawes, Charles G., and Dawes Plan, 844

D-Day. *See* Normandy, France, invasion in
Deane, John, on Russia, 524–525*(d)*
Death, in religious traditions, 381
Death camps. *See* Concentration camps
Death penalty, abolition in France, 698
Death rates
    of children, 17, 679, 1006
    decline in, 708
    in Japan, 776
    in slave trade, 457–458
Debate about women, 417–418
De Beers mining company, 736
De Bry, Theodore, 457*(i)*
Debt
    in Brazil, 965
    in France, 634
    Great Depression and, 886, 890
    in Mexico, 957
    neoliberalism and, 957
    in Nigeria, 958
    after Seven Years' War, 631
Decameron, The (Boccaccio), 398*(d)*
Deccan region, 62, 492
De-Christianization, in French Revolution, 638
Decimal point notation, 302, 534
Decimal system, in France, 638
Declaration of Independence
    in United States, 631, 632*(i)*, 654*(d)*
    in Venezuela, 652–653, 654*(d)*
    in Vietnam, 936*(d)*
Declaration of Pillnitz, 637
Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (France), 628*(d)*, 634–635, 699*(d)*, 878
Decline of the West, The (Spengler), 847
Decolonization
    in Africa, 920, 938–940, 939*(m)*, 942
    in Asia, 932, 932*(m)*, 934–935, 938
    Fanon on, 927–928
    after First World War, 842, 849–850
    in French Africa, 942
    Portuguese, 938, 942, 966

- radicalism in, 954
- in Vietnam War, 935
- women after, 1003

Deductive reasoning, 539, 542
Defand, Madame du, 549*(d)*
Defensive alliances. *See* Alliance(s)
Deflation
- in China, 603
- in Japan, 971

Deforestation, in India, 760
Degar people, 938
De Gaulle, Charles, 940, 942
De Humani Corporis Fabrica (On the Structure of the Human Body), 540
Deindustrialization, 676
Deism, 543
Deities. *See* Gods and goddesses; specific religions and deities
Dekasegi (temporary guest workers), 993
De Klerk, Frederik W., 970
Delacroix, Eugène, 718
Delaunay, Robert, 847*(i)*
Delhi, India
- Babur's capture of, 476
- as Mughal capital city, 479

Delhi sultanate, 327, 336, 476
Delian League, 121, 121*(m)*
Della Robia, Luca, 413*(i)*
Delphi, Pythian games at, 126
Demilitarized zone, in Rhineland, 903
Democracy(ies). *See also* specific locations
- in Africa, 971
- in Athens, 119
- in Brazil, 966
- in China, 972, 973*(d)*, 974–975*(d)*
- in First World War, 828
- after First World War, 844
- in Greece, 117
- in India and Pakistan, 974–976
- in Japan, 872
- nationalism and, 695
- in South Africa, 970

  in South Korea, 972
  in Soviet Union, 978
  Sun Yatsen on, 870
Democracy Wall Movements (China), 972, 974–975*(d)*
Democratic Republic of the Congo (Belgian Congo), 942, 970, 990
Democritus (philosopher), 126
Demography. *See also* Diseases; Education; Population
  of Africa during slave trade, 588
  of China, 769
  European changes in, 551
  of Latin America, 626–627
Demoiselles d'Avignon, Les (Picasso), 848
Demonstrations (protests)
  in China, 972, 973*(d)*
  in Tunisia, 960
Dengel, Lebna (Ethiopia), 564, 573
Dengue virus, 572, 1006, 1008*(d)*
Deng Xiaoping (China), 972
Denmark. *See also* Scandinavia
  Nazis and, 906, 907
  trading posts of, 522
  Vikings from, 376
Dependency theory, 925, 927
  Furtado on, 926*(d)*
De-Perónization, 944
Deportation, of Persian Armenians, 486–487*(d)*
Depressions (economic). *See* Great Depression; Recessions
Dervishes, Sufi, 238 251
Descartes, René, 539, 540, 542
Description of the World (Polo), 245*(d)*, 329, 331*(d)*
Deserts. *See* specific locations
Deshima, 618
Despotism, 627, 634
Dessalines, Jean Jacques, 648, 649*(b)*, 650
De-Stalinization, 946, 947
Détente policy, 978
Determinism, Spinoza and, 542
Developed countries. *See* First World
Developing countries. *See also* Third World
  urban migration in, 996
Devshirme, slave trade and, 473

Dewey, George, 767
Dharasana, violence at, 868
Dharma (moral law), 76
Dhimmis (non-Muslims), 238–239
Di (god), 86
Dialects, vernacular, 395
Dialogue on the Two Chief Systems of the World (Galileo), 540
Dialogues for the City and the Countryside (Ishida Baigan), 613*(d)*
Diamonds
    in Angola, 966
    in South Africa, 736
Diarbakr, Mesopotamia, Safavids and, 475
Diaz, Bartholomew, 444
Díaz, Porfirio, 790–791, 793, 804
Díaz del Castillo, Bernal, 452–453*(d)*, 462*(d)*
Di Bella, José Maria, 1002*(i)*
Dictators and dictatorships. *See also* specific dictators and locations
    in Africa, 970
    in Brazil, 965–966
    in China, 870
    disintegration of, 985
    in Egypt, 960
    in Germany, 901–902
    Islamic, 959
    in Italy, 899
    in Latin America, 811, 890, 962–963
    Napoleon as, 640, 641
    in Portugal, 966
    radical totalitarian, 890–893
    in Rome, 149
    in Russia, 838–839
    in Spain, 892*(i)*
    U.S. support of, 811
    after World War I, 884
Diderot, Denis, 549*(d)*
    on China, 545
    Encyclopedia, 543, 544, 547
    “Supplement to Bougainville’s Voyage,” 546–547*(d)*
Dido, 151–152
Dien Bien Phu, Battle of, 935
Diet (food). *See also* Food(s)

    in Americas, 291–292, 293
    animal milk and, 19–21
    bread in, 389*(i)*
    in China, 601
    in Greece, 122
    in India, 336
    Mongol, 322
    Paleolithic, 10–11
    peasant, 389, 389*(i)*
    potato in, 551
    in West Africa, 571
Diet (Japanese parliament), 775, 934
Diet of Worms, 422
Differentiation, 9
    social, 11
Digital divide, 1010
Digital revolution, 989*(i)*, 1006–1010
Dioceses
    Arian Christian, 219
    Christian, 208, 382
    Roman, 208
Diocletian (Rome), 163–164, 165*(d)*, 208
Diplomacy. *See also* specific countries and events
    "congress system" of, 692
    gunboat, 773
    imperialism and, 739
    in Mali, 272
    in Renaissance, 419
Directory (French Revolution), 640, 641–642
Dirty war, in Argentina, 964–965, 1007
Disarmament, of Germany, 903
Discovery. *See* Voyages of exploration; specific discoveries
Discrimination. *See also* specific groups
    against Asians, 753
    gay rights and, 1002
    against immigrants, 993
    against Jews, 722, 752
    migration and, 752, 995
    racial, 591
    against women, 712–713, 971
Diseases. *See also* Black Death (plague); Epidemics; HIV/AIDS;

  Medicine; specific diseases
    in American colonies, 454–455
    in Americas, 288, 312, 314, 450, 572, 580
    from animals, 21
    Australian Aborigines and, 778
    in Byzantium, 195*(d)*, 206
    in Central Asia, 329–332
    in China, 603
    in Columbian exchange, 456
    European, 312, 314
    germ theory of, 708, 1006
    in India, 761
    in Japan, 194, 195*(d)*
    in South America, 506
    venereal, 711
    in West Africa, 571
Dissidents
    Havel as, 979*(b)*
    Liu Xiaobo as, 977*(d)*
    Soviet Union and, 946–947
    Suu Kyi as, 977*(d)*
Diversity, in Africa, 260
Divine right of kings
    in England, 514–515, 516
    in France, 508
Divinity. *See also* Gods and goddesses; Religion(s); specific divinities
    of Jesus, 162
Division of labor, by gender, 10, 11, 17, 677–679, 712
Divorce
    in Fascist Italy, 900
    in France, 635
    in Japan, 611
    in Judaism, 242
    in Muslim law, 242
    in Protestantism, 424
    in Southeast Asia, 439
    in Soviet Union, 895
    in Turkey, 863
Diwali (festival), 488
Diwān, 234, 236
Dix, Otto, 848

DNA
  human evolution and, 4
  mitochondrial, 6
Doctors. *See* Medicine
Dogs, domestication of, 19
Dome of the Rock mosque (Jerusalem), 231*(i)*
Domestication
  of animals, 19–21, 62, 263, 290
  codependent, 19
  pastoralism and, 18–19*(m)*
  of plants, 13–19
Domestic service. *See also* Indentured labor
  in England, 684
  middle class and, 710
Dominican order, 381, 459–461, 618
Dominican Republic, 810. *See also* Haiti; Hispaniola
Donatello, 414
Dongola, Nubia, 273
Dowry, in Athens, 123
Draco (Athens) and *draconian*, 119
Draft (military)
  in France, 640
  in Germany, 903
  in Japan, 774
Drama. *See* Theater
Dreyfus, Alfred, 720, 721*(i)*
Dreyfus affair, 720–721, 721*(i)*
Dualism, Cartesian, 539
Dual monarchy, Austria-Hungary as, 722
Dubček, Alexander, 979*(b)*
Dublin, 426
Du Bois, W. E. B., 938
Duchamp, Marcel, 848
“Dulce et Decorum Est” (Owen), 825*(d)*
Duma (Russia), 708, 834
Dunhuang, 179*(i)*, 182, 183*(i)*
Dunlop, John, 734
Dura-Europos (Roman camp), 161*(i)*
Dutch. *See also* East Indies; Holland; Low Countries; Netherlands
  17th-century commerce and, 519*(m)*
  American Revolution and, 632

  - in Americas, 517
  - in Benin, 568
  - in Cape Colony, 734
  - Chinese and, 617
  - colonization by, 519
  - Congress of Vienna and, 692
  - constitutionalism and, 516–517
  - East Asian trade and, 619
  - England and, 522
  - in Grand Alliance (1701), 512
  - independence for, 430–431
  - India and, 760
  - Japan and, 618, 619*(i)*, 911
  - Java and, 766
  - Navigation Acts and, 522
  - Nazi New Order and, 907
  - New York colony and, 521
  - Protestantism and, 427, 430–431, 431*(i)*
  - republican government in, 514
  - slave trade and, 581
  - in southern Africa, 734, 735
  - Spain and, 431, 502, 507
  - trade and, 458–459, 517, 616
- Dutch East India Company, 458–459, 489, 517
  - Dutch government and, 766
  - slave trade and, 577–578
- Dutch East Indies. *See* East Indies; Indonesia
- Dutch Empire, 498
  - in 1914, 765*(m)*
- Dutch Republic (United Provinces of the Netherlands), 431, 506, 507, 516–517. *See also* Dutch
  - Enlightenment in, 541
  - France and, 638
  - Huguenots in, 541
  - independence of, 430–431, 503, 507
  - painting in, 518*(d)*
- Dutch West India Company, 517
  - slave trade and, 457
- “Duties Towards Your Country” (Mazzini), 702*(d)*
- **Dyer, Reginald**, 866
- Dynastic cycle, 350

Dynastic principle, in China and Rome, 180
Dynasties. *See* Empire(s); specific dynasties and empires
Dzungar Mongols, Qing China and, 605

E

Early Horizon period, in Andes region, 295, 296
Earth-centered solar system, 535
Earthquakes, in Mexico City (1986), 957
East Africa. *See also* specific locations
  in 16th century, 574*(m)*
  agriculture in, 264
  British railway poster from, 752*(i)*
  city-states of, 277–280
  cross-cultural connections in, 278, 573–577
  early descriptions of, 262*(d)*
  economy in, 573
  giraffe in, 280*(i)*
  gold in, 279–280, 577
  Homo sapiens from, 6
  human origins in, 5
  Ibn Battuta on, 278–279
  ironworking in, 264
  Islam in, 575, 731
  Lamu in, 576*(d)*
  Muslims in, 268, 277, 278–279*(d)*
  Portugal and, 279–280, 573, 575–577
  slavery in, 731
  slave trade and, 280, 579, 730
  Swahili civilization in, 260
  trade in, 575
East Asia, 170. *See also* >specific locations
  800–1400, 348
  in 1000 and 1200, 354*(m)*
  in 15th–18th centuries, 494
  1400–1800, 594
  ca. 1600, 615*(m)*
  Buddhism in, 170, 182
  cross-cultural connections in, 190–194
  cultures in, 190–194, 348
  economy and, 984

  Europe and, 494
  First World War and, 827
  HIV/AIDS in, 1007*(m)*
  Japan and, 872
  languages in, 190
  nationalism in, 869–878
  Russia and, 707
  trade in, 438, 619–620
  world economy and, 984
Easter, 219
Easter Island, 343–344, 343*(i)*, 778
Eastern Christian Church. *See* Orthodox Christianity
Eastern Europe. *See also* sy>pecific locations
  anti-Semitism in, 723
  Christianity in, 382
  conservative authoritarianism in, 890
  Enlightenment in, 544
  EU and, 982, 983
  after First World War, 840, 842, 844
  gardens in, 481
  Hitler and, 906
  Hungarian kingdom in, 379
  Jewish immigration from, 864
  migrants to, 995
  movement of peoples from, 983–984
  nationalism in, 695
  nomads in, 218
  Orthodox Christianity in, 501*(m)*
  Protestantism and, 501
  revolutions in, 978
  Russia and, 523
  after Second World War, 946
  serfs in, 378
  Soviets and, 922, 946, 978
Eastern front, in First World War, 818, 824, 849
Eastern Orthodox Christianity. *See* Orthodox Christianity
Eastern Roman Empire, 163–164, 200, 218. *See also* Byzantine Empire; Rome (ancient)
Eastern Turks, 320. *See also* Turks
Eastern world, East-West communication and, 329–333
Easter Rebellion (Ireland), 830

East Germany, 947–948
    Berlin Wall and, 947
    reunification with West Germany, 978
East India Company
    British, 489, 490–491, 490*(m)*, 631, 663, 675*(d)*, 760, 761, 762*(d)*
    Dutch, 458–459, 489, 517
East India Company Act (England, 1784), 491
East Indies. *See also* specific locations
    Dutch in, 765–766
    Japan and, 911
Ecclesia (Greek assembly of citizens), 120
Ecclesiastical Ordinances for the City of Geneva (Calvin), 427*(d)*
Echeverría, Luis, 957
Ecology
    environmentalism and, 1000
    settler impact on, 344
Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), 925
Economic liberalism, 544
    multinational corporations and, 998
Economic nationalism, 942
Economics, equality in, 626, 627, 696, 709
Economic specialization, 710
Economic zone, Japanese in Asia, 908
Economy. *See also* Global economy; Great Depression; Labor; Slaves and slavery; Trade; specific locations
    in 16th century, 458
    in 17th century, 503, 504
    in 18th century, 626
    in Africa, 260, 585–589
    in African colonies, 737–738
    Arab, 230
    in Argentina, 943, 964, 965
    in Asia, 971–974
    of Atlantic region, 551–556, 555*(m)*
    of barbarian groups, 215
    bazaar, 996, 996*(i)*
    in Brazil, 943, 945, 965–966
    in Burma, 764
    in Chile, 963–964
    in China, 93–95, 177, 187, 350–353, 362, 438, 602–603, 605, 617, 769, 872, 972–974, 984

in Constantinople, 206
crisis in 2008, 983–984
dependency and development theories and, 925, 927
in East Africa, 573
in eastern Europe, 980
in Egypt, 748
in England, 662, 668, 685, 913
Enlightenment and, 627
EU and, 982
in Europe, 697–698
European expansion and, 441
in First World War, 824
in France, 635
in French Revolution, 638
in Germany, 900
global, 750–752, 993, 997*(m)*
in Great Depression, 886
in Greece, 984
Hellenistic, 130–131
in India, 81, 334, 336, 760–761, 975–976
of indigenous Americans, 454–455
industrialization and, 660, 662
in Japan, 608, 776, 872, 971
in Korea, 364, 615
Kushite, 48
laissez faire and, 693–694
in Latin America, 655, 675, 799, 802
in Malaya, 764
Maya, 300–301
mercantilism and, 513, 522
in Mexico, 804
moral, 504
multinational corporations and, 998
neoliberalism and, 957
New Imperialism and, 739
oil embargo and, 956
plague's impact on, 397
in Poland, 978
railroads and, 667–668
Roman, 149, 157
in Roman Empire, 164

- in Russia, 706–707, 980
- Sassanid, 203
- slavery and, 685
- slave trade impact on, 589
- in Songhai, 568
- Soviet, 893, 913
- in Spanish Empire, 454, 506–507
- Swahili, 575
- in Taiwan, 972
- in United States, 791, 956
- in West Africa, 572

Ecosystems. *See* Environment

Ecuador
- Inca and, 297, 312
- independence of, 651*(m)*, 653
- language in, 297
- women in, 943

Edessa, 384

Edicts
- of Milan, 165*(d)*
- of Nantes, 430, 507–508
- of Toleration, 165*(d)*

Edinburgh, Enlightenment in, 543–544

Edo. *See* Tokyo (Edo), Japan

Edo period (Japan), 608–611
- clothing in, 612–613*(d)*
- kabuki theater in, 610*(d)*

Education. *See also* Intellectual thought; Learning; School(s)
- access to, 1003
- in Afghanistan, 863–864
- of Catholic clergy, 428, 502
- for children, 1005
- in China, 188, 248, 354, 598
- in Córdoba, 246
- in Dutch East Indies, 766
- in Egypt, 750
- in England, 662
- in Europe, 248, 681
- in France, 720
- humanist, 410
- in India, 761, 762–763*(d)*

  - Islam and, 246–248
  - Jesuits and, 618
  - in Ottoman Empire, 746
  - in Philippines, 879
  - in Rome, 148
  - for women, 180, 248, 410, 541, 611, 712, 713

Edward (heir to Canute, England), 378
Edward III (England), 398, 399
Edward IV (England), 418
Edward VI (England), 426
Edward, Lake, 264
Ego, 846
Egypt. *See also* Egypt (ancient); Muhammad Ali (Egypt); Suez Canal; specific rulers
  - Arab leadership by, 960–961
  - calendar in, 24*(i)*
  - coffee drinking in, 483
  - diversity in, 260–261
  - economy in, 750
  - England and, 732, 750, 827, 864
  - Ethiopia and, 273
  - Fatimids in, 229*(i)*, 237
  - under Fattah el-Sisi, 961
  - independence for, 864
  - industrialization in, 674
  - Islam in, 268
  - Israel and, 959
  - languages in, 748
  - Mali and, 271–272
  - Mamluks in, 238
  - modernization in, 674
  - Mongols and, 327
  - Muslims and, 229*(i)*, 233
  - Napoleon in, 641, 748
  - Nasser in, 930
  - Ottomans and, 471, 746, 748–750, 826
  - poverty in, 960
  - reforms in, 750
  - as regional power, 990
  - revolt in (2011), 960–961
  - Saladin and, 385

  Sassanids in, 203
  scholarship from, 534
  in Second World War, 913
  slave trade and, 584
  society in, 748
  tourism in, 750*(i)*
  trade in, 439, 440
  in United Arab Republic, 930
  Yom Kippur War and, 959
Egypt (ancient), 39–49. *See also* Alexandria; Egypt; Gods and goddesses; Ptolemies
  Africa described by, 262*(d)*
  Alexander the Great in, 128, 130
  Assyria and, 48
  dynasties in, 42
  empire of, 43
  families in, 43, 45*(d)*
  handprints in, 15*(i)*
  Hebrews in, 50
  historical periods in, 42, 42*(f)*
  Hittites and, 44–47
  Kush and, 48
  Nile River and, 39–42
  Nubia and, 48
  pharaohs in, 42, 43
  Ptolemies in, 129
  pyramids in, 43
  religion in, 44
  Rome and, 129, 147, 150*(b)*
  society in, 43
  trade and, 47, 48, 81
  women rulers in, 46
  writing in, 33
Ehrlich, Paul, 1005
Eiffel Tower (Delaunay), 847*(i)*
Eightfold Path (Buddhism), 72
Einstein, Albert, 845
Eisenhower, Dwight D.
  Normandy landing and, 913
  Vietnam and, 935
Eisenstein, Sergei, 848

El Alamein, Battle of, 913
Elba, Napoleon exiled to, 645
Eleanore of Portugal, 419
Eleanor of Aquitaine, 378
“Elect,” Calvin on, 426
Elections
    in India, 975
    in United States (2016), 993
Electricity, 714, 716–717*(d)*
Electric streetcars, 709, 717*(i)*
Elegant Conversations from the Impetuous Hall (Zhou Mi), 360*(d)*
Elements, Aristotle on, 535
Elements of Geometry, The (Euclid), 134
Eliot, T. S., 847
Elites. *See also* Class; Nobility
    in 18th century, 626
    in African colonies, 742, 939, 942
    in Asia, 854, 856
    Atlantic revolutions and, 627
    black African, 939, 942
    in central Europe, 700
    in China, 604
    colonial, 556
    Creole, 652, 653–655
    in Egypt, 748
    Filipino, 767
    gender hierarchies and, 23
    globalization and, 997
    in India, 760, 761–764, 867
    in Japan, 611, 876
    in Korea, 615
    in Latin America, 652, 799
    nationalism and, 856
    in Ottoman Empire, 746
    in Persia, 863
    in Peru, 454
    in Philippines, 879
    in Russia, 525, 527
    social hierarchies and, 33–34
    in Songhai, 568
    in Soviet Union, 895

student foreign study and, 782
in Vietnam, 190, 191, 766
of wealth, 417
writing and, 36
Elizabeth I (England), 418, 426
Protestantism and, 501
successor to, 514
trade and, 489
Elmina Castle, 586*(d)*
El Niños, Moche and, 296
Elphinstone College, Mumbai, 763*(i)*
El Salvador, 791
civil war in, 963
United States and, 810
Emancipation
of Jews, 551, 722–723
of Russian serfs, 706
of slaves, 627, 633, 653, 655, 798
of women, 704*(b)*, 874*(d)*
Emancipation Proclamation (U.S.), 798
Embargo, on oil, 956
Emigration. *See also* Immigrants and immigration
from Asia, 780–782
to Australia, 779*(i)*
from China, 780–781, 782
of German Jews, 902
great migration and, 752
Muslim hijra as, 232
of Russian Jews, 723
from United States in Great Depression, 886
Emirs, in Islam, 236
Emperor(s). *See also* Empire(s); specific emperors and empires
Aztec, 309*(b)*
Charlemagne as, 222–224
in China, 172, 327, 350, 353, 603–605
Christian Church and, 208, 209
cult of (Rome), 161
of Japan, 773, 775, 876, 893
origins of term, 151
popes and, 381
Empire(s). *See also* Colonies and colonization; Imperialism; Islam;

specific dynasties and empires
  African kingdoms and, 258, 269–271
  of Alexander the Great, 127–128, 128*(m)*
  in Americas, 291
  Athenian, 121
  British colonial, 751
  Carolingian, 221
  Carthaginian, 147, 147*(m)*
  China and Rome compared, 180
  colonial, 517, 519–522
  European, 498
  after First World War, 843
  Inca, 296–300
  Islamic, 468, 478–484
  in Mediterranean region, 44*(m)*
  in Mesopotamia, 37–38
  in Middle East, 232–233
  natural history and, 537
  Nazi, 906–907
  Portuguese, 966
  of Qing China (ca. 1800), 604*(m)*
  of Timur, 329
  Toltec, 300, 302–306
  West African, 268
Empire building. *See* Imperialism; New Imperialism
Empiricism, logical, 539
Employment. *See also* Labor; Unemployment; Workers
  in Germany, 902
  in Japan, 971
  in Sweden, 888
Enabling Act (Nazi Germany, 1933), 901
Enclosure, 551
  in England, 662
  loss of land to, 697
Encomienda system, 454
Encyclopedia (Diderot and d'Alembert), 543, 544, 547
"End of History, The," 990
Endogamy, 9
  social, 23
Energy. *See also* Steam power; specific types
  in Brazil, 965

- electricity and, 714

Engels, Friedrich, 684, 696

Engineers and engineering
- Inca, 300
- mechanical, 714
- railway construction and, 669*(d)*
- Roman, 157
- in Soviet Union, 895

Engines
- internal combustion, 714
- steam, 664–667

England (Britain). *See also* Britain; British Empire; Colonies and colonization; First World War; India; Mandates; Second World War
- abolition of slavery in, 581, 589, 730, 796
- Afghanistan and, 863
- Africa and, 568, 734, 938–939
- American colonies and, 631
- American Revolution and, 631–632
- anti-apartheid movement in, 969*(i)*
- appeasement of Hitler by, 903
- Asia and, 783
- Atlantic economy and, 554
- Australia and, 778–779
- Bill of Rights in, 516
- Black Death in, 397
- Brazil and, 795
- Brexit and, 984, 993, 995
- China and, 620, 767–769
- Christianity in, 219
- civil war in, 515–516, 516*(m)*
- colonies of, 519–521, 758, 924, 939
- common law in, 379
- at Congress of Vienna, 692
- constitutionalism in, 514–516
- cottage industry in, 551
- Dutch and, 522
- East Asian trade and, 619
- economic results of imperialism in, 742
- economy in, 662, 668
- Egypt and, 750, 826, 864, 930
- electrification in (1909), 717*(d)*

exploration by, 448
exports from, 556*(f)*
Factory Acts in, 677
Falklands/Malvinas War and, 964
First World War and, 824, 828, 859
foreign policy of, 764
France and, 378, 522, 638, 641, 642, 643, 645
Germany and, 906, 906*(i)*
Glorious Revolution in, 516
Gold Coast and, 269
in Grand Alliance (1701), 512
in Grand Alliance (World War II), 912–913
Great Depression and, 886, 888
Great Exhibition in, 668
Hong Kong and, 972
Hundred Years' War and, 397–399
imports into, 522
India and, 674, 675*(d)*, 759*(i)*, 760–764, 865–869, 866*(i)*
Indian cloth in, 491, 855*(i)*
Industrial Revolution in, 660, 662–670, 667*(m)*, 671, 696–697
infant deaths and, 771*(d)*
Iraq and, 861, 864
Ireland and, 697–698, 721
Jews and, 388, 722*(i)*, 864
labor movement in, 684–685, 723
Lamu and, 576*(i)*
liberalism in, 693
Middle East and, 860–861, 863, 864
military in, 418
mining in, 678–679
nationalism in, 721
Navigation Acts and (1651, 1660, 1663), 522
Nigerian independence from, 958
nitrate mining and, 802
nobility in, 378, 418
Norman Conquest of, 378, 379*(m)*
Ottomans and, 746, 859
Palestine and, 860–861, 864–865
peasant revolts in, 400, 402
Persia and, 863
plague viewed in, 398*(d)*

poll tax in, 400
population of, 668
Protestantism in, 426, 427, 501
Puritans in, 426, 501
in Quadruple Alliance, 692
reforms in, 685, 697–698
religion in, 514–516
in Renaissance, 418
revolts in 17th century, 504
Rhodesia and, 966
rural manufacturing in, 662
Saint-Domingue and, 648
sanitation in, 708
in Second Coalition, 641
in Second World War, 905
in Seven Years' War, 627, 630, 630*(m)*
sexual division of labor in, 677–679
slavery and, 685
slave trade and, 457, 554, 581, 583, 685
socialism and, 723
in southern Africa, 734, 735
Spanish trade cessions to, 522
Suez Canal and, 760, 930
tariffs in, 889*(d)*
Thatcher in, 983
trade and, 157, 522, 751
Turkey and, 862
United Provinces and, 431
Vikings in, 376, 378
voting rights in, 721
War of the Spanish Succession and, 512, 513–514, 522
wool in, 157
world economy and, 751
English language, 395
African influence on, 584
in India, 476, 761, 762–763*(d)*
English Peasants' Revolt, taxation and, 400
Enheduana (Sumer), 37, 40*(d)*
"Enkidu and Gilgamesh" *(Epic of Gilgamesh)*, 67*(d)*
Enlightened absolutism, 548–551
Enlightenment (Buddhist), 72, 73*(i)*

Enlightenment (historical period), 532, 541–551. *See also* Enlightened absolutism; Scientific Revolution; specific locations
  in Atlantic region, 558–560
  Catholic, 543
  cultures and, 549*(d)*
  economy and, 627
  in French Revolution, 635
  industrialization and, 662
  Jewish, 551
  Latin America and, 650, 652
  non-Western cultures and, 545
  philosophes and, 542–543
  religious tolerance debated in, 552–553*(d)*
  revolutionary era and, 624, 652
  Russia and, 527
  scientific methods and, 714
  women in, 542–543, 547–548
Ennion, 157*(i)*
Enryakuji monastery, 606
Entertainment
  in China, 599–601, 602*(d)*
  in Japan, 609
  Japanese woodblock of, 613*(i)*
  in Rome, 157
Entrepôts
  Baghdad as, 235
  in East Africa, 575
  in Malacca, 438
  Manila as, 767
  slave-trading, 272
  in West Africa, 272, 566
Entrepreneurs
  in African slave trade, 584
  industrialization and, 663, 672, 674
Environment
  African settlement and, 264
  of Americas, 291, 292
  crop adaptation to, 19
  of Easter Island, 344
  Mesopotamian, 34–35
  Paleolithic, 11

Environmental protection movement, 998, 1000–1002
Ephors, in Greece, 119
Epic literature. *See also* Poets and poetry; specific works
  in Ethiopia, 274
  in Greece, 116
  Indian, 66–67, 70*(d)*, 76, 77
  Sumerian, 37
Epic of Gilgamesh, 36–37*(d)*, 37, 67*(d)*
Epicurus and Epicureanism, 133
Epicycles, 535
Epidemics. *See also* Diseases; HIV/AIDS
  in Americas, 288, 312, 314
  in Byzantium, 195*(d)*
  influenza, 866
  Islamic medicine and, 482
  in Japan, 194, 195*(d)*
  of Justinian Plague, 206
  mosquitoes and, 1008–1009*(d)*
Epitome of Military Science (Vegetius), 159*(d)*
Epochs, geologic, 5
Equality. *See also* Religious toleration; Rights
  in American colonies, 631
  in Cape Colony, 735–736
  concept of, 693
  demands for, 627
  economic, 626, 627
  First World War and, 828, 830, 844
  gender and, 240, 1003, 1003*(i)*
  Ho Chi Minh on, 936*(d)*
  in Japan, 774
  limitations of, 633
  Muslim, 238
  in Ottoman Empire, 746, 747
  religion and, 722
Equiano, Olaudah, 547, 582*(i)*
  on abolition of slavery, 557*(d)*
  autobiography of, 582*(b)*
  on Middle Passage, 581–583
  West African foods and, 571
Erasmus, Desiderius, 410
Eratosthenes, 134

“Escape from Asia” (Fukuzawa Yukichi), 774–775*(d)*
Eschenbach, Wolfram von, 253
Esoteric Buddhism, 366
Essay Concerning Human Understanding (Locke), 542
Essay on the Principle of Population (Malthus), 668
Estates (Dutch assemblies), 514, 517
Estates (French orders), 626*(i)*, 634. *See also* specific groups
Estates (land), Roman, 164
Estates General (France), 508, 634
Este, Alfonso d’, 416
Estenoz, Evaristo, 811
Estonia
  Nazis and, 906
  Russia and, 527
Ethics
  in China, 356
  Confucian, 102
  Hebrew, 50
  Hindu, 76
Ethiopia and Ethiopians, 269
  in 16th century, 574*(m)*
  agriculture in, 263
  Aksum in, 273–277, 273*(m)*
  art in, 575*(i)*
  challenges to, 573
  Christianity in, 273–277, 274*(i)*
  coffee from, 483*(i)*
  as independent state, 732
  Islam and, 273, 274*(i)*, 573
  Italian invasion of, 903–904, 903*(m)*
  Jesuits in, 573, 574
  Muslims in, 574
  Portugal and, 574
  Solomonic dynasty in, 275*(b)*, 276–277, 573
  trade and, 273, 275, 275*(b)*
  use of term, 260
Ethnic groups and ethnicity. *See also* specific groups
  in Africa, 938
  African genocide and, 970–971
  in Austro-Hungarian Empire, 722
  in barbarian society, 213–215

  in China, 182, 359–362
  in Egypt, 260
  in former Yugoslavia, 981*(m)*
  in Germany, 384, 904, 905
  in India, 975
  Mnong as, 938, 994*(b)*
  in Mongol society, 328
  nationalism and, 695–696
  in Nigeria, 958, 959
  racism and, 415
  reconquista and, 384
  rivalries between, 990
  in Russia, 981
  in Turkey, 862
Ethnocentrism, Africa and, 258
Etruria, 143
Etruscans, 142, 142*(i)*, 142*(m)*, 143
Eucharist, 162, 428
Euclid, 134
Eugenius (Pope), 383*(b)*
Eunuchs
  in China, 182, 188, 597
  in India, 488
  in Islam, 570
Euphrates River region, 34
Eurasia, 344
  Bronze Age in, 89
  cross-cultural connections in, 196–197, 318
  culture in, 196
  humans in, 8
  Russia and, 523–527
  Turks in, 237
Euripides, 121
Euro, 982, 983
Eurocentrism, 545
Europe. *See also* Society; Western world; specific issues, regions, and wars
  17th-century crisis in, 503–506
  18th-century social change in, 626–627
  in 1815, 694*(m)*
  Africa and, 522, 564

African imperialism of, 732–734
American colonial administration by, 451–454
Americas and, 311–314, 455–456
Asian trade and, 616–617
Benin and, 568
blacks in, 577
change agents in, 200
China and, 767–769
Cold War in, 923*(m)*
crops introduced into, 551
East Asia and, 494, 619–620
economic cooperation in, 948
Egypt and, 749*(b)*, 750
emigrants from, 782
Enlightenment in, 532, 541–551
era of dominance by, 464
EU and, 982–984, 983*(m)*
expansion by, 498, 500, 534–535
feudalism in, 367
First World War and, 823*(m)*
after First World War, 841*(m)*
Frankish kingdom in, 222
geography and, 537
globalization and, 436
Great Depression in, 886, 888
Great Famine in, 395
Holocaust in, 908, 908*(m)*
humans in, 6, 8
Hundred Years' War in, 397–399
identity in, 557–558
imperialism by, 732–743, 744–745*(d)*
Indian Ocean trade and, 489
indigenous peoples and, 454–455, 461
Indo-European languages and, 44–45
industrialization in, 671–672
integration and reform in, 981–984, 993
investment in, 752
Islam and, 224, 225, 251–253, 488–491, 545
Japan and, 618
Latin American immigrants from, 806
marriage in, 418

  medieval lifestyle in, 388–393
  megacities outside of, 995
  in Middle Ages, 374
  migration from, 752, 781
  Mongols and, 327, 333
  Napoleonic, 642–643, 644*(m)*
  North American claims of, 522, 522*(m)*
  Ottomans and, 440, 472, 492, 746–747
  paper money in, 332*(d)*
  after Peace of Utrecht (1715), 512*(m)*
  peasant revolts in, 400–402
  popular religions in, 381
  race defined in, 546–547
  refugees in, 983
  religious division in (ca. 1555), 429*(m)*
  Roman expansion in, 152–153, 153*(m)*
  Saint-Domingue and, 646
  schools in, 248
  Scientific Revolution in, 532, 534–541
  Second World War in, 907*(m)*, 913
  serfdom in, 378
  Seven Years' War and, 630*(m)*
  state-building in, 506–527, 701–708
  Thirty Years' War and, 504–506, 505*(m)*
  trade and, 436, 441, 488–491, 686–687
  unity of, 224
  urban revolts in, 402
  views of proper behavior in, 427*(d)*
  voyages of discovery by, 441–449
  witch-hunts in, 431–432, 503
European Economic Community. *See* Common Market
European Parliament, 982
European Union (EU)
  in 2017, 983*(m)*
  British exit from, 984
  establishment of, 982
  migration crisis in, 995
Europe first policy, in Second World War, 912–913
Eurozone, Greece and, 984
Evolution
  of ancient humans, 4–8

  animal domestication and, 19–21
  of Christianity, 163
  Darwin on, 714
Evolutionary Socialism (Bernstein), 723
Ewuare (Benin), 567–568
"Exaltation of Inanna" (Enheduana), 40*(d)*
Examination system
  in China, 188, 353, 357*(b)*, 598–599, 603
  in Korea, 362, 615
Exchange. *See* Currency; Trade
Excommunication, in Catholic Church, 381
Execution. *See* Death penalty
Existentialism, 845
Exodus (Hebrew), 50*(m)*
Expansion. *See also* Colonialism; Colonies and colonization; Immigrants and immigration; Imperialism; Migration
  of Austria, 513–514, 513*(m)*
  of Bantu-speakers, 264
  British, 764
  Chinese, 90*(m)*, 605
  of Christian Church, 382–384
  consequences of, 464
  European, 441–449, 498, 500, 534–535
  by France, 508–513
  Greek, 118, 119*(m)*
  Hitler on, 900
  Hittite, 44–47
  imperialist, 739–743
  Inca, 297–298
  of Islam, 232–236, 233*(m)*, 243*(m)*, 273
  Japanese, 615, 778*(m)*, 876, 908–911
  of Mali, 271, 271*(m)*
  Mongol, 325–328
  Mughal, 476
  Muslim, 268–269
  by Napoleon, 642–643, 644*(m)*
  religion and, 441–442
  of Rome, 152–153, 153*(m)*, 160
  of Russia, 523, 527*(m)*, 550, 707
  sciences and, 715
  by United States, 792

  - Western imperialism and, 388, 739–743
- Expeditions. *See* Exploration
- Experimental method, 538–539, 540
- Exploration. *See also* Colonies and colonization; Voyages of exploration
  - in 15th and 16th centuries, 444*(m)*
  - by China, 438, 614
  - East Asia and, 594
  - European, 441–449
  - European values and, 546
  - Italy and, 441
  - by northern Europeans, 448–449
  - by Portugal, 442–445
  - by Spain, 441, 442, 445–448
  - technology and, 442
- Exports. *See also* Slaves and slavery
  - from Africa, 268
  - of African gold, 267
  - in Atlantic economy, 554
  - from Burma, 764
  - colonial, 554
  - Egyptian, 748
  - of English goods, 556*(f)*, 662, 668, 672
  - in Great Depression, 888, 890
  - from India, 489, 760
  - Latin American, 650, 791
  - Safavid, 478
  - slave, 571–572, 588
  - in West, 751
- Extended families, in West Africa, 571
- Extermination camps. *See* Concentration camps
- Extinction, 4
  - megafaunal, 10
- Extraterritoriality, 769
- **Ezana** (Aksum), 273

F

Fables (Aesop), 250*(d)*
Facebook, 1007–1010
Factories. *See also* Trading posts; Workers; specific industries
    child labor in, 661*(i)*, 664, 677
    conditions in, 664
    continental, 672
    families in, 677
    in India, 760
    machine-powered, 663
    owners of, 681–684
    in Soviet Union, 839, 895
    technology and, 663–664
    women in, 678*(i)*
    workers in, 676–677, 678*(i)*, 707, 711
Factories (trading centers), 489
    factory-forts and, 489
    in India, 491
Factory Act (England, 1833), 677
Factory-forts
    northern European–established, 522
    for slave trade, 583
    in West Africa, 522
Fairy tales, German, 719
Faisal bin Hussein (Arab leader), 861, 864
Faith. *See also* Religion(s)
    Luther on, 421
Falklands/Malvinas War, 964
Families. *See also* Clans; Kinship
    in Africa, 264
    in China, 93, 101*(i)*, 102, 177–180, 599, 872
    in coal mining, 678, 679
    in cottage industry, 664, 677
    in early states, 33
    in Egypt, 43, 45*(d)*
    in factories, 677

  in Greece, 122–123
  households and, 21
  in India, 337–338
  industrialization and, 662, 711–713
  in Islam, 240–242
  in Japan, 608, 611
  migration and, 752–753, 996–997
  Mongol, 322
  nomadic political organization and, 320
  Paleolithic, 11
  peasant, 389
  property of, 438–439
  Protestant, 500*(i)*
  in Rome, 148
  same-sex, 1002
  size reduction in, 712
  in southern Africa, 281
  in Soviet Union, 895
  Spartan, 119
  urban migration and, 996
  in West Africa, 570–571
Famine
  in China, 934
  in India (1966, 1967), 1005
  in Ireland, 677, 697–698, 721
  in Japan, 609–610
  in Ukraine, 894
  in West Africa, 571
Famous Painters of the Tang Dynasty (Zhu Jingxuan), 351*(d)*
Fanon, Frantz, 927–928
al-Farabi (Islam), 249
Farms and farming. *See also* Agriculture
  in Africa, 261–263, 264, 938–939
  in Americas, 291, 292
  in China, 91, 106, 173, 175, 177, 180*(i)*, 352, 352*(i)*, 601
  in Egypt, 43
  in England, 662, 684
  in Ethiopia, 274
  vs. foraging, 18
  under Hammurabi, 39
  in India, 336

- in Japan, 370, 608, 776
- of Maya, 300
- in Mesopotamia, 34
- Mexica, 306
- in Rome, 157, 164
- Soviet collectivization and, 894, 896–897*(d)*
- spread of, 18, 18–19*(m)*
- women in, 1003

Fascism, 892. *See also* Nazi Germany; specific locations
- characteristics of, 893
- Hitler and, 892
- in Italy, 898–900
- Mussolini and, 892, 899–900
- in Spain, 892*(i)*

Fatehpur Sikri, Akbar in, 488*(i)*

Fathers. *See also* Families; Men
- in European society, 503
- in Rome, 147

Fatimid caliphate, 229*(i)*, 237, 237*(m)*

Fattah el-Sisi, Abdel, 961

Feathered Serpent god. *See* Quetzalcoatl

Fedele, Cassandra, 413*(d)*

Federalists (U.S.), 633

Federal Republic of Germany. *See* West Germany

Federal Reserve Bank, interest rates and, 956

Federal system, in United States, 633

Felkin, Robert, on race, character, and malaria in Africa, 1008*(d)*

Female infanticide. *See* Infanticide

Feminists. *See also* Women
- middle-class, 712–713

Feminization of poverty, 1003

Feng Xuan (China), 96*(b)*

Ferdinand (Aragon, Spain), 418, 419, 442, 446, 485

Ferdinand I (Austrian Empire), 700, 701

Ferdinand I (Holy Roman Empire), 425, 502

Ferdinand II (Holy Roman Empire), 513

Ferdinand III (Holy Roman Empire), 513

Ferdinand VII (Spain), 643, 652

Ferdowsi (Persian poet), 249*(i)*

Ferghana, 175

Fernandez, Gregorio, Teresa of Ávila by, 428*(i)*

Fernández de Kirchner, Cristina, 965
Ferry, Jules (France), 732
    imperialism defended by, 740–741*(d)*
Fertile Crescent, 17*(m)*. *See also* specific locations
    agriculture in, 16–17
    migrations in, 43
Fertilizers, 21, 799, 802
Feudalism. *See also* Middle Ages
    in China, 93
    in Europe, 367, 376–377
    in Japan, 367
Ficino, Marsilio, 409
Fiction. *See* Literature; Novels
Fida (Ouidah), Benin, 586*(d)*
Fiefs
    in China, 106
    in Europe, 376
Figurines. *See* Sculpture
Filial piety, in China, 101*(i)*, 102, 102–103*(d)*
Filipinos. *See also* Philippines
    in Australia, 779
    as elites, 767
Film. *See* Movies
Final Solution, of Hitler, 902, 908
Finance(s). *See also* Economy; Great Depression; Panics (financial)
    in Egypt, 750
    in Genoa, 441
    Merovingian, 221
Financial crash, of 1873, 674, 723
Finland. *See also* Scandinavia
    Christianity and, 382
    women's voting rights in, 719
Fire
    as environmental control, 11
    in Rome, 157
Firearms. *See also* Weapons
    African purchase of, 585
    Mongol, 598
First Coalition, against France, 637
First Continental Congress (U.S.), 631
First Crusade, 384, 386*(d)*

First Emperor, of Qin China, 172–173, 172*(i)*
First estate (France). *See* Estates (French orders)
First Intermediate Period (Egypt), 42, 42*(f)*
First Matabele War, 737
First Punic War, 147
First Triumvirate (Rome), 149
First World, use of term, 924
First World War, 719. *See also* Alliance(s); specific countries
  Africa and, 817
  Age of Anxiety after, 845–848
  alliances in 1914 and, 821*(m)*
  Asia and, 827, 854, 856
  casualties in, 824, 833–834, 833*(d)*
  colonies in, 827
  consequences of, 840, 842
  cost of, 840
  democracies after, 844
  empires after, 843
  in Europe, 823*(m)*
  Europe after, 884
  experience of, 830–831*(d)*
  French West African soldier from, 819*(i)*
  global spread of, 826–828
  home front in, 828–831, 829*(i)*
  India and, 827, 827*(i)*, 856, 865–866
  Italy and, 898
  Japan and, 827, 842, 850, 856, 872
  mobilization for, 824, 828
  nationalism and, 820, 856–857
  origins and causes of, 820–828
  outbreak of, 822, 824
  Paris Peace Conference after, 840, 842
  peace after, 844, 850
  poetry in, 825*(d)*
  political tensions in, 830–831
  Russia and, 818, 824, 826, 831, 833–834, 836–837*(d)*, 839
  society in, 828–829
  soldiers in, 819*(i)*, 827*(i)*, 830*(d)*
  territorial changes after, 841*(m)*, 843
  Testament of Youth (Brittain) and, 832*(b)*
  trench warfare in, 824, 826*(i)*, 830*(d)*

  - Turks during, 826, 827
  - Versailles Treaty after, 840, 842, 843, 849
- Fishing
  - in Africa, 260
  - in Atlantic near Newfoundland, 449
  - Greek trade in, 131
- Five Pillars of Islam, 231
- *Five Women Who Loved Love* (Ihara Saikaku), 609
- Five-year plans
  - Chinese, 932
  - Soviet, 893, 894–895, 946
- Flagellants, 397*(i)*
- Flanders
  - painting in, 518*(d)*
  - peasant revolts in, 402
  - trade in, 392
- Flavian dynasty (Rome), 154
- FLN. *See* National Liberation Front
- Flooding
  - in Cahokia, 295
  - in China, 603
  - in Louisville (1937), 887*(i)*
  - by Nile, 39, 43
  - in Sumer, 34
- Florence
  - Black Death in, 397
  - *ciompi* revolt in, 402
  - Medici in, 409*(b)*
  - Renaissance in, 408, 414–415
  - trade in, 392, 410
- *Florentine Codex, The*, 453*(d)*
- Flores (Indonesian island), 341*(i)*
- Florida
  - Spain and, 630
  - as U.S. state, 792
- Flu, 866
- Flying buttresses, 395
- Flying shuttle, 665*(b)*
- Folk medicine, in West Africa, 571
- Folk songs, in China, 93
- Folktales, in India, 80

Food(s). *See also* Agriculture; Crops; Domestication; Green Revolution
  in Africa, 6, 18
  in Atlantic trade, 554
  in China, 972
  in Columbian exchange, 456
  crop yield of, 10, 18
  foraging for, 10, 18
  genetically modified, 1001*(i)*, 1005
  Great Famine and, 395
  Indian exports of, 489
  population growth and, 668, 1005
  production of, 662, 1005–1006
  for Rome, 157
  storage of, 21, 22
  in West Africa, 571
  women in production of, 1003
  for workers, 679
Foot binding, in China, 359, 360–361*(d)*, 361*(i)*, 873*(b)*
Foraging, 5, 10–11
  crop raising and, 17, 18
  social hierarchies and, 17
Forbidden City (Beijing), 597*(i)*
Forced labor. *See also* Labor; Slaves and slavery
  in African colonies, 738
  in China, 932
  in Latin American colonies, 454, 627
  Soviet, 898*(i)*, 946
Forced migration. *See also* Migration; Slaves and slavery
  transatlantic slave trade as, 564, 579, 588
Foreign investment. *See* Investment
Foreign policy. *See* specific countries
Foreign trade. *See* Trade
“Forerunners (Resisting the Global Mugging),” 999*(d)*
Forts. *See also* specific forts
  factory-forts, 489
  Portuguese East African, 575
For Whom the Bell Tolls (Hemingway), 892*(i)*
Fossil(s), from Laetoli, Tanzania, 6*(i)*
Fossil fuels, hydrocarbon release through, 1000
Foundation myths, Roman, 142–143
“Four Big Rights” (China), 972

Four Modernizations (China), 972
Four Noble Truths (Buddhism), 72
Four Power Peace Conference (Munich). *See* Munich Conference
Fourteen Points (Wilson), 856
Fourth Crusade, 385
France, 224. *See also* First World War; French Revolution; Gaul; Indochina; Second World War; specific rulers
  abolition of slavery in territories, 648, 655
  absolutism in, 507–513, 514
  Africa and, 585, 732, 930
  Algeria and, 698, 747, 930, 940
  American Revolution and, 632
  Argentine dirty war and, 964
  Atlantic economy and, 554
  Austria and, 637
  Bourbon dynasty in, 507, 512, 655
  Calvinism in, 501
  Catholic Church in, 430, 636, 642, 720–721
  Clovis and, 221
  colonial empire of, 521–522, 935
  Company of the East Indies and, 513
  Congress of Vienna and, 692
  Constitutional Charter in, 693, 698
  constitutional monarchy in, 624
  culture of, 514
  Egypt and, 748, 750
  England and, 378, 522
  Enlightenment in, 541–543
  European integration and, 982
  as European power, 990
  expansion within Europe, 508–513
  exploration by, 448–449
  First World War and, 820, 821, 824, 828, 831
  after First World War, 843
  Germanic peoples in, 201*(i)*, 218
  government of, 508, 635
  Great Depression in, 888
  Greek expansion to, 118
  hand painting from, 14*(i)*
  Huguenots in, 501
  Hundred Years' War and, 397–399

imperialism and, 643, 740–741*(d)*
India and, 491, 760
in Indochina, 765*(m)*, 878–879
industrialization and, 671, 674
ISIS terrorism in, 993
Islam and, 233–234
Jews and, 388, 628*(d)*, 722, 722*(i)*
justice in, 379
Middle East and, 861, 864
military in, 418, 508, 522, 830–831
monarchy in, 472
Morocco and, 821
Muslims in, 376
Napoleon in, 641–645
National Assembly in, 634–635
National Convention in, 625*(i)*, 637–638
nationalism in, 638–640
Nazis and, 906, 907
New France and, 513
North America and, 521
nuclear weapons testing and, 991
Ottoman Empire and, 859
patronage in, 514
peasant revolts in, 402
Popular Front in, 888
Protestantism and, 425, 427, 430, 501
Prussia and, 705*(m)*, 706, 720
religious wars in, 430, 502–503
in Renaissance, 418
as republic, 624, 637–638, 698, 720–721
revolt during Revolution, 638, 638*(m)*
revolts in 17th century, 504
revolutions in 1830 and 1848, 698
Second Empire in, 698
Second Republic in, 698
Second World War and, 905, 913
in Seven Years' War, 627, 630, 630*(m)*
slave trade and, 581
socialism in, 696, 698
Spain and, 430, 512
student strike in, 949

  taxation in, 634
  Third Republic in, 720–721
  Thirty Years' War and, 505
  trade in, 522
  Turkey and, 862
  Valois kings in, 425
  Vichy government in, 906
  Vietnam and, 766
  views on priorities for monarchs, 477*(d)*
  voting rights in, 637, 698
  after War of the Spanish Succession, 522
  wars of Louis XIV in, 508–513
  women in, 719–720
Franchise. *See* Voting and voting rights
Francis (Pope), 927
Francis I (France), 418, 472
Francis II (Austria), 637
Franciscan order, 381
Franciscans, 459–461
  China and, 618
  on Christian conversion in New Spain, 462*(d)*
Franco, Francisco, 892*(i)*, 904
Franco-Prussian War (1870), 705*(m)*, 706, 720, 774
Franco-Russian Alliance (1892), 821
Frankish kings, 220–224, 376
Franklin, Benjamin, 549*(d)*
Franks, 201*(i)*, 215, 220–221
  Arabs and, 234
  Byzantine view of, 216*(d)*
Franz Ferdinand (Austria-Hungary), 822, 849
Franz Joseph (Austrian Empire), 701, 722
Fratricide, in Ottoman Empire, 473
Frederick I Barbarossa (Hohenstaufen), 379
Frederick II (the Great, Prussia), 548, 550, 550*(m)*
Frederick III (Holy Roman Empire), 419
Frederick William IV (Prussia and Germany), 700*(i)*, 701
Free blacks. *See also* Africans; Black people
  in England, 577
Freedom(s)
  First World War and, 828
  in France, 642

- in Italy, 899
- for Jews, 551
- liberals and, 627, 693
- for serfs, 389, 392
- in South Africa, 968–969*(d)*
- in U.S. Constitution, 633

Free markets. *See also* Capitalism
- neoliberal reforms and, 957
- in Russia, 980
- after World War I, 884

Free people of color, 533*(i)*, 558, 626, 627, 628–629*(d)*
- in colonial Latin America, 652, 653
- in Saint-Domingue, 556–557, 645–646

Freetown, Sierra Leone, 730

Free trade. *See also* Trade
- with Mexico, 993
- NAFTA and, 957
- in Spanish America, 650
- tariffs and, 739

Free will
- Calvin and, 426
- Spinoza on, 542

Free womb laws, 796, 799

French and Indian Wars. *See* Seven Years' War

French Canadians, 809

French empire, 498

French Equatorial Africa, 942

French Indochina. *See* Indochina

French language, 157, 395

French Revolution, 624, 634–640, 639*(d)*, 639*(i)*, 699*(d)*
- French culture during, 638
- insurrection during, 638*(m)*
- liberalism and, 634–635, 636, 693
- liberties and, 635
- radicalism in, 638–640
- Reign of Terror in, 638–640
- rights of citizens in, 628–629*(d)*, 635

French West Africa, 942
- World War I and, 827

Freud, Sigmund, 846

Freundlich, Matthaus, 559*(b)*

Freyre, Alex, 1002*(i)*
Friedrich, Carl, 892
Frobisher, Martin, 448
From Serfdom to Socialism (Hardie), 891*(d)*
Fronde (French rebellion), 508
Frontiers. *See also* Borders; Boundaries
  of Rome, 152–153, 154–155, 163
Frumentius (Saint), 273
Fryer, John, on Persian Armenians, 487*(d)*
Fugitive slaves. *See* Slaves and slavery
Führer, Hitler as, 900
Fujiwara family (Japan), 364, 366
  Michinaga, 364, 365
Fukuzawa Yukichi, 774–775*(d)*, 775
Fulani people, 570, 731
Fulcher of Chartres, on fall of Jerusalem, 386–387*(d)*
Fulton, Robert, 668
Funan, 339
Functionalism, 848
Fundamentalism
  Almoravid, 268
  in Iran, 961
  Islamic, 959, 961
Funerals. *See* Burials
Furnaces, for iron, 667
Furtado, Celso, 926*(d)*
Fur trade, 448–449, 521, 521*(i)*, 525

G

Gaddafi, Muammar, 961
Gaius Gracchus (Rome), 149
Galen (physician), 235, 539, 540
Galerius (Rome), 165*(d)*
Galilee region, Jesus in, 161
Galilei, Galileo, 536*(i)*, 537, 539, 540
Galla (Oromo) people, in Ethiopia, 574
Gallic War, The (Caesar), 158*(d)*
Gallipoli, Battle of, 826
Gama, Vasco da. *See* Da Gama, Vasco
Gambia, 566, 583
Gandharan kingdom, 73*(i)*, 77*(i)*
Gandhi, Indira, 930*(i)*, 974–975
Gandhi, Kasturba, 855*(i)*
Gandhi, Mohandas (Mahatma), 71–72, 782, 854, 855*(i)*, 866–869
  on revolutionary means, 868*(d)*
  Salt March of, 868–869, 869*(i)*
Gandhi, Rajiv, 975–976
Ganges River region, 62, 68, 70, 78*(m)*, 335
Gan Ying (China), 160
Gao, 268, 568
  slave market at, 568
  trade in, 268, 572
Gaozong (China), 188
Gaozu (China), 173
Gardens, Persian, 239*(i)*, 478*(i)*, 480–481
Garibaldi, Giuseppe, 703, 704*(b)*, 704*(i)*
Garvey, Marcus, 938, 940
Gaskell, Peter, 682*(d)*
Gaslights, 680
Gathering and hunting, 6, 10
Gaul, 152, 157, 217. *See also* Celts (Gauls); France; Franks
  Clovis in, 221
  industry in, 157–159
  trade and, 157

Gautama. *See* Buddha; Buddhism; Siddhartha Gautama
Gay rights, 1002, 1002*(i)*. *See also* Homosexuals
Gaza Strip, 857, 931, 959–960, 961
Ge’ez language, 274
Geishas (Japan), 609
Gender. *See also* Men; Sex and sexuality; Women
  in Athens, 124–125*(i)*
  in China, 184–185
  Christian attitudes toward, 212
  division of labor by, 10, 11, 677–679, 712
  in Egypt, 43
  European witch-hunts and, 503
  First World War and, 829–830
  hierarchies by, 22, 23, 34
  in India, 69
  in Paleolithic society, 11
  peasant labor by, 389
  Renaissance debate about, 417–418
  in sciences, 541
  in scribal schools, 36
  in Southeast Asia, 438–439
  witchcraft trials and, 431–432
General Acts (Berlin Conference), 732
General Assembly (UN), 924
General Syrian Congress (1919), 860–861*(d)*, 861
General will, Rousseau on, 543
Genetically modified (GMO) foods, 1001*(i)*, 1005
Genetics, 4, 6
Geneva, Calvin in, 426–427, 501
Genoa
  in Renaissance, 408
  trade and, 441
Genocide. *See also* Holocaust
  in Africa, 970–971
  Armenian, 859*(i)*
  in Guatemala, 963, 963*(i)*
  Levi, Primo, on, 909*(b)*
  in Soviet Union, 894, 896*(d)*
Genre painting, 518*(d)*
Gentiles, 162
Gentleman (junzi), Confucius on, 100

Geocentric (earth-centered) solar system, 535
Geoffrey of Anjou, 378
Geoffrin, Madame, 549*(d)*
Geography
  of Africa, 260–261, 261*(m)*
  of China, 88, 89*(m)*
  of Ethiopia, 273
  European exploration and, 537
  of Greece, 114
  of India, 62, 78*(m)*
  of Iran, 52
  of Japan, 192
  of Mali, 271
  of Southeast Asia, 338–339
  of southern Africa, 281
Geography (al-Muqaddasi), 244*(d)*
Geography (Ptolemy), 442, 445*(i)*, 447, 536
Geometry
  Descartes on, 539
  Euclid on, 134
George (Saint), in Ethiopian art, 575*(i)*
George III (England)
  American Revolution and, 631
  China and, 620
Géricault, Théodore, 718*(i)*
German. *See also* Germanic entries
  as ethnic term, 215
German Confederation, 692, 694*(m)*, 705
  Prussia in, 701, 706
German Confederation of the Rhine, 643, 643*(m)*
German Democratic Republic. *See* East Germany
German Empire, 705*(m)*, 706
  Jews in, 722
  nationalism in, 720
Germania, 152
Germanic languages, 215
Germanic peoples, 201*(i)*, 213–215, 220, 821. *See also* Barbarians; Franks; specific groups
  Christianity and, 219
  Hitler on, 900
  Rome and, 164

- slavery and, 204–205*(d)*
- Vikings as, 376

German language, 395
- New Testament in, 423

German Peasants’ War (1525), 424

German people, in Austrian Empire, 693, 700

German Social Democratic Party. *See* Social Democratic Party (Germany)

German Workers’ Party, 900

Germany, 224, 699*(d)*. *See also* First World War; Holy Roman Empire; Nazi Germany; Prussia; Second World War
- Africa and, 732, 821
- agriculture in, 388*(i)*
- Clovis and, 221
- constitutional monarchy in, 775
- disarmament of, 903
- economy of, 828
- Enlightenment in, 544
- ethnic groups in, 384
- European integration and, 982
- as European power, 990
- First World War and, 820–821, 824, 826, 828, 831, 833–834, 833*(d)*
- after First World War, 842, 843, 844
- France and, 821
- Great Depression in, 886, 888
- guest workers in, 947*(i)*, 948
- Holocaust and, 908, 908*(i)*, 908*(m)*
- Holy Roman Empire and, 513
- industrialization and, 671, 674
- industry in, 159
- Japan and, 872
- Lamu and, 576*(d)*
- Lutheranism in, 500–501
- movable type in, 410
- Napoleon and, 643, 643*(m)*
- nationalism in, 695*(i)*, 702*(d)*
- princes in, 505
- radical totalitarian dictatorship in, 890
- religious violence in, 502
- reparations after First World War and, 840, 842, 843, 844

    reunification of, 978
    Rome and, 152
    Russia and, 839, 843
    Schlieffen Plan and, 824
    trade unions in, 723
    in Triple Alliance, 821, 824
    Turks and, 859
    unification of, 705–706, 705*(m)*
    unity of, 379
    urban revolts in, 402
    Versailles Treaty and, 840, 842, 843
    Zollverein in, 672
Germ theory, 708, 1006
Ghana. *See also* Gold Coast; Mali
    Almoravids in, 268
    Asante in, 265
    cloth from, 572
    decline of, 271
    Elmina Castle in, 586*(d)*
    gold in, 267, 270, 572
    Islam in, 268
    kingdom of, 269–271, 568
    military in, 269–270
    modern country of, 269
    Muslims in, 270
    Nkrumah in, 940
    trade in, 270, 572
Ghana (ruler), 269
Ghazi (frontier raiders), 237, 238
Ghent, 392
Ghettos, Jews in, 908
Gibbon, Edward, 153
Gibraltar
    cession to Great Britain, 512*(m)*
    Strait of, 233
Gilgamesh (Uruk), 36*(d)*
    Epic of Gilgamesh and, 36–37*(d)*
Girls. *See also* Children; Infanticide; Women
    illiteracy among, 1005
Girondists, 638
Glaciers, 5

Gladiators (Rome), 143, 154*(i)*, 157
Glasgow, 679, 679*(i)*
Glasnost (openness), 978
Glassmaking industry, 157*(i)*, 160, 661*(i)*
Global economy, 750–752. *See also* Economy
  in 16th century, 458
  East Asia and, 984
  industrialization and, 674–676, 750–751
  after World War I, 884
Globalization. *See also* Economy; Global economy; Multinational corporations
  Brazilian band on, 999*(d)*
  Columbian exchange and, 456
  era of, 456–459
  Europe and, 436
  from expansion, 464
  after First World War, 916
  migration and, 752–753, 993–995
  wealth gaps and, 1011
Global markets, 751–752
Global trade. *See also* Trade
  European control over, 686–687
  non-European urbanization and, 709
Global war, First World War as, 820
Global warming, 1000–1002, 1000*(i)*
  in China, 603
Glorious Revolution (England), 516
Glückel of Hameln, 520*(b)*
GMO (genetically modified foods), 1001*(i)*
GNP. *See* Gross national product
Goa, 445, 458, 489
Goats, domestication of, 19
Göbekli Tepe, Turkey, 17, 17*(i)*
Gobir, Sudan, 731
Go-Daigo (Japan), 369
Goddess of Democracy (China), 973*(i)*
Gods and goddesses. *See also* Cults; Religion(s); Sin; specific gods and goddesses
  in Americas, 293
  Aztec, 307, 309*(b)*
  in Babylon, 40*(d)*, 54*(d)*

  - barbarian, 217
  - Buddhism and, 72
  - in China, 95, 108
  - Egyptian, 42, 133, 133*(i)*
  - Greek, 116, 123–126, 129*(i)*, 144
  - in Hellenistic world, 131–133
  - Hindu, 76
  - Inca, 296
  - in India, 68–69
  - Maya, 302
  - Minoan, 115
  - Mongol, 322
  - in Neolithic era, 26
  - Quetzalcoatl mythology and, 304–305*(d)*
  - in Rome, 143–144, 148, 157
  - Sumerian, 35, 36–37
- **Goebbels, Joseph**, 902
- Goguryeo tomb, 191*(i)*
- Golan Heights, 931
- Gold
  - in Africa, 439
  - in California, 810
  - in East Africa, 279–280, 577
  - in Ghana, 270
  - Inca, 451
  - in Mali, 271, 572
  - Portugal and, 443
  - slave trade and, 267–268
  - in South Africa, 736, 736*(i)*
  - in South America, 458, 736
  - in southern Africa, 281, 284
  - trade and, 267, 269, 572
  - in Victoria, Australia, 779
- Gold Coast, 269, 939, 940. *See also* Ghana
  - households in, 571
  - slave trade and, 583
- Golden age
  - of Latin literature, 151–152
  - in Netherlands, 504, 517
- Golden Bull (Hungary), 379
- Golden Horde, 328, 329. *See also* Mongols and Mongol Empire

Gómez, José Miguel, 879*(i)*
Gorbachev, Mikhail, 978, 980, 982*(m)*
Gorée Island, slave trade in, 584*(i)*
Gothic architecture, 395
Gothic script, 219
Goulart, João, 945
Government. *See also* Administration; Empire(s); Representative government; State (nation); specific countries and types; specific locations and dynasties
  absolutism in, 498, 506
  of Afghanistan, 864
  in Africa, 269
  of African colonies, 738, 742–743
  Aristotle on, 125*(i)*
  in Asia, 783
  in Asian Tigers, 971–972
  of Australia, 780
  of Aztec Empire, 306–307
  of Brazil, 802
  of British American colonies, 809
  of British Empire, 491
  of British India, 760, 761, 866
  in Central America, 963
  of China, 93, 95, 172–173, 175, 180–182, 350, 603, 972
  Confucius on, 102, 103*(d)*
  of Constantinople, 206–208
  constitutional, 498, 506
  of Cuba, 811
  Dutch, 517
  economies and, 983
  of Egypt, 750
  of England, 418, 663
  of Ethiopia, 573
  in Europe, 378
  of European colonies in Americas, 454
  in First World War, 828, 830
  of former Soviet Union, 980–981
  of France, 418, 508, 635
  of Germany, 720
  of Ghana, 269–270
  in Greece, 116–118, 119–120

Hellenistic, 129
Inca, 450
of India, 68, 78–79, 333–334, 476, 761, 976
industrialization and, 663, 672–673
information monitoring by, 1010
instability in Africa, 1006
of Iran, 961
Islamic, 234–235, 236
of Italy, 898–900
of Japan, 364, 606, 607–608, 773–774, 775, 872, 876
of Korea, 191–192
in Latin America, 802, 804
Legalists on, 105–107
liberalism and, 799
liberty, equality, and, 627
Maya, 300
Merovingian, 221
of Mexico, 804
of Ming China, 597
by Mongols, 327–328, 362
Montesquieu on, 542
of Mughal India, 476
in New Deal, 887–888
of Nigeria, 958, 959
of nomadic herders, 320
of Ottoman Empire, 473, 746
of Pakistan, 976
of Persia, 53–54
of Philippines, 767, 811
Protestantism and, 500–501
reform and, 627
religion and, 500–501
representative, 627
of Rome, 140, 143, 145, 147
of Russia, 525, 834–835
Safavid, 473–475
of Senegambia, 567
of Siam, 767
socialists on, 696
of Spain, 418–419
of Spanish America, 650

- of Sparta, 118–119
- types of, 33
- of United States, 633
- voting rights and, 720
- women in, 1003

Government of India Act (1935), 869

Governors
- Ottoman, 746
- in Spanish territories, 454

Goya, Francisco, 645*(i)*

Gracchus brothers, 149

Grains. *See also* Crops; specific grains
- in Americas, 292
- food production and, 16–17, 1005

Granada, 237*(i)*, 382, 419

Gran Colombia, 651*(m)*, 653, 655

Grand Alliance
- in 1701, 512
- in Second World War, 905, 912–913

Grand Canal (China), 187, 604

Grand Duchy of Moscow, 523

Grand Empire (Napoleon), 643, 644*(m)*

Grand National Consolidated Trades Union, 685

Grant, Ulysses S., 794*(d)*

Grasslands. *See also* Steppes
- savannas as, 731

Gravitation. *See* Universal gravitation

Great Britain. *See also* England (Britain)
- formation of (1707), 522, 662

Great Depression (1930s), 884, 886–890
- in Africa, 890
- in Asia, 890
- in China, 890
- economy in, 886
- in Europe, 886, 888
- in France, 888
- in Germany, 888, 900
- in Japan, 876, 890
- in Latin America, 889–890
- movement out of U.S. during, 886
- in Philippines, 879

  - in Scandinavia, 888
  - stock market crash and, 886
  - totalitarianism and, 884
  - unemployment in, 886–887, 888
  - in United States, 886–888
  - worldwide effects of, 889–890
- Great Elector. *See* Frederick William
- Great Enclosure (Great Zimbabwe), 282, 282*(i)*, 283*(i)*
- Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere, 911
- Greater Germany, 904. *See also* Nazi Germany
- Great Exhibition (London, 1851), 668
- Great Famine
  - in European later Middle Ages, 395
  - in Ireland, 698
- Great Fear (France), 634
- Great Friday Mosque, Jenne, 272*(i)*
- Great Khan (Mongols), Taizong as, 188
- Great Lakes region, 521
- Great Leap Forward, 932, 934
- Great migration, 752–753
- Great Mosque
  - at Córdoba, 380*(i)*
  - at Kilwa, 277*(i)*
- Great Mutiny/Great Revolt (India, 1857), 760, 760*(m)*
- Great Northern War, 526
- Great Patriotic War of the Fatherland (Soviet Union), 913
- Great Powers
  - in 1815, 692
  - First World War and, 724, 820, 856
  - Italy and, 701
  - Ottoman Empire and, 747
- Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (China), 921*(i)*, 934
- Great Revolt. *See* Great Mutiny/Great Revolt
- Great Rift Valley, 5*(m)*, 263, 273
- Great Schism, in Catholic Church, 400
- Great Silk Road. *See* Silk Road
- Great Trek, 736
- Great Vehicle (Mahayana) Buddhism, 74–75, 182
- Great Wall (China), 173, 175, 598, 603
- Great War. *See* First World War
- Great white walls, for immigration, 753

Great Zimbabwe, 258, 269, 281–284, 282–283*(d)*, 283*(i)*. *See also* Zimbabwe
Greco-Arab medical thought, 249
Greco-Buddhist art, 77*(i)*
Greco-Roman culture, 147, 148*(i)*
  Augustine and, 213
  Byzantine Empire and, 200, 202
  Carolingian Renaissance and, 223
  Christianity and, 163, 211
Greece. *See also* Greece (ancient)
  African peoples and, 260
  communism in, 922
  economy in, 984
  independence for, 747
  Turkey and, 862
Greece (ancient), 112. *See also* Byzantine Empire; Greece; Hellenistic world; Indo-Greek states; Minoan civilization; Mycenae and Mycenaeans; Society
  in Archaic age, 116–120
  armed forces in, 116–117
  assemblies in, 119–120
  astrolabe and, 442
  barbarians and, 213
  classical period in, 114*(m)*, 120–127
  colonies of, 118, 119*(m)*, 142
  council in, 120
  Dark Age in, 116
  Egypt and, 130
  Etruscans and, 142, 142*(i)*
  expansion by, 118–119, 119*(m)*
  government in, 117–118
  Helladic period in, 112
  Hellenic period in, 112
  Hellenistic world and, 112, 127–136
  India and, 77, 80–81
  learning from, 534
  literature in, 116
  Persia and, 112, 120–121, 122*(d)*, 127, 128, 130
  philosophy in, 126–127
  religion in, 116, 123–126
  Rome and, 147

  Scythia and, 120*(i)*
  sexuality in, 119, 123
  society in, 114, 122–123
  theater in, 121–122
  trade in, 131
  women in, 117
  writing in, 114–115, 116
Greek fire (liquid fire), 206, 206*(i)*
Greek language, 127. *See also* Alphabet
  Hebrew Bible in, 130
  in Hellenistic world, 129
  in Renaissance, 410
  Rome and, 147
Greek Orthodox Christianity. *See* Orthodox Christianity
Greene, Graham, 845
Greenhouse gases, emissions reduction of, 1002
Greenland, Vikings in, 376
Green revolution, 961, 1005–1006
Gregory I (Pope), 219
Gregory VII (Pope), 380–381
Gregory of Tours, 221
Grimm, Jacob and **Wilhelm**, 719
Gropius, Walter, 848
Gross national product (GNP), in England, 668
Grosz, George, 848
Guadalcanal, Battle of, 914
Guadalete River, battle at, 233
Guadalupe Hidalgo, Treaty of, 792, 794*(d)*
Guadeloupe, slavery in, 554
Guam, United States and, 811
Guaman Poma de Ayala, Felipe, 299*(d)*, 300*(i)*
Guanajuato, 458
Guanche people, 441
Guangzhou (Canton), China, 190, 280, 616, 767
Guantanamo Bay, 811
Guanyin, 189
Guatemala, 791
  coup in, 927, 963
  genocide in, 963, 963*(i)*
  Maya in, 300, 302
Guatemalan Constitutional Court, 963

Guerilla Warfare (Guevara), 927
Guernica (Picasso), 892
Guerrilla warfare
    against authoritarianism, 984
    in India, 492
    against Napoleon, 643
    in southern Africa, 966
Guest, Richard, 682–683*(d)*
Guest workers
    in Germany, 947*(i)*
    migration and, 993
Guevara, Ernesto “Che,” 927, 945, 946*(i)*, 949
Guilds
    in Japan, 608
    medieval, 392
Guillotine, 640, 641*(i)*
Guinea
    nationalism in, 942
    origins of term, 260
    Portugal and, 443
    women slave merchants in, 585
Guinea-Bissau, Portugal and, 966
Gujarat, 489
Gulags (Soviet Union), 895
Gulf of Aden, 268
Gulf of Guinea, 568
    kingdoms along, 566
Gulf of Mexico, 521
Gulf War. *See* Persian Gulf War
Gunboat diplomacy, 773
Gundobad (Burgundy), 205*(d)*
Gunpowder, 352, 442
    in China, 534
    in Hundred Years’ War, 399
    Ottoman expansion and, 471
    Safavid use of, 475
Guns. *See* Weapons
Guomindang (Kuomintang), 870, 876. *See also* Nationalist China
Gupta Empire (India), 333–334, 333*(m)*
Gustavus Adolphus (Sweden), 505
Gutenberg, Johann, 410

Guzmán, Gaspar de (Count-Duke of Olivares), 507
Gymnasia, Roman, 147
Gynaeceum, in Constantinople, 208
Gypsies, Nazis and, 902

H

Haarlem, Protestants in, 431*(i)*
Habsburg dynasty
    in Austria, 513–514, 693, 700
    France and, 508
    in Hungary, 701
    after Joseph II, 550
    Naples and, 544
    Ottomans and, 472
    Reformation and, 425, 500
    in Renaissance, 419
    in Spain, 503, 505
    Spanish Netherlands and, 503
Habsburg-Valois Wars, 430
Hadith, 230
Hafiz (Islam), 252
Hagiography, in Ethiopia, 277
Haiti. *See also* Hispaniola; L'Ouverture, Toussaint; Saint-Domingue
    independence of, 645–650, 647*(m)*, 652, 796
    resistance in, 647–648
    revolution in, 645–650, 796
    slavery and, 655
    U.S. Marines in, 811
Hajj (pilgrimage), 231
Halévy, Élie, 892
Halim (Pasha), 747*(i)*
Hall of Mirrors, Versailles Treaty in, 840
Halo, as symbol of power, 207*(i)*
Hamas Party, 959, 961
Hamburg, Jews in, 520*(b)*
Hammurabi (Babylon), 38, 39
    law code of, 39, 39*(i)*
Han Dynasty (China), 172, 173–175, 174*(m)*
    Ban Zhao in, 181*(i)*
    fall of, 180–182
    Japan and, 192

  - Korea and, 190, 191
  - lifestyle under, 177–180
  - literature in, 354
  - society in, 180
  - trade in, 160, 170, 176, 177
  - tribute system of, 614
  - Vietnam and, 190, 191
  - Xiongnu and, 175
- **Han Feizi** (China), 106
- Hangzhou, China, 352, 353, 354*(m)*
  - Mongols and, 327
  - textiles in, 605
- **Hannibal** (Carthage), 147
- Han people (China), 359
- Hanseatic League (Hansa), 392, 392*(m)*
- **Hanway, Jonas**, on infant deaths, 771*(d)*
- **Hao**, **Lady** (China), 91
- **Haran ibn Suleiman** (Kilwa), 280*(i)*
- Harappan civilization, 38, 60, 62–63, 63*(m)*, 64–65*(i)*
- **Hardie, James Keir**, *From Serfdom to Socialism*, 891*(d)*
- **Hardy, Thomas**, 719
- Harem, 240, 240*(i)*
- **Hargreaves, James**, 663, 665*(b)*
- **Harkort, Fritz**, 672
- **Harold II** (Anglo-Saxon), 378
- **Harun al-Rashid** (Islam), 222, 235, 246
- **Harvey, William**, 539, 540
- Haskalah (Jewish Enlightenment movement), 551
- Hastings, Battle of, 378
- **Hastings, Warren**, 491
- **Hatshepsut** (Egypt), 43, 46*(i)*
- **Hattusili III** (Hittites), 47
- Hausaland, 566, 570
- Hausa people and language, 570, 571, 572, 731
- **Haussmann, Georges**, 708–709
- Havana, 652
- **Havel, Václav**, 979*(i)*
- Hawaii
  - Chinese labor for, 782
  - Cook in, 778
  - foreign settlement of, 780

  human habitation of, 9, 343
  Japanese attack on, 910
  Japanese emigrants in, 782
  plantation economy in, 780
  U.S. annexation of, 780
Heads of state, women as, 1003
Health and health care. *See also* Diseases; Medicine
  access to, 1003, 1006
  in Russia, 980
Health insurance, national, 720, 721
Heart of Darkness (Conrad), 742
Hebrew Bible. *See* Bible (Hebrew)
Hebrew language, 865
  alphabet in, 49
Hebrew people, 49–51. *See also* Israel; Jews and Judaism
  ancient states of, 50
  Cyrus and, 50, 53, 54*(d)*
  Jewish religion of, 50–51
  Moses and, 50
  Scripture of, 127
  seal of, 51*(i)*
  society of, 51
Hedwig of Silesia, 375*(i)*
Heian (Kyoto), Japan, 187*(i)*, 364
Heian period (Japan), 354*(m)*, 364–366
Heine, Heinrich, 520*(b)*, 669*(d)*
Heisenberg, Werner, 845
Hejaz (kingdom), 842
Helen of Troy, abduction of, 411*(i)*
Heliocentric (sun-centered) solar system, 134
Helladic period (Greece), 112, 114
Hellenic period (Greece), 112, 127*(i)*
Hellenistic world, 112, 127–136, 129*(m)*
  Alexander the Great and, 127, 130
  art in, 113*(i)*, 142*(i)*
  Byzantine Empire and, 233
  culture in, 127, 129–130
  Gandharan art and, 77
  intellectual thought in, 131, 133–136
  lifestyle in, 134*(i)*
  Macedonian dynasties in, 128–129

- philosophy in, 131, 133–134
- religion in, 131–133
- Roman conquest of, 147
- science and medicine in, 134–136, 135*(b)*
- society in, 129–131
- spells from, 132*(d)*
- spread of, 128–129, 128*(m)*, 130
- trade in, 130–131

Hellenization, 129–130

Helm, Charles, 737

Helots (serfs), 118

Hemingway, Ernest, 892*(i)*

Henry II (England), 378, 379

Henry II (France), 472

Henry IV (France), 430, 503, 507–508

Henry IV (Germany, Holy Roman Empire), 381

Henry VII (England), 418

Henry VIII (England), 418, 426, 501

Henry of Navarre. *See* Henry IV (France)

Henry “the Navigator” (Portugal), 443

Hepatitis B vaccine, 1006

Heraclius I (Byzantine Empire), 206

Herbal medicine, 600*(i)*

Herder, Johann Gottfried von, on nationalism, 702*(d)*

Heresy. *See also* Inquisition
- Arianism as, 208–209
- Galileo and, 540
- Joan of Arc and, 399
- in Middle Ages, 381

Hermits, 210–211

Hernández, Francisco, 537

Herodotus (historian), 56

Heroic poems, 116

Herophilus, 136

Herrera, José Joaquín de, 794*(d)*

Herzegovina. *See* Bosnia-Herzegovina

Herzl, Theodor, 723, 864

Hesiod, 116, 117

Hetaerae (courtesans), in Greece, 123*(i)*

Hezbollah, 959, 961

Hidalgo, Miguel, 653

Hideyoshi, Toyotomi (Japan), 594, 606–607, 606*(m)*, 615
  expansion under, 615
  Korea campaign and, 616–617*(d)*
Hiei, Mount, monastery on, 365
Hierarchy. *See also* Caste system; Class; Social hierarchies
  Abbasid, 236
  in Cambodia, 340
  in Christian Church, 163, 209, 211
  gender-based, 22, 23
  in Greece, 114
  in India, 68, 764
  in Latin American society, 795*(i)*
  in Muslim society, 238–239
  in Neolithic society, 22–23
  skin color-based, 558
  social in colonies, 556–558
  social in Europe, 415–418, 503, 697
  of wealth and nobility, 417
Hieroglyphics, 43, 262*(d)*
Higher education. *See also* Universities and colleges
  in Africa, 971
  Islamic, 246, 248
High Middle Ages. *See also* Middle Ages
  learning and culture in, 393–395, 534
Highways. *See* Roads
Hijra (emigration), by Muslims, 232
Hildebrand. *See* Gregory VII (Pope)
Hildegard of Bingen, 383*(b)*, 383*(i)*
Hill Complex (Great Zimbabwe), 282, 283*(i)*
Himalaya Mountains, 62
Himmler, Heinrich, 902
Hindenburg, Paul von, 901
Hindus, Maurice, on Russian peasants, 896*(d)*
Hindus and Hinduism, 60, 76–77, 335*(i)*
  Buddhism and, 336
  Gandhi, Indira, and, 975
  in India, 318, 334, 476, 482, 488, 490*(m)*, 761, 865, 866, 867, 976
  Marathas and, 490*(m)*, 492
  Muslims and, 335, 866, 869
  nationalist party (BJP) and, 976
  in Southeast Asia, 438

Hippocrates, 126
Hirano, Japan, 611
Hirohito (Japan), 915
Hiroshima, Japan
  atomic bombing of, 915, 915*(i)*
  size of, 608
Hispaniola, 448, 449, 647, 647*(m)*, 649*(b)*. *See also* Haiti; Saint-Domingue
  labor in, 454
Historical and Critical Dictionary (Bayle), 542
History and historiography. *See also* >specific individuals
  Andes cycles of, 295–296
  beginnings of, 2
  in China, 86, 89*(m)*, 174–175
  Churchill on, 56
  contemporary world as end of, 990–993
  Herodotus on, 56
  on Industrial Revolution in England, 662–663, 682–683*(d)*
  periods in Western history, 166, 374
  Procopius and, 195*(d)*, 203–206
  Romanticists and, 719
  Sima Guang and, 349*(i)*
  writing and, 32–33
History of Cang-Hy, the Present Emperour of China (Bouvet), 509*(d)*
History of the Former Han Dynasty (Ban Gu), 181*(b)*
History of the Later Han (Ban Zhao), 181
History of the Mongols (John of Plano Carpini), 330*(d)*
History of the Pan-African Revolt, A (James), 941*(d)*
History of the Peloponnesian War (Thucydides), 124*(d)*
History of the Two Indies (Raynal), 547
History of the Wars of Justinian, The (Procopius), 207*(b)*
History of the World (Rashid al-Din), siege of Baghdad in, 327*(i)*
Hitler, Adolf, 900–905. *See also* Nazi Germany
  aggression by, 902–905
  as chancellor, 901
  empire of, 906–907
  First World War and, 842–843, 844, 848
  Jews and, 864
  Mein Kampf by, 844, 900
  at Munich Conference, 903*(i)*
  popularity of, 902

  - radio propaganda by, 848
  - Soviet nonaggression pact with, 905
  - Spanish Civil War and, 888
  - suicide by, 913
  - totalitarianism and, 892
- Hitler Youth, 901*(i)*
- Hittites, 44–47, 47*(i)*
- HIV/AIDS, 1002, 1006
  - orphans from, 1003
  - people living with (ca. 2010), 1007*(m)*
- Hmong people, 938
- **Hobson, J. A.**, 742
- **Ho Chi Minh**, 880–881
  - on Leninism, 879
  - on rights, 936*(d)*
  - Vietnam Declaration of Independence and, 936*(d)*
  - Vietnamese independence and, 935
- **Hogenberg, Franz**, on Haarlem killings, 431*(i)*
- Hohenstaufen, house of, 379
- Hohenzollern dynasty (Prussia), 513
- Hohokam society, 293, 294*(m)*
- Hōjō family (Japan), 368
- Holidays, Christian, 219
- Holland. *See also* Dutch; Dutch East India Company; Dutch Empire; Dutch Republic; Netherlands
  - after Congress of Vienna, 692
  - independence of, 431
  - Nazis and, 906
  - race in Cape Colony and, 578
  - in Union of Utrecht, 503
- Holocaust, 885*(i)*, 908, 908*(i)*
  - 1941–1945, 908*(m)*
  - Levi, Primo, on, 909*(b)*
- Holocene epoch, 5
- *Holodomor* (hunger-extermination), in Ukraine, 894
- Holy Alliance, 692
- Holy League, Ottoman Empire and, 472
- Holy Office. *See* Supreme Sacred Congregation of the Roman and Universal Inquisition
- Holy Roman emperor, Charlemagne as, 376
- Holy Roman Empire, 379. *See also* Austria; specific locations

  - Charles V in, 419, 420*(m)*
  - under Habsburgs, 419, 513–514
  - Napoleon and, 643
  - Protestantism in, 425, 500–501
  - religious violence in, 502
  - republics in, 517
  - Roman Catholic Church and, 501
  - Spanish possessions of, 512
  - Thirty Years' War and, 504–505
- Holy War. *See* Jihad (holy war)
- Home front, in First World War, 828–831, 829*(i)*, 830–831*(d)*
- **Homer** (Greece), 116
- Home rule, for Ireland, 721
- Hominids (hominidae), 4, 5–6. *See also* *Homo* (genus)
- *Homo* (genus), 4, 5
  - *Homo erectus*, 6, 7
  - *Homo habilis*, 5, 7
  - *Homo sapiens*, 6–8, 343
  - *Homo sapiens sapiens*, 8
- Homosexuals. *See also* Same-sex relations
  - in 19th century, 711
  - lesbians and, 1002
  - Nazis and, 902
- Honduras, 791, 810
- **Honen** (preacher), 369
- Hong Kong
  - as "Asian Tiger," 971
  - China and, 769, 972
  - Japan and, 911
- Hongwu emperor. *See* Taizu
- **Hong Xiuquan** (China), 770
- Honshu, Japan, 192
- Hookworm, 572
- **Hoover, Herbert**, 887
- Hopewell society, 294
- Hopi people, 293
- Hoplites, 117, 118*(i)*, 120
- Hormuz, 489
  - Portugal and, 445
- Horn of Africa. *See* Africa; East Africa
- Horses, 21. *See also* Cavalry

- in Americas, 456
- in China, 353, 359*(i)*, 603, 605*(i)*
- Mongol, 238, 322, 328, 359*(i)*
- nomads and, 320
- trade in, 458

Horticulture, 13–19. *See also* Agriculture
Horus (god), 133*(i)*
Hōryūji Temple (Japan), 193*(i)*, 194
Hospitals
- germ theory in, 708
- in Ottoman Empire, 481

Household(s). *See also* Families
- Byzantine, 208
- families and, 21
- gender hierarchy in, 23
- peasant, 389
- urban poverty and, 678
- wealth of, 709
- in West Africa, 571

House of Commons (England), 515–516, 581, 697
House of Lords (England), 697
House of lords (Japan), 775
House of Orange. *See* Orange, House of; William III of Orange
House of Trade (Spain), 454
Housing
- Anasazi, 293
- ancient, 8
- in Constantinople, 208
- in Greece, 122
- in India, 63, 337
- for industrial workers, 679, 679*(i)*
- Mongol yurts as, 321, 322
- Ottoman, 472*(i)*
- Paleolithic and Neolithic, 20*(i)*
- for peasants, 389
- transportation and, 709

Huaca (sacred spaces or things), 295
Huangdi (emperor), 172
Huascar (Inca), 312
Huayna Capac Inca, 312
Hudson Bay territory, 522

Hudson River region, 668
Hudson's Bay Company, 521*(i)*
Hue, Vietnam, 766
Hugo, Victor, 719
Huguenots, 427, 430. *See also* Protestants and Protestantism
    in France, 501, 507–508
Huitzilihuitl (Mexica), 307
Huitzilopochtli (god), 307, 309*(b)*
Human body. *See* Medicine
Humanism
    Christian, 410
    learning and, 412–413*(d)*
    rise of, 408–410
    women's roles and, 417
Human papilloma virus vaccine, 1006
Human rights
    in Africa, 734, 971
    in Argentina, 964
    in Chile, 964
    movement for, 998
    before revolutionary period, 627
Humans
    classification of, 4–5, 9
    evolution of, 4–8
    migration and differentiation of, 7*(m)*, 8–9
    Paleolithic, 5
Human sacrifice. *See also* Blood sacrifice; Sacrifices
    Aztec, 309*(i)*, 310–311
    in China, 91
Humayun (Mughal India), 476
Hume, David, 543–544, 546
Hunayn ib Ishaq, 235–236
Hunchback of Notre Dame (Hugo), 719
Hundred Days (France), 645
Hundred Schools of Thought (China), 100, 106*(i)*
Hundred Years' War, 397–399
    France after, 418
Hungary, 697. *See also* Austria-Hungary; Magyars
    in Austro-Hungarian Empire, 722
    after First World War, 843
    Habsburgs and, 513–514

  kingdom in, 379
  Mongols in, 327, 379
  origins of name, 376
  Ottomans and, 472, 492, 513
  rebellion in (1956), 947
  revolution in (1848), 700, 701
Huns, 175, 202, 218. *See also* Xiongnu people
  in India, 334
  Magyars and, 376
  Roman view of, 216*(d)*
Hunting
  Chinese, 97*(i)*
  gathering and, 6, 10, 261–263
Huron Indians, 521
Hürrem (Ottomans), 474*(i)*
Husbands. *See* Families
Hu Shih, on May Fourth Movement, 875*(d)*
Hussein, Saddam, 961, 993
Hussein ibn-Ali, 826*(i)*, 842
Hutus, Tutsis and, 970–971
Hydrocarbons, 1000
Hydrostatics, 134, 135*(b)*
Hyksos people, 43
Hymns
  in China, 93
  in Mesopotamia and Egypt, 37, 40–41*(d)*
“Hymn to Aten,” 46*(b)*
Hyperinflation, in Germany, 900
Hyphasis River, Alexander the Great at, 128

I

"I Am Free" (allegorical portrait), 629*(i)*
Iberian Peninsula. *See also* Portugal; Spain
    Christianity in, 382
    European exploration and, 441, 442
    Muslims in, 381
Ibn al-'Arabi (Sufi), writings of, 251
Ibn Al-Athir, on Crusades, 386*(d)*
Ibn Battuta, Abu ‘Abdallah, 247*(b)*
    on Africa, 258
    on East African societies, 278–279
    in Kilwa, 269, 279
    on people of Mali, 273
    on trans-Saharan trade, 265
Ibn-Fartura, 570
Ibn-Ghazi, Ahmad (Adal), 573
Ibn Rushid. *See* Averroës
Ibn Sina of Bukhara. *See* Avicenna
Iboland, 588
Ibo people (Nigeria), 571, 742
Ice Age, 8. *See also* Little ice age
Iceland, Vikings in, 376
Iceman, 25*(i)*
Ice sheets, 5
Iconoclastic controversy, 213
Icons
    of Christ, 214*(i)*
    idols and, 214*(b)*
Id, 846
Ideas
    in Enlightenment, 532
    spread of, 24–26
Ideas for the Philosophy of History of Humanity (Herder), 702*(d)*
Identity
    in Atlantic world, 557–558
    Christian, 162–163

  national, 638–640, 857
  in Paleolithic kin groups, 11
Ideograms, 35*(i)*, 49
Ideology. *See also* Intellectual thought; Philosophy; Religion(s)
  of Communists and Fascists, 893
  conservatism as, 690, 692–693
  liberalism as, 690, 693–695
  nationalism as, 690, 695–696
  of Social Darwinism, 715
  socialism as, 690, 696
Idolatry, 214*(b)*
Igbo people, 265, 958
Ignatius. *See* Loyola, Ignatius
Ihara Saikaku (Japan), 609, 612–613*(d)*
Ikhwan al-Safa, on Jesus, 253
Iliad, 116, 151
Il-khanate (Mongols), 238, 329
Illiteracy. *See also* Literacy
  in 2010, 1005
Illness. *See* Diseases; Epidemics; Health; Medicine; specific conditions
Illumination, of manuscripts, 277
Imam (leader), 234, 235, 475
Immigrants and immigration. *See also* Emigration; Migration; specific countries
  to Americas, 455–456, 806–807, 807*(i)*
  to Argentina, 709, 806–807
  to Brazil, 806–807
  to Canada, 782, 809, 810*(i)*
  by Central Americans, 963
  Filipino, 879
  global migration and, 788, 993–995
  from Japan, 806–807
  Japanese-Brazilian in Japan, 995*(i)*
  Jewish, 723, 864
  to Latin America, 806–807
  politics of, 993
  restrictions on, 867, 993
  to United States, 807–808, 807*(i)*, 864
  working women and, 678*(i)*
Imperator (Rome), 151, 151*(i)*
Imperialism, 690. *See also* Anti-imperialism; Colonialism; Colonies and

colonization; Empire(s); Nationalism; New Imperialism; specific locations
  in 19th century, 728
  in Africa, 568, 732–743, 733*(m)*, 744–745*(d)*, 939
  in Asia, 758, 760–767
  Athenian, 121
  in China, 767–773, 870, 871*(d)*
  critics of, 742
  by Europe, 732–737
  Ferry’s defense of, 740–741*(d)*
  after First World War, 842, 856, 862
  industrialization and, 676
  against Japan, 872
  by Japan, 776–778
  in Middle East, 857, 861
  in Ottoman Empire, 746–747
  in Philippines, 767
  postcolonialism and, 927–928
  Social Darwinism and, 715
  Spanish, 458
  of United States, 767, 810–814
  by West, 388
Imperialism (Hobson), 742
Imports. *See also* Trade; specific imports
  English, 522, 663, 672, 751
  of food, 1005
  in Ottoman Empire, 746
  slave, by destination, 581*(f)*
Import substitution, in Japan, 776
Import substitution industrialization (ISI), 925
Inca Empire, 289*(i)*, 291, 295, 296–300, 297*(m)*
  expansion of, 296, 297–298
  fall of, 312–314
  khipu and, 33, 291*(i)*
  labor in, 298–300
  religion, authority, and tribute in, 313*(d)*
  silver from, 458
  size of, 298
  Spain and, 299*(d)*, 312–314, 450–451
  women and, 451*(i)*
Inca Yupanque. *See* Pachacuti Inca

Income. *See also* Taxation; Wealth
  in China, 974
  global inequality in, 708–709, 751, 751*(f)*
  in Japan, 971
  in Russia, 980
  worldwide growth of (1750–1914), 751*(f)*
Income inequality. *See* Wealth gap
Indentured labor
  Indian emigrants as, 781–782, 807, 867
  to Jamestown, 519
  for plantations, 753
Independence. *See also* specific countries
  of Afghanistan, 863
  in Africa, 591, 970–971
  American Revolution and, 631–632
  for Arab states, 861, 864
  in Asia, 783
  in Balkans, 747
  of Brazil, 653–655
  of Chechnya, 981
  declarations of, 631, 632*(i)*, 652–653, 654*(d)*
  Dutch, 430–431, 503, 507, 516
  of Egypt, 864
  of Ethiopia, 732
  after First World War, 842
  of Greece, 747
  of Haiti, 645–650, 647*(m)*, 652
  of Iraq, 864
  in Latin America, 624, 650–655, 651*(m)*
  of Liberia, 732
  of Mexico, 653, 792
  of Nigeria, 958
  of Philippines, 767, 878, 879
  of Portugal, 507
  of Portuguese colonies, 966
  of Serbia, 747
  of Siam, 767
  in Southeast Asia, 878–879
  of Soviet republics, 980
  of Syria, 861, 864
  of Turkey, 862

Independent Party of Color (Cuba), 811
India. *See also* Asia; Gandhi, Mohandas; Mughal Empire (India);
  specific rulers
  - 1707–1805, 490*(m)*
  - in 1914, 765*(m)*
  - ca. 1930, 867*(m)*
  - Afghanistan and, 863
  - Africa and, 731, 939
  - agriculture in, 62, 336
  - ancestors in, 338
  - arts in, 334
  - Aryans in, 60, 63–69, 68*(i)*
  - astronomy, mathematics, and, 333
  - Brahmanism in, 60, 66, 69
  - Buddhism and, 60, 72–76, 182, 341
  - castes in, 60, 68–69, 81, 335, 336–337, 929
  - colonies in, 758
  - Columbus and, 388
  - cotton industry in, 674, 675*(d)*, 676*(i)*
  - culture of, 338–341
  - development vs. democracy in, 974–976
  - Dutch slaves from, 577
  - East African trade and, 575
  - economy in, 81, 334, 975–976
  - education in, 761, 762–763*(d)*
  - elites in, 760, 761–764
  - emigration from, 780, 781–782
  - England and, 489, 490–491, 674, 675*(d)*, 759*(i)*, 760–764, 865–869
  - eunuchs in, 488
  - exports to, 554
  - families in, 337–338
  - famine in (1966,1967), 1005
  - female head of state in, 1003
  - First World War and, 827, 827*(i)*, 856, 865–866
  - France and, 491
  - Gandhi in, 854, 855*(i)*, 866–869, 928
  - gender in, 69
  - geography of, 62, 78*(m)*
  - government of, 78, 476, 976
  - Greek culture and, 130

green revolution in, 1005
Gupta Empire in, 333–334
Harappan civilization in, 62
Hinduism in, 318, 335, 336, 488, 865, 866, 869, 929
Indian Ocean trade and, 438
industrialization in, 671, 672
Islam and, 233, 318, 333, 488
Jesuits in, 430, 618
Khmer Empire and, 340
kingdoms in, 68
labor in, 333, 338*(i)*
languages in, 334
law code in, 81
law court in, 764*(i)*
lifestyle in, 866*(i)*
literature in, 93, 334
mass sterilization in, 975
mathematics in, 334
Mauryan Empire and, 77, 78–80
after Mauryan Empire, 333
medieval lifestyle in, 336–338
migration and, 753, 867
Mongols in, 336
Mughal, 336, 468, 476–477, 476*(m)*, 492
Muslim and Jewish trade with, 242
Muslims in, 476, 865, 866, 869, 928–929, 929*(m)*
Nadir Shah in, 492
nationalism in, 854, 865–869, 928–929, 976
non-Muslims in, 485–486
nuclear testing by, 991
Pakistan and, 924, 976
partition of, 929–930, 929*(m)*
peasants in, 336, 764
Persia and, 476
political organization in, 68
population of, 489, 761, 780
Portugal and, 445, 476, 489
railroads in, 667
as regional power, 990
religions in, 60, 68–69, 70–77, 482
roads in, 489

- scholarship from, 534
- self-rule for, 764, 865–869
- Seven Years' War and, 491, 630*(m)*
- Sikhs in, 866
- society in, 60, 68
- socioeconomic effects of British in, 760–761
- Southeast Asian states and, 339, 340
- Srivijaya kingdom and, 341
- states in, 80–81, 339–340
- textiles in, 438, 489, 491, 663, 674, 675*(d)*, 676*(i)*, 760
- Timur in, 329
- trade in, 62–63, 69, 80–81, 339, 489–490
- transportation in, 760, 761
- Turks and, 321, 335
- UN and, 924
- villages in, 337
- West and, 77
- women in, 69, 338, 929

India House (Portugal), 44
Indian Civil Service, 761–764
Indian National Congress Party, 764, 866, 867, 928–929, 975, 976
Indian Ocean region, 62. *See also* Southeast Asia
- Atlantic economy and, 554
- East African trade and, 564
- Islam in, 268
- Muslim trade and, 445
- navigation in, 243
- peoples and cultures of, 438–439
- Swahili and, 258, 575
- trade in, 243, 243*(m)*, 244–245*(d)*, 334, 438–439, 489

Indians. *See also* India; Native Americans
- origins of term, 447

Indies. *See also* East Indies; West Indies
- Columbus and, 447

Indigenous peoples. *See also* specific groups
- in Americas, 624, 626–627, 804
- Catholic Church and, 454, 461
- displacement of (1780s–1910s), 792*(m)*
- European debate about, 461, 558
- foreign investment and, 799
- population loss and economic exploitation of, 454–455

  - revolutions in Atlantic world and, 652, 655
  - Spanish exploitation of, 455*(i)*, 650
  - traditions of, 652

Indigo, in China, 601

Individual, in Renaissance, 411

Indochina. *See also* Cambodia; Laos; Vietnam; specific locations
  - in 1914, 765*(m)*
  - communism in, 879
  - in First World War, 856
  - after First World War, 856
  - France and, 766, 935
  - Funan and, 339
  - Japanese invasion of, 910
  - nationalism in, 878–879
  - after Second World War, 935

Indo-European language family, 44–45, 52–53, 63, 66
  - migrations and Vedic Age, 66*(m)*

Indo-Greek states, 80–81, 130

Indonesia. *See also* East Indies
  - in 1914, 765*(m)*
  - Chinese in, 617
  - colonies in, 758
  - East Africa and, 278
  - female head of state in, 1003
  - humans in, 6
  - Japan and, 911
  - Srivijaya kingdom in, 340
  - UN and, 924

"Indra and the Maruts" *(Rig Veda)*, 67*(d)*

Inductive reasoning, 539

Indulgences, 421, 421*(i)*

Indus River region, 19, 38, 60, 62, 63. *See also* Harappan civilization; India
  - Alexander the Great in, 128
  - India and, 77
  - Muslims in, 233, 335
  - Roman trade and, 160
  - Turks in, 335

Industrialists, 681–682

Industrialization. *See also* Industrial Revolution
  - agents of, 672–674

  carbon emissions and, 1000
  class diversification and, 710–711
  in continental Europe, 660, 672, 673*(m)*
  dependency theory and, 925
  in Egypt, 674
  in England, 662–670, 671, 696–697
  entrepreneurs and, 663, 672, 674
  in Europe, 670–671, 696–697
  foreign investment and, 752
  in German Confederation, 705
  global economy and, 674–676
  global inequality and, 672, 750–751
  in Japan, 776
  in Latin America, 806, 814, 925
  lifestyle during, 697
  multinational corporations and, 998
  national comparisons of, 671–672
  New Imperialism and, 739
  per capita levels of (1750–1913), 671*(f)*
  population growth and, 668–669
  responses to, 684
  in Russia, 674, 706–707, 980
  slavery and, 685
  socialism and, 696
  in South Africa, 970
  Soviet, 893, 894–895
  tariffs and, 663, 672
  in Turkey, 863
  in United States, 660, 671, 814
  urban conditions and, 679, 697, 708–709
Industrial Revolution, 656, 660
  colonialism and, 783
  in England, 660, 662–670, 667*(m)*
  in Europe, 670–674
  outside Europe, 674–676
  Second, 671
  use of term, 663
Industry. *See also* Cottage industry; Industrialization; Multinational corporations; specific industries
  in 17th century, 504
  in China, 91, 352, 362, 605, 890

  - in England, 418, 662–663, 662*(m)*, 664–666
  - in Great Depression, 888
  - in Japan, 872, 971
  - in Korea, 363
  - in Mexico, 804, 804*(i)*
  - in Roman provinces, 157–159
  - rural, 551–554
  - in South Africa, 736
  - in Soviet Union, 893, 894–895
  - transportation and, 751
  - in West Africa, 572–573
- Inequality. *See also* specific groups
  - class and social, 709–711
  - economic, 626, 627, 672, 709–710
  - racial, 546–547, 626–627
  - social reform and, 998
- Inertia, law of, 537
- Infanticide
  - in China, 702
  - in India, 760
  - in Japan, 611
- Infant mortality. *See also* Death rates
  - Chinese and British efforts to reduce, 771*(d)*
  - in industrial cities, 679
  - in West Africa, 570
- *Inferno* (Dante), Muslims in, 253
- "In Flanders Fields" (McCrae), 825*(d)*
- Inflation
  - in 18th century, 626
  - in Brazil, 965, 966
  - after First World War, 843
  - in Germany, 900
  - in Poland, 978
  - in Spain, 458
  - in U.S., 956
- Influenza, 866
- Information age, 1006–1010
- Information technology, innovation in, 1010
- Infrastructure
  - in China and Rome, 180
  - English industrialization and, 662

  Inca, 300
  in India, 760
Inheritance
  of Athenian citizenship, 123
  in China, 93
  Frankish, 221
  Hammurabi’s code on, 39
  Inca, 296, 297
  Mongol, 322
  in Rome, 147
  social hierarchies and, 22, 23
  in Southeast Asia, 439
  in West Africa, 731
Inland Sea, Japan and, 192
Inner Asia
  China and, 88, 175–177, 605
  Turks from, 320
Inner Mongolia, 88, 598
Innovation
  industrialization and, 663–668
  scientific inventions and, 535
Inoculation, for smallpox, 619
Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations, An (Smith), 544
Inquisition
  Holy Office and, 428, 502
  papal, 381, 540
  Roman, 428
  in Spain, 419, 460*(b)*
Inscriptions, 33
Institutes of the Christian Religion, The (Calvin), 426
Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI, Mexico). *See* PRI
Instruments of the Observatory (Mehmet), 481
Insurance, in Germany, 720
Integration (economic), in Europe, 981–984, 993
Intellectual thought. *See also* Education; Enlightenment; Humanism; Learning; Philosophy; Renaissance; Revolution; Scholarship; Science(s); Writing
  Byzantine, 203–206
  in Carolingian Renaissance, 223
  in China, 92, 103–108, 104*(d)*, 173–175, 188–189, 870–872

  - in Egypt, 748
  - in Enlightenment, 532, 541–551, 627
  - evolution and, 7–8, 714–715
  - after First World War, 847
  - Hellenistic, 131, 133–136
  - in India, 70, 761, 764
  - on industrialization, 684
  - Islamic, 235–236, 246–249, 268, 481–482
  - Latin American revolutions and, 652
  - Legalists and, 106–107
  - in medieval Europe, 393–395
  - of philosophes, 542–543
  - on population growth, 668–670
  - Rashid al-Din and, 329
  - in Scientific Revolution, 532, 534–541
  - student study abroad and, 782
  - in Timbuktu, 272–273, 568
  - in West African cities, 268
- Intendants, in Spanish colonies, 650
- Intendant system (France), 508
- Intercolonial trade, 554
- Intercontinental trade, 751
- *Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, The* (Equiano), 582*(b)*
- Intermarriage. *See also* Mixed-race peoples
  - between ethnic groups, 384
- Internal combustion engine, 714
- International Atomic Energy Agency, 991*(i)*
- International economy. *See* Global economy
- International Labour Organization, 840
- International trade. *See* Trade
- Internet, 1007–1010
- *Interpreter of Desires, The* (Ibn al-’Arabi), 251
- Intervention, history of, 993
- Intifada, 959
- Invasions. *See also* Vikings; War(s) and warfare; specific groups and locations
  - of 9th and 10th centuries, 376, 377*(m)*
  - at Bay of Pigs in Cuba, 945
  - of Ethiopia by Italy, 903*(m)*
  - of Europe, 224, 376

  - by Japan, 615
  - by Magyars, 376
  - Mongol, 238, 327, 368
  - Muslim, 376
  - of Roman territory, 163, 164
  - Viking, 376
- Inventions. *See also* Innovation; specific inventions and inventors
  - scientific, 535
- Investment
  - in Argentina, 964, 965
  - in Chile, 802, 803*(d)*, 806
  - in China, 972
  - European, 752
  - before Great Depression, 886
  - in Latin America, 799, 802, 810
  - in Mexico, 804
- Ionia, 120, 126, 128. *See also* Turkey
- **Ippitsusai Bunchyo**, 613*(i)*
- Iran. *See also* Pahlavi family; Persia; Persian Empire
  - government of, 961
  - Iraq and, 961
  - modernization of, 961
  - Mongols in, 327, 332
  - nomads in, 52–53
  - nuclear freeze by, 961
  - nuclear weapons testing and, 991, 991*(i)*
  - Persia as, 863–864
  - revolution in (1979), 956, 961, 962*(m)*, 991
  - Shi’ism in, 961
  - Turks in, 334
- Iran-Iraq War, 991
- Iraq. *See also* Abbasid caliphate; Mesopotamia; Saddam Hussein
  - in ca. 2010, 992*(m)*
  - England and, 861, 864
  - Faisal bin Hussein in, 864
  - after First World War, 842, 861
  - Iran and, 961
  - Kurds and, 962*(m)*
  - nuclear reactor in, 991
  - oil and, 956, 959
  - Persian Gulf wars and, 961, 992

- refugees in, 990
- revolution in, 961
- Sunni Muslims in, 961
- Turks in, 237, 857
- Umayyads in, 224
- in United Arab Republic, 930
- U.S. military occupation of, 961

Iraq War (2003–2011), 992–993

Ireland, 671
- Christianity in, 219
- Easter Rebellion in, 830
- England and, 418, 516, 519, 697–698, 721
- exports to, 554
- famines in, 677, 697–698, 721
- after First World War, 844
- Glorious Revolution and, 516
- Roman Catholicism in, 426, 515, 516
- uprising in (1641), 515

Irish people, as factory workers, 677

Iron Age, 5, 47–48

Iron and iron industry
- in Africa, 258, 263–264
- after Bronze Age, 24, 47–48
- in China, 93, 177, 352
- in England, 662, 664, 667, 684
- in Greece, 116

Iron law of wages, 670

Irrigation
- Archimedian screw for, 135*(b)*
- in Central Asia, 238
- in China, 97
- in Egypt, 43
- in Ghana, 269
- in India, 760
- in Sumer, 34

Isabella of Castile (Spain), 418, 419, 442, 446, 485

Isaiah (prophet), 54

Isandlwana, Battle of, 745*(i)*

Isfahan, 238, 479
- Afghans in, 492
- Christian Armenians in, 522

Ishida Baigan, 613*(d)*
Isis (god), 42, 133, 133*(i)*
ISIS (Islamic State), 993
Islam, 224, 228–254. *See also* Arabs and Arab world; Fundamentalism; Jihad; Mongols; Muslims; Ottoman Empire
  as Abrahamic religion, 50, 962*(m)*
  administration of territories of, 236
  in Afghanistan, 864
  Africa and, 268–269, 268*(m)*, 439, 730, 731, 742
  African slavery and, 577
  arts in, 469*(i)*, 478–479
  in Asia, 783
  in Central Asia, 333
  challenges to, 746–752
  class in, 268
  coffeehouses in, 482–484, 483*(i)*
  conversion to, 238, 251, 488
  Crusades and, 253
  culture of, 228, 246–251, 478–484
  in East Africa, 277, 575
  education and, 246–248, 750
  in Egypt, 748
  in Ethiopia, 273, 274*(i)*
  European perception of, 253, 545
  expansion of, 232–236, 233*(m)*, 243*(m)*
  fundamentalist, 959, 961
  gardens of, 478*(i)*, 480–481
  government of, 234–235
  India and, 233, 318, 333, 334–336, 488
  intellectual thought and, 235–236, 246–249, 535
  Judaism and, 238, 239, 251
  in Kanem-Bornu, 570
  law of, 236
  in Mali, 268, 271, 272
  marriage, family, and sexuality in, 240–242, 241*(d)*
  merchants and, 268
  Mongols and, 238, 329
  in Nigeria, 959
  origins of, 230–231
  Ottomans and, 400, 471–472, 747, 857
  principle of, 231

    reforms of, 748
    Senegambia and, 566
    slavery in, 236, 239–240
    in Songhai, 568–569
    spread of, 232–234, 233*(m)*, 254–255, 265, 277
    in Sudan, 731
    tenets of, 231
    trade in, 235, 242–246, 243*(m)*, 268, 488–491
    trans-Saharan trade and, 265
    in Turkey, 862–863
    Turks and, 237–238, 321, 334–335, 857
    women in, 240, 241*(d)*, 242, 248
Islamic empires, 468, 470–492. *See also* Mughal Empire; Ottoman Empire; Safavid Empire
    ca. 1700, 493*(m)*
    decline of, 492
    merchant networks in, 489–490
    religions in, 484–488
    trade in, 488–491
Islamic Republic of Iran. *See* Iran
Islamic State, 961
    ISIS as, 993
Islamist terrorism. *See also* Terrorism
    on September 11, 2001, 992, 992*(i)*
“Island hopping” campaign (Second World War), 914
Ismail (Egypt), 748, 750
Isolationism
    in England, 888
    in U.S., 864
Israel, 931, 931*(m)*. *See also* Hebrew people; Jews and Judaism; Palestine
    Arab conflicts with, 956
    Egypt and, 959, 960
    establishment of, 924
    female head of state in, 1003
    Iraq nuclear reactor and, 991
    Jordan and, 959
    kingdom of, 50
    Lebanon and, 959
    in Levant, 261
    nuclear weapons of, 991

- Palestine and, 924, 959–960
- as regional power, 990
- wall of separation in, 960*(i)*
- Yom Kippur War and, 956
- Young Turks in, 857

Israelites. *See* Hebrew people

Istanbul. *See also* Constantinople
- coffee drinking in, 483
- Hürrem and, 474*(b)*
- mosques in, 479
- under Ottomans, 471

Italian language, 157, 395

Italy, 224, 722. *See also* Axis powers; Rome (ancient); Rome (city); Second World War
- Africa and, 732
- Black Death in, 397
- Byzantines and, 202
- cities in, 408, 417*(i)*
- city-states in, 517
- class in, 898
- economic problems in, 984
- education for women in, 541
- Enlightenment in, 544
- Ethiopian invasion by, 903*(m)*
- fascism in, 892, 898–900
- in First World War, 821
- after First World War, 844
- gardens in, 480
- Greek migration to, 119, 142
- Holy Roman Empire and, 379
- immigrants from, 709
- industrialization and, 671
- Magyars in, 376
- Muslims in, 376
- Napoleon in, 641
- nationalism in, 701
- nation building in, 701–703
- Nazi Germany and, 904
- plague viewed in, 398*(d)*
- pope from, 400
- radical totalitarian dictatorship in, 890

  - Renaissance in, 408, 411–415
  - Rome and, 142–144, 144*(m)*, 146–147
  - in Second World War, 913
  - slavery and, 416, 441
  - Socialist Party in, 898
  - states in (1494), 408*(m)*
  - trade and, 157, 392, 441
  - in Triple Alliance, 821, 824
  - Turkey and, 862
  - unification of, 408, 701–704, 703*(m)*
  - universities in, 393
  - urban revolts in, 402
  - in World War I, 898
- **Ito, Hirobumi**, 776*(i)*
- **Iturbide, Agustín de**, 791
- Ius civile (Rome), 145
- Ius gentium (Rome), 145
- Ius naturale (Rome), 145
- **Ivan III** (“the Great,” Russia), 523
- **Ivan IV** (“the Terrible,” Russia), 523–524
- **Ivonet, Pedro**, 811
- Ivory, 280, 734
- Ivory Coast, cloth from, 572
- Iwo Jima, Battle of, 915
- *Iyalode* (female chiefs), 265

J

Jacobin club, 637, 638
Jacobites, 516
Jacquerie uprising, 400
Jade, in China, 88*(i)*
Jahan (Mughal shah), 476, 479–480, 480*(i)*
Jahangir (India), 476, 477*(d)*, 488, 488*(i)*, 489
Jains and Jainism, 60, 70–72, 72*(i)*, 79, 127
Jakarta, Indonesia. *See* Batavia
James I (England), 514, 515
James II (England), 516
James, C. L. R., 941*(d)*
Jamestown, 519
Janissaries, 473, 746
Japan, 192–194, 348. *See also* Axis powers; Pacific Ocean region; Peasants; Second World War; specific rulers and shogunates
  agriculture in, 370, 611
  alternate residence system in, 607, 608
  aristocratic culture in, 364–366
  arts in, 606
  atomic bombings of, 915, 915*(i)*
  Australia and, 779
  as Axis power, 904
  baseball in, 935*(i)*
  Buddhism in, 76, 193*(i)*, 194, 364, 365, 369–370
  China and, 190, 354*(m)*, 365, 601, 607, 608, 772, 778, 870, 876–878, 877, 890, 908
  Christianity in, 618
  cities in, 609
  civil war in, 594, 605, 606
  cloistered government in, 364
  clothing in, 612–613*(d)*
  commerce in, 608
  conscription in, 774
  constitutional government in, 775, 934
  culture in, 192, 364–366, 369–370, 775

daimyo in, 606
demilitarization of, 934
Dutch and, 618, 619*(i)*
economy in, 608, 872, 971, 984
Edo period in, 608–611
elites in, 611, 876
emigration from, 782
entertainment in, 609
epidemics in, 194, 195*(d)*
Europe and, 494, 619
expansion of, 594, 615, 778*(m)*, 908–911
families in, 611
famine in, 609
fascism and, 893
female rulers of, 192–194
feudal period in, 367
First World War and, 827, 856, 872
Fujiwara family in, 364, 365, 366
government of, 364, 606, 607–608, 773–774, 775, 872, 876
in Great Depression, 890
Heian period in, 364–366
Hideyoshi in, 594, 606–607, 606*(m)*, 615, 616–617*(d)*
Hōryūji Temple in, 193*(i)*
imperialism and, 758, 776–778, 857
Indochina and, 910
industrialization in, 672, 776
Jesuits in, 430
Korea and, 191, 192, 192*(m)*, 194, 594, 607, 776–778
land in, 367–368
language in, 194
Latin American immigrants from, 806–807
law regulating dress in, 612*(d)*
League of Nations and, 877
managed capitalism in, 971
Manchuria and, 707, 870, 870 890, 872, 876, 890, 904
mandates after First World War, 842, 856
Meiji Restoration in, 773–775, 776
merchants in, 608, 611
middle ages in, 605–607
migration to, 993–995, 995*(i)*
military in, 605, 608, 615, 774, 776, 778, 890

modernization of, 746, 772, 773–778, 869, 881, 971
Mongols and, 327, 331*(i)*, 348, 364, 368
monks and monasteries in, 194, 364, 369, 606
Muromachi culture in, 605, 606
Nanjing (Nanking), China and, 877, 908
nationalism and, 724
natural disasters in, 609
Nazi Germany and, 890
outside world and, 608
Pearl Harbor attack by, 910
peasants in, 368, 606–607, 609–611
Philippines and, 879, 911, 914*(i)*, 915
piracy and, 607, 614–615
police in, 774
population in, 607, 872
Port Arthur and, 778
as regional power, 990
religions in, 194, 608
Russia and, 766, 778
Russo-Japanese War and, 707, 707*(m)*, 778, 856
samurai in, 348, 366–369, 607–609
Second World War and, 877, 905, 914–915
Shinto in, 194
silk in, 194
silver from, 458
skyscrapers in, 777*(i)*
smallpox epidemic in, 194
society in, 370
in Southeast Asia, 911
taxation in, 606, 609
temples in, 193*(i)*, 194
towns in, 608
trade in, 192, 608, 776
ultranationalism in, 876, 877, 881, 890, 910–911*(d)*
United States and, 910, 934–935
urban planning in, 187*(i)*
Vietnam War protests in, 936*(i)*, 949
villages in, 611
westernization of, 773, 775
women in, 192–194, 609, 611, 971
"Japan, Inc.," 971

Java
  Borobudur temple complex and, 341
  Chinese immigrants in, 781
  Dutch in, 765, 766
  humans in, 6
  Mongols and, 327
  Zheng He and, 614
Java War, 766
Jefferson, Thomas, 627, 631, 650
Jehovah. *See* Yahweh
Jehovah's Witnesses, Nazis and, 902
Jena, battle at, 643
Jenne (city), 268
  description of, 569*(d)*
  Great Friday Mosque in, 272*(i)*
Jerome (Saint), 209*(i)*, 211–212, 219
Jerusalem. *See also* Israel
  Armenian Quarter of, 859*(i)*
  building in, 479
  Crusades and, 384, 385, 385*(m)*, 386–387*(d)*
  Dome of the Rock mosque in, 231*(i)*
  Hebrew capital at, 50
  Jesus in, 162
  Muslims and, 384, 385, 931
  Temple of, 50, 53
Jesuits, 428–430, 459–461, 502
  in China, 502*(i)*, 545, 618, 618*(i)*
  in Ethiopia, 573, 574
  in India, 488
  in New France, 521
Jesus Christ, 161*(i)*
  life and teachings of, 161–162
  meaning of *Christ*, 162
  Muslim writings on, 251, 253
  nature of, 162, 163, 208, 209
  Orthodox icon of, 214*(i)*
  symbol for, 162*(i)*
Jewelry
  Merovingian, 221*(i)*
  Sassanid, 203*(i)*
Jewish Bride, The (Rembrandt), 520*(i)*

Jewish Enlightenment, 551
“Jewish Meal During the Feast of the Tabernacles” (Picart), 553*(i)*
Jewish National Fund, 864, 865*(i)*
Jewish War, The (Josephus), 158*(d)*
Jews and Judaism, 50, 715. *See also* Anti-Semitism; Christianity; Hebrew people; Israel; Jesus Christ
  as Abrahamic religion, 50, 962*(m)*
  in Alexandria, 130
  anti-Semitism and, 722–723
  in Atlantic economy, 558
  Balfour Declaration and, 860–861
  in China, 188
  colonial trade and, 522
  Crusades and, 388
  Cyrus the Great and, 53, 54*(d)*
  divorce and, 242
  Dreyfus affair and, 720–721, 721*(i)*
  emancipation of, 551, 722
  enlightened absolutism and, 551
  in Enlightenment, 545
  Ethiopia and, 273, 274–277, 275*(b)*
  European restrictions against, 388
  in Fascist Italy, 900
  in France, 628*(d)*, 636
  in Hameln, Lower Saxony, 520*(b)*
  Holocaust, 885*(i)*, 908, 908*(i)*, 908*(m)*
  immigration and, 723, 864
  in India, 490
  Islam and, 238, 239, 251, 484–485
  Levi, Primo, and, 909*(b)*
  in medieval Europe, 381
  migration and, 752
  nationalism of, 723, 864
  Nazis and, 900, 902, 907
  in Netherlands, 517
  in North Africa, 260
  in Ottoman Empire, 400, 746
  Pale of Settlement and, 551*(m)*
  Palestine and, 860–861, 864–865
  persecution of, 419
  as plague scapegoats, 397

    reconquista and, 384, 384*(m)*
    in Russia, 706, 722*(i)*, 723
    in Spain, 419
    Spinoza and, 542
    trade and, 242
    Zionism and, 723, 860, 864
Ji An (China), Sima Qian on, 155*(d)*
Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek), 870, 877, 932, 972
Jiangxi, 872
Jiaoqi ji (Che Ruoshui), 360*(d)*
Jihad (holy war), 731
Jin (Chinese state), 97
Jin Dynasty (China), 353, 354*(m)*, 359, 364. *See also* Jurchen (Jin) people
Jingdezhen, China, 605
Jinnah, Muhammad Ali, 929
Joan of Arc (Saint), 399
João VI (Portugal), 586*(d)*
Johannesburg (South Africa), 709
John (England), 379
John XXIII (Pope), 927
John of Plano Carpini, *History of the Mongols*, 330*(d)*
John Paul II (Pope), 927
Johnson, Lyndon B., 935, 937*(d)*, 938
Johnson, Samuel, 577
Jōmon culture (Japan), 192
Jordan
    England and, 924
    Israel and, 931, 959
    Neolithic village in, 13*(i)*
    Young Turks and, 857
Joseph II (Austria), 550, 551
Joseph Bonaparte. *See* Bonaparte family
Josephus, Titus Flavius, *Jewish War, The*, 158*(d)*
Joyce, James, 847
Juarez, Benito, 793, 804
Juárez Law, 793
Judah (state), 50
Judaism. *See* Jews and Judaism
Judeo-Arabic learning, 442
Judeo-Christian tradition

  - in Ethiopia, 275*(b)*
  - Muslims and, 251
- Judgment Day, Islamic, 231
- Judicial systems, 379
- Judiciary. *See* Court (law)
- Julio-Claudians (Rome), 154
- June Days (France, 1848), 698
- Junta
  - in Argentina, 964
  - in Chile, 963–964
- Jupiter (planet), 537
- Jurchen (Jin) people, 321, 348
  - China and, 352, 353, 354*(m)*, 359
  - Korea and, 364
  - Mongols and, 324, 328, 359
- Justice. *See also* Law codes
  - in Egypt, 960
  - in Ghana, 270
  - in medieval Europe, 379
- **Justinian I** (Byzantine Empire), 202
  - barbarians and, 218
  - Justinian's Code, 203, 204–205*(d)*, 393
  - Procopius on, 195*(d)*
- Justinian Plague, 195*(d)*, 206, 396

K

Ka’ba, 230, 232*(i)*
Kabuki theater (Japan), 609, 610*(i)*
Kabul, Afghanistan, 182, 233, 476
Kafka, Franz, 847
Kagoshima, Japan, 608
Kaifeng, China, 206, 352, 392
Kaiser (Germany), 821
Kalahari Desert, 260, 281
Kalidasa (Indian poet), 334
Kamakura Shogunate (Japan), 367–370, 369*(m)*, 605
Kamara, Kande, 827
Kamikaze (divine wind), 327
Kampuchea. *See* Cambodia
Kandariyâ Mahâdeva temple, 335*(i)*
Kandinsky, Wassily, 848
Kanem-Bornu, 566, 570
    Almoravids in, 268
    Islam in, 268, 570
Kanem Wars, The (ibn-Fartura), 570
Kangaba (empire of Mali), 271
Kang Minggan, 184*(d)*
Kangxi emperor (China), 508, 509*(d)*, 604, 605
    Christians and, 618
    Western ideas and, 619
Kano, Nigeria (city), 568, 570, 572
Kant, Immanuel, 544, 546
Karakorum (Mongol capital), 327, 328
Karlowitz, treaty signed at, 492
Karlsbad Decrees (1819), 692
Karma
    in China, 189
    in India, 69, 71
Kashmir, 77, 929, 976
Kasr-I-Shirim, treaty of, 473
Katsina (city), 570

Kautilya (Mauryan minister), 78
Kay, John, 665*(b)*
Kazakhs, 320
Kazakhstan, 233
    nuclear weapons and, 991
Kazan, 524
Kebra Nagast (Ethiopia), 274, 276
Keinen (Buddhist priest, Japan), poetic diary of the Korea campaign, 616–617*(d)*
Kellogg, Frank B., and Kellogg-Briand Pact, 844
Kemal, Mustafa (Atatürk), 858*(m)*, 862–863, 862*(i)*
Kennedy, John F., 935, 945
    Soviets and, 978
Kennedy Ted, Nestlé boycott and, 999
Kenya, 277
    agriculture in, 263
    British railroad in, 752*(i)*
    Lamu Old Town in, 576*(i)*
    professionals in, 970*(i)*
    Said in, 731
    slaves in, 579
    violence in, 971
Kepler, Johannes, 536–537, 538, 539, 540
Kerensky, Alexander, 835, 836, 838
Kerr, James, 763*(d)*
Keynes, John Maynard, 886
Khai Dinh, 766*(i)*
Khans and khanates
    in Mongol Empire, 325–327, 326*(m)*, 328, 598
    Russia and, 524
Khartoum, 732
Khedive (Egypt), 748, 750
Khipu, 33, 290, 291*(i)*, 450
Khitan people, 321
    China and, 348, 353, 354*(m)*
    Korea and, 363, 364
    Mongols and, 328
Khlevniuk, Oleg, 895–898
Khmer Empire (Cambodia), 340
    Angkor Thom and, 342*(i)*
Khoisan people and language, 260, 281

Khomeini, Ruholla (Ayatollah), 961
Khotan, 179*(d)*, 182
Khrushchev, Nikita, 934, 946
Khubilai Khan (Mongols), 327, 328, 359
  Polo and, 329
  tree planting and, 333*(i)*
Khurasan, 233, 236, 334, 335, 336. *See also* Afghanistan
Khwarizm, kingdom of, Mongol empire and, 238, 325
al-Khwarizmi (Persia), 249
Khyber Pass, Alexander in, 77
Kibaki, Mwai, 971
Kibbutz, 865, 865*(i)*
Kiel, mutiny in, 840
Kiev (city), 382
Kievan Rus, 327, 382, 523
Kilimanjaro, Mount, 264
Kilwa (city-state), 278, 573
  Barbosa on, 579*(d)*
  coin from, 280*(i)*
  Great Mosque at, 277*(i)*
  Ibn-Battuta on, 269
  Islam in, 269
  Portugal and, 575, 577
  prosperity in, 575
  trade in, 280, 439, 440*(i)*, 575
Kimberley, diamonds from, 736
al-Kindi (Islam), 249
King, Martin Luther, Jr., 72, 941*(d)*, 948
King Leopold's Rule in Africa (Morel), 735*(d)*
Kin groups. *See* Kinship
Kings and kingdoms. *See also* Absolutism; Emperor(s); specific kings and kingdoms
  divine right of kings and, 508
  in Southeast Asia, 341
Kinship. *See also* Families
  in Africa, 265
  in Andes region, 295
  in early states, 33
  of factory workers, 677
  Mongol, 322
  Paleolithic, 11

- in stateless societies, 269

Kipling, Rudyard, 741–742, 840
Kirchner, Néstor, 965
Kissinger, Henry, 956
Kitchener, Horatio Hubert, 732, 764
Kiyomori (Japan). *See* Taira family
Knighton, Henry, on plague, 398*(d)*
Knights
- in Crusades, 384, 385
- as nobles, 390–391
- troubadours and, 395

Knossos, 115
Koguryŏ kingdom (Korea), 191–192
Kohl, Helmut, 978, 982
Kolkata. *See* Calcutta
Kongo, Portugal and, 456
Kongo kingdom, 585, 586*(d)*, 647
Kongo region. *See also* Congo entries
- households in, 571

Korea, 348
- agriculture in, 615
- Buddhism in, 76, 192, 362, 363
- China and, 186, 187, 191–192, 362, 363, 601, 934
- civil service examination system in, 362, 615
- class in, 362–363
- economy in, 364, 615
- Japan and, 192, 192*(m)*, 194, 594, 607, 615, 772, 776–778, 872, 911
- Koguryŏ Dynasty in, 191
- Koryŏ Dynasty in, 354*(m)*, 362–364, 362*(m)*
- language in, 191, 192
- Mongols and, 327
- Paekche kingdom in, 192
- population of, 615
- printing in, 363*(i)*, 410
- religion in, 615
- Russia and, 707
- after Second World War, 934
- Silla period in, 192
- slavery in, 362–363
- unification of, 192

  U.S. and, 778, 932, 934
Korean War, 934, 934*(m)*
  Japan during, 971
  nuclear weapons and, 991
Korea Strait, 192
Koryŏ Dynasty (Korea), 354*(m)*, 362–364, 362*(m)*
Kosovo, 980
Koumbi Saleh (city), 268, 270, 271
Kowtow, 605*(i)*
Krishna (god), 76
Kristallnacht (Night of Broken Glass), 902
Kronstadt rebellion, 893
Kshatriya (Indian caste), 68, 81
Kubitschek, Juscelino (Brazil), 945
Kucha, 182, 321
Kūkai (Japan), 365–366
Kukulkan (Maya Feathered Serpent), 305*(d)*
Kulaks, 894
Kuomintang Party (KMT). *See* Nationalist China
Kurakas (clan leaders), in Andean region, 295
Kurds, 862, 863, 962*(m)*, 992
Kursi Monastery Church, 210*(i)*
Kush, as Nubian kingdom, 48
Kushan empire, 80, 80*(m)*, 182
Kuwait, Iraq and, 961
Kyoto, Japan, 187*(i)*, 364, 605, 606
  as manufacturing center, 608
Kyoto Protocol (1997), 1002
Kyrghiz people, 320
Kyushu, Japan, 192, 192*(m)*
  Catholic revolt in, 618

L

Labor. *See also* Forced labor; Peasants; Slaves and slavery; Workers
    African, 580
    agricultural, 18, 662
    aristocracy of, 711
    in Australia, 778
    children as, 661*(i)*, 664
    in China, 91, 359, 972
    division of, 10–11, 677–679, 712
    in Egypt, 43
    in factories, 676–677
    in First World War, 828–829, 829*(i)*
    in Great Depression, 886, 888, 900–901
    in Greece, 122, 123
    in Hellenistic world, 131
    hierarchies of, 22
    Inca, 298–299
    in India, 333, 335, 338*(i)*
    indigenous American, 454
    industrialization and, 660
    in Japan, 609–611
    in mining, 458, 678–679
    in Nazi Germany, 902
    of peasants, 389
    in Poland, 978
    productivity of, and slavery, 580
    of serfs, 392
    sexual division of labor and, 677–679
    slavery and, 589, 685
    in South African mines, 736
    specialization of, 21, 22
    wealth and, 22–23
    in West Africa, 730–731
    of women, 356
Labor Front, in Nazi Germany, 902
Labor movement, in Britain, 684–685

Labor tribute, Inca, 298–300, 300*(i)*
Labor unions
  in England, 684, 685, 685*(i)*, 723
  in First World War, 828
  in Germany, 723, 902
  growth of, 723
  in Latin America, 806
  outlawing of, 684
  Owen and, 685
Labour Party (England), 723, 844, 850, 888, 889*(d)*, 889*(i)*, 939
Laissez faire, 693–694, 696, 698, 739
Lakes. *See* specific lakes
La Malinche. *See* Marina/Malintzin
Lamu (city-state), 575, 576*(i)*
Lancaster, house of (England), 418
Land
  in Africa, 260–261, 261*(m)*, 570
  in Asian Tigers, 971–972
  barbarian, 216
  in Brazil, 454
  in Chile, 964
  in China, 177, 180, 601, 872, 877, 932
  in Egypt, 748
  enclosure and, 551, 697
  of India, 62
  in Japan, 367–368
  in Latin America, 793, 799, 804
  manorial, 377–378
  in Mexico, 793, 804
  Mongols and, 328
  in Mughal Empire, 476
  in Palestine, 864
  in Rome, 148–149, 157, 164
  in Russia, 706, 834, 835, 836–837*(d)*
  social orders and, 503
  women farmers and, 1003
Land bridge, Bering, 8–9, 9*(m)*
Landlords, in India, 491
Landowners
  dictatorships and, 890
  in England, 662

    in Rome, 164
    in social order, 503
Landscape painting, in China, 355*(d)*, 355*(i)*
Langland, William, 253
Langport, Battle of, 515
Language(s). *See also* Writing; specific countries and languages
    Arabic, 573
    brain development and, 4, 7, 8
    Celtic, 215
    Chinese, 92, 190
    in Chinese and Roman empires, 180
    Dutch, 766
    education in, 248
    in Egypt, 748
    English, 395, 476, 584, 761, 762–763*(d)*
    Germanic, 215
    Greek, 127, 129
    human evolution and, 7, 8
    in India, 63, 334, 476
    Indo-European, 44–45
    in Islamic Empires, 478
    in Japan, 194
    in Korea, 191, 192
    in Mali, 271
    in Mesoamerica, 290
    Mongol, 323
    Nahuatl, 306
    Old Church Slavonic, 382
    Persian, 321, 476, 478
    Portuguese, 157
    Quechua, 297
    Romance, 157
    Sanskrit, 60, 63, 340
    Semitic, 37
    in Senegambia, 566
    Serer, 566
    Spanish, 157
    spoken language translated into written language, 719
    Turkic, 320
    vernacular, 395, 599
    Vietnamese, 190

  West African, 566
Laos
  France and, 766, 935
  in Indochina, 935
  migration to U.S. from, 993
Laozi (book and author), 105
La Plata, 454
La Rochelle, France, siege of, 508
La Salle, Robert de, 521
Las Casas, Bartolomé de, 461
Lascaux Cave, France, painting in, 16*(i)*
Las Meninas (Velázquez), 507*(i)*
Last Judgment (Michelangelo), 414*(i)*
Late antiquity, 200
Lateen sail, 442
Late Horizon period, in Andes region, 295, 296
Late Intermediate Periods, in Andes region, 296
Lateran Agreement (1929), 900
Lateran Council (1059), 380
Later Middle Ages. *See also* Middle Ages
  crises of, 395–402
Latifundia (estates), 148–149, 799
Latifundiarios, 806
Latin America. *See also* America(s); Spanish America; specific locations
  in ca. 1780 and 1830, 651*(m)*
  Asians in, 806–807
  CCT programs in, 1005
  conservative authoritarianism in, 890
  containment doctrine in, 927
  dependency theory in, 925, 927
  dictatorships in, 811, 962–963
  economies in, 655, 674
  exports and, 650
  free-market policies in, 980
  Great Depression in, 889–890
  green revolution in, 1005–1006
  Haitian independence in, 645–650, 647*(m)*, 652
  industrialization in, 674, 806
  investment in, 752
  migration in, 996–997

  neocolonialism in, 795
  populism in, 793
  protests in, 949
  revolutions in, 624, 650–655, 693
  same-sex marriage in, 1002*(i)*
  slavery in, 652
  U.S. intervention in, 655, 927
  use of term, 793
  Zika in, 1008*(d)*
Latin American Council of Bishops, dependency theory and, 927
Latin Christianity. *See* Roman Catholic Church
Latin language, 147, 153, 248. *See also* Alphabet
  Bible in, 211–212
  “golden age” of literature in, 151–152
  in Renaissance, 410
  Romance languages and, 157
  Swahili and, 574
Latinos, migration by, 993
Latitude, 442
Latium, 143
Latvia
  Nazis and, 906
  Pale of Settlement in, 551
  Russia and, 527
Laud, William, 515
Laughable Stories (Bar-Hebraeus), 249, 250*(d)*
Laura de Dianti (Titian), 416*(i)*
Lausanne, Treaty of, 862
Lavater, Johann Kaspar, 552*(d)*
Law(s). *See also* Law codes
  Anglo-Saxon, 205*(d)*
  Arab, 240
  in barbarian society, 217
  Burgundian, 205*(d)*
  civilizations and, 33
  in England, 379
  Islamic, 236, 272
  Legalist, 106–107
  in medieval Europe, 379
  in Rome, 145–146, 151, 393
  schools for, 393

  - in Sudan, 731
  - Ten Commandments as, 50
- Law (scientific)
  - of Descartes, 539
  - of inertia, 537
  - of planetary motion, 536–537
  - of thermodynamics, 714
  - of universal gravitation, 537
- Law codes
  - Breviary of Alaric as, 201*(i)*
  - of Hammurabi, 39, 39*(i)*
  - in India, 81
  - of Justinian, 203, 204–205*(d)*, 393
  - Lombard laws, 205*(d)*
  - Napoleonic, 642
  - Ottoman, 473
  - Roman, 146
  - in Russia, 525
  - state growth and, 33
  - of Theodosius II, 204*(d)*
- Law of Barren Lands (Mexico, 1883), 804
- **Lawrence, T. E.** (Lawrence of Arabia), 827
- Laws of the Twelve Tables, 146
- League of Armed Neutrality, 632
- League of Nations, 856
  - creation of, 840
  - Germany and, 843, 903
  - Japan and, 877
  - mandates of, 840, 842, 843, 856, 872
  - United States and, 842
- **Leakey, Mary**, 6*(i)*
- Learning. *See also* Education; Intellectual thought
  - humanist, 412–413*(d)*
  - Islamic, 246–248
  - Scientific Revolution and, 534
- Lebanon
  - after First World War, 842, 850, 861, 864
  - France and, 861, 864
  - Israel and, 959
  - in Levant, 261
  - migration and, 753

  Phoenicians and, 48
  Young Turks in, 857
Lebensraum (living space), 892, 900
Leclerc, Charles-Victor-Emmanuel, 650
Leclerc, Georges-Louis. *See* Buffon, Comte de
Lee Kwan Yew (Singapore), 972
Legalists (China), 86, 105–107, 173
Legal system. *See also* Court (law); Law(s)
  in Japan, 773
Legions, Roman, 152, 159*(i)*
Legislation. *See* Law(s); Reform(s); specific acts
Legislative Assembly (France), 637
Legislatures. *See* Assemblies; specific groups
Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm von, 542, 544, 545
Leisure. *See* Entertainment
Lekythos (oil flask), 125*(i)*
Lemmonier, Anicet Charles Gabriel, 549*(i)*
Lenin, Vladimir Ilyich, 838*(i)*
  April Theses of, 835, 838
  Asian nationalism and, 856
  Bolshevik revolution and, 818, 835, 838
  Communist Third International and, 870
  dictatorship of, 838–839
  Soviet Union under, 893
Leningrad, Nazi attacks on, 906
Leo I (Pope), 218
Leo III (Byzantine Empire), 213
Leo III (Pope), 222
Leo X (Pope), 418, 421
Leonardo da Vinci, 414
León-Portilla, Miguel, 309*(b)*
Leopold II (Belgium), 732, 734, 735*(d)*
Leopold II (Holy Roman Empire), 550
Lepanto, Battle of, 472, 492
Lepidus (Rome), 149
  Pliny on, 351*(d)*
Lerdo Law (Mexico), 793
Lesbians. *See also* Homosexuals
  rights of, 1002
Lesotho, 744*(d)*
Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim, *Nathan the Wise*, 553*(d)*

Letters
    to Amherst, Lord (Roy), 762*(d)*
    to Macaulay, Lord (Tytler), 762*(d)*
    to Queen Victoria (Lobengula), 744*(d)*
Levant, 261. *See also* Middle East
Lever, Archimedes and, 135*(b)*
Levi, Primo, 909*(i)*
Lex Hortensia (Rome), 146
Lexington, Massachusetts, fighting at, 631
Leyte Gulf, Battle of, 915
Li (principle), 356
Liangzhu area, China, jade from, 88*(i)*
Liao Dynasty (China), 353, 354*(m)*, 364
Liberal arts, 408
Liberalization, 954, 956–957
    in Brazil, 966
    in China, 972, 984
    costs to Europe, 984
    in eastern Europe, 980
    human rights and, 1002
    in Russia, 980
Liberal Party (England), 721
Liberals and liberalism, 690, 692, 693
    in 18th century, 627
    1848 revolutions and, 697, 698, 701
    Atlantic world revolutions and, 655
    in Brazil, 945
    classical, 633, 790
    conservatives on, 692–693
    by early 21st century, 990
    economic, 544, 684, 693–694, 998
    end of history and, 990
    ideology of, 690, 693–695
    in Japan, 872
    in Latin America, 652, 655, 799, 802, 804, 814
    Marxism and, 872
    Metternich on, 692–693
    in Mexico, 793, 806
    middle class and, 693–695, 694–695
    nationalism and, 692, 693, 695
    neoliberalism and, 957

  in Prussia, 701, 705, 706
  rights and, 790
  in Russia, 708
  in South America, 799, 802, 804, 814
  in Spanish America, 790, 799, 802, 804, 814
Liberation. *See also* Independence
  movements for, 924–925
  Pan-African, 938, 941*(d)*
Liberation of the Slaves (Américo), 801*(i)*
Liberation of Women, The (Amin), 750
Liberation theology, 927, 927*(i)*
Liberia, 730
  female head of state in, 1003
  independence of, 732
  refugees in, 990
Liberty(ies). *See also* Rights
  concept of, 693
  demands for, 627
  limitations of, 633
Li Bo (Chinese poet), 189
Libraries
  of Akbar, 479
  of Alexandria, 130, 134
  in Córdoba, 246
  in Saint-Gall abbey, 246
Libro de Duarte Barbosa (The Book of Duarte Barbosa), 578–579*(d)*
Libya
  Alexander the Great and, 127
  nuclear weapons and, 991
  oil and, 956, 959
  revolt in (2011), 961
Lichtenstein, Israel, 885*(i)*
Licinian-Sextian laws (Rome), 146
Licinius (Rome), 165*(d)*
Lienzo de Tlaxcala, 455*(i)*
Life expectancy
  ancient, 11, 17
  in China, 603
  of industrial workers, 679
  medical revolution and, 1006
  Paleolithic, 11

  of peasants, 389
  in Russia, 980
Life of an Amorous Man, The (Ihara Saikaku), 609
Lifestyle. *See also* Society; Standard of living; specific countries
  in Africa, 261–263
  in Andalusia, 251
  under authoritarianism, 984
  in Aztec Empire, 307–310
  in Benin, 568
  of British colonial officials in India, 866*(i)*
  of Cape Colony slaves, 578
  in China, 91, 93–95, 177–180, 354, 359–362, 599–601, 603, 872
  in Constantinople, 206–208
  on First World War home front, 828–830
  in Funan, 339
  in Gaza Strip, 959–960
  under Hammurabi, 39
  Hellenistic, 131
  of *Homo erectus*, 6
  in India, 68–69, 336–338, 761*(i)*
  in Japan, 364–366, 608–611
  in medieval Europe, 388–393
  of Moche people, 296
  monastic, 211, 381
  of Mongols, 321–322
  of Muslim society, 238–239
  of nobility, 390–391
  of peasants, 389
  in post-Soviet Russia, 980–981
  printing and, 411
  in Qing Dynasty, 603
  in Roman Empire, 155–157
  in Senegambia, 567
  in Songhai, 568
  in southern Africa, 281
  Soviet, 895, 978
  of university students, 394
  urban, 556, 708–719
  in West Africa, 570–572
  of working class, 679–680, 683*(d)*
Lightning war. *See* Blitzkrieg

Lima, Peru, 652
Limerick, Treaty of, 516
Limited liability, in Belgian banks, 673
Lincoln, Abraham, 793, 796, 798
Lineage, in Andes region, 295
Linear A writing, 114–115
Linear B script, 115
Linguistic minorities, 995
Linguistics. *See also* Language(s)
    African peoples and, 264
Linnaeus, Carl, 537
Lin Zexu (China), 767
Lisbon, trade and, 445
Li Si (China), 173
Lisowska, Aleksandra (Hürrem), 474*(i)*
Literacy
    in 18th century, 556, 626
    in China, 92, 354
    clerical, 500
    European exploration and, 442
    in Ghana, 270
    in Harappan civilization, 62
    illiteracy and (2010), 1005
    of laypeople, 395
    in Philippines, 879
    in Turkey, 863
Literature. *See also* Epic literature; Poets and poetry; Theater; specific types; specific works and authors
    in Asia, 783
    Chinese, 93, 174, 181, 188–189, 190, 599, 601*(i)*
    courtly love poetry and, 390–391*(d)*
    determinist, 719
    in Ethiopia, 276–277
    in Greece, 116
    in India, 93, 334
    Realism in, 719
    Romanticism in, 719
    in Rome, 151
    sensibility in, 544
    vernacular, 395, 599
    Western perceptions of Islam in, 253

- women writers and, 548

Lithographs, on democratic republics, 699*(d)*

Lithuania
- Nazis and, 906
- Pale of Settlement in, 551

Little ice age
- in 14th century, 395
- in 17th century, 492, 504
- in China, 601–602

Little Red Book (Mao), 868*(d)*, 934

Liu Bang. *See* Gaozu (China)

Liu Xiang (China), *Biographies of Exemplary Women*, 178*(d)*

Liu Xiaobo, 977*(d)*

Liverpool
- railroads and, 667
- slave trade in, 583

Liverpool and Manchester Railway, 667

Livestock. *See also* Cattle
- Bantu and, 264
- in India, 336

Living space *(lebensraum)*, 892, 900

Livingstone, David, 587*(i)*

Li Xinchuan (China), on Mongol army, 330*(d)*

Li Yuan (China), 187

Llamas, 292

Lloyd George, David, 840

Loans, petrodollar, 956

Lobengula (Ndebele), 737
- "Letter to Queen Victoria," 744*(d)*

Locarno agreements (1925), 825

Locke, John, 516, 542, 544, 627

Locomotives, 667

Lodge, Henry Cabot, 842

Lodhanri (Alemanni), 201*(i)*

Loess, 88

Logographic writing, in China, 86, 92, 92*(i)*

Lombard laws, 205*(d)*

Lombardy, 701, 703

London
- academy of science in, 540
- blacks in, 577, 580*(i)*

  Crystal Palace in, 668, 670*(i)*
  population of, 268, 554
  size of, 392
  terrorist bombings in, 992
  theater in, 602*(d)*
  trade in, 392
London Missionary Society, 737
Longbow, 399
Long Count calendar, 303*(d)*
Long Depression (1873–1879), 723
Longinus, Lucius Cassius, 145*(i)*
Long March (China), 877, 877*(i)*, 878*(m)*
Long-range ballistic missiles, 991
López Portillo, José, 957
Lords. *See also* Nobility
  in China, 91, 93, 97
  in Japan, 367, 606
  peasants and, 389
Lord's Supper, 162
Lorenzo de' Medici, 409*(b)*
Lorraine, Alsace and, 720
Lothair, 223
Lothal (port), 63
Lotto, Lorenzo, 417*(i)*
Lotus League (Japan), 606
Lotus Sutra, 369, 606
Louis IX (France), 379
Louis XII (France), 418
Louis XIII (France), 508
Louis XIV (France), 499, 511*(i)*
  absolutism and, 508
  conversion of Protestants and, 541
  descriptions of, 509*(d)*
  memoir of, 511*(d)*
  New France and, 521
  on priorities for monarchs, 477*(d)*
  at Versailles, 514
  wars of, 508–513
Louis XV (France), 634
Louis XVI (France), 634, 637, 638
Louis XVIII (France), 645, 693, 698

Louisiana, 554
  France and, 521
  Spain and, 630
Louis Napoleon. *See* Napoleon III (Louis Napoleon, France)
Louis Philippe (France), 698
Louis the German, 223
Louis the Pious (Carolingian), 223
Louisville, Kentucky, flood in (1937), 887*(i)*
Loulan, 182
L'Ouverture, Toussaint, 647–650, 649*(b)*, 649*(i)*, 796
Love, courtly, 390–391*(d)*, 391
Low Countries. *See also* Belgium; Holland; Netherlands
  Congress of Vienna and, 690
  cottage industry in, 551
Lower Egypt, 42
Lower house, of Japanese Diet, 775
Lower middle class, 710
Loyalists (American Revolution), 632, 632*(m)*
Loyalty oaths, in France, 636
Loyola, Ignatius, 428, 502. *See also* Jesuits
Luanda, Angola, slave trade and, 581, 583, 587*(d)*
Lucknow Pact (1916), 866
Lucretia (Rome), 143, 147–148
Luddites, 684
Lueger, Karl, 723
"Luks" (lighting systems), 716*(i)*
Luo Jialun, "Notice from Beijing Educational Circles," 874*(d)*
Luoyang, China, capital in, 93, 182, 188
Lusitania (ship), 828
Luther, Martin, 419, 421–422, 425*(i)*, 500
  Against the Murderous, Thieving Hordes of the Peasants, 424
  German politics and, 424, 425, 500–501
  on indulgences, 421
  On Christian Liberty, 422–423*(d)*
Lutheranism
  in Germany, 425
  in Holy Roman Empire, 501*(m)*, 504–505
  Ottomans and, 472
Luxury goods
  demand for, 177, 441
  trade in, 131, 206, 280, 385, 436, 438, 441, 489

Lycurgus (Sparta), 118–119
Lyons, 160
Lyrical Ballads (Wordsworth and Coleridge), 719

M

Macao, 458, 617, 618, 972
MacArthur, Douglas, 915, 934
Macartney, George, 620
Macaulay, Thomas Babington, 762–763*(d)*
MacDonald, Ramsay, 844, 888
Macedonia (ancient)
    Alexander the Great and, 77, 128–129
    Persia and, 53
    Philip II of, 127–128
    Rome and, 147
Macehualtin (Aztec commoners), 308–309
Machiavelli, Niccolò, 410
Machines, industrialization and, 663–664, 677
Machu Picchu, 298*(i)*
Madagascar (Malagasy), 278, 343, 577, 579
Madeira, 443
Madero, Francisco, 805
Madras (Chennai), 489
Madrasa (Islamic school), 246, 248*(i)*
Madrid
    in 1900, 715*(i)*
    terrorist bombings in, 992
Magadha (kingdom in India), 70, 72
Magadhi (language), 72
Magellan, Ferdinand, 448, 578
Magellan, Strait of, 448
Maghrib. *See* North Africa
Magic
    Hellenistic, 131
    Scientific Revolution and, 538
Magna Carta (England), 379
Magna Graecia (Greater Greece), 142, 144
Magnetic compass. *See* Compass
Magyars (Hungarians), 376, 722
Mahabharata, 77, 82

Mahajanaka (India), 74*(i)*
Mahavira, Vardhamana, 70–71, 127
Mahayana Buddhism, 74–75, 182, 341
Mahdi. *See* Ahmad, Muhammad
Mahmud II (Ottomans), 746, 748
Mahmud of Ghazni, 335
Ma Huan (Chinese interpreter), 614
Maine (ship), 811
Maiolica, 411*(i)*
Maitreya Buddha, 188, 596
Maize (corn), 19, 291, 293, 300
  in Columbian exchange, 456
  spread of, 294
  in West Africa, 571
Majlis (national assembly, Iran), 863
Makeda (Sheba, Ethiopian queen), 274*(d)*
Malacca, 445, 458
  port of, 438
  Strait of, 339*(m)*, 341, 614
Malagasy. *See* Madagascar
Malaria
  in China, 601
  deaths from, 1006
  mosquitoes, epidemics, and, 1008–1009*(d)*
  quinine and, 739, 740
  slavery and, 580
  spread of, 1006
  in West Africa, 571, 572
Malatesta, Baptista (Lady), letter to, 412
Malaya. *See* Malaysia
Malay Peninsula, 339, 340, 438
Malaysia
  Britain and, 764
  Chinese settlers in, 781
  Japan and, 911
Maldives, 572
Mali, 269, 568
  administration of, 271–272
  Almoravids in, 268
  European account of, 569*(d)*
  expansion of, 271, 271*(m)*

  - gold in, 572
  - Islam in, 268, 271
  - kingdom of, 271–273
  - Mansa Musa in, 271–272, 441*(i)*
  - Portugal and, 574
  - refugees in, 990
  - slaves in, 577
  - trade in, 271, 272, 440, 572
- **Malinche, La.** *See* Marina/Malintzin
- Malindi, Kenya, 280*(i)*, 575
  - Barbosa on, 579*(d)*
- **Malthus, Thomas**, 668, 684, 1005
- Malvinas (Falklands), war in, 964
- Mamluks (Egypt), 238, 327
- Mammoths, 10
- Managed capitalism, in Japan, 971
- Managed democracy, in Russia, 981
- Manchester
  - in Great Depression, 887
  - lifestyle in, 679
  - train travel to, 667
- Manchu Dynasty. *See* Qing (Manchu) Dynasty (China)
- Manchukuo, 877, 915
- Manchu people, in China, 494, 535, 595*(i)*, 603–605
- Manchuria
  - China and, 88, 190, 603, 876
  - Japan and, 707, 870, 872, 876, 877, 890, 904
  - Korea and, 191
  - Russia and, 707
  - Soviet Union and, 915
- **Manco Capac** (Inca), 313–314
- Mandate of Heaven (China), 93, 108
- Mandates, of League of Nations, 856, 861, 864, 872
- **Mandela, Nelson**, 967
  - freedom of, 970
  - trial of, 968*(d)*
- Mandinka people
  - families of, 571
  - kingdom of Mali and, 271
  - in Songhai, 570
  - textiles and, 572

Manichaeism
    in China, 188, 596
    Mongols and, 322
    Uighurs and, 321
Manifest destiny, in United States, 791
Manila, 458
    Chinese in, 617
    as entrepôt, 767
Manila Bay, 767
Manorialism, 377–378. *See also* Peasants; Serfs and serfdom
Mansa Musa (Mali), 271–272, 441*(i)*
“Man stealing,” in slave trade, 589
Manufacturing
    in China, 605
    cottage industry and, 551
    in England, 662, 668
    exports of English goods, 662, 668, 672
    Roman, 160
    rural, 662
    of silk, 178–179*(d)*
    in Spanish America, 650
    urban growth and, 995
    in West, 751
Manufacturing Population of England, The: . . . (Gaskell), 682*(d)*
Manumission. *See also* Abolition
    in Cape Colony, 578
    in Spanish America, 653
Manuscripts
    in Arabic, 230*(i)*
    illumination of, 277
Manzikert, Battle of, 237–238
Maori people, 344, 780, 780*(i)*
    at Gallipoli, 826
    Western industrialization, 752
Mao Zedong (China), 854, 872, 972
    Chinese nationalism and, 932
    Little Red Book of, 934
    Long March and, 877, 877*(i)*
    on revolutionary means, 868*(d)*
Maps, by Piri Reis, 481
Mapuche Indians, 802

Mapungubwe kingdom, 281*(i)*
Marathas, 490*(m)*, 492
Marathi language, 334
Marathon, Battle of, 120
Marcellinus, Ammianus, on Huns, 216*(d)*
March Revolution (Russia), 834, 835
Marduk (god), 38, 54
Mare nostrum ("our sea"), 147
Margaret of Valois, 430, 503
Margin buying, 886
Maria Theresa (Austria), 627
Marie Antoinette (France), 638
Marina/Malintzin (Doña) (La Malinche), 452–453*(d)*, 453*(i)*
Marines (U.S.), in Latin America, 811
Maritime trade
    in Asia, 614–616
    in China, 187, 438
    Dutch and, 459, 577
    empires of, 459*(m)*
    England and, 577
    France and, 577
    Hellenistic, 131
    in India, 81
    in Indian Ocean, 244–245*(d)*, 438–439
    in Muslim empires, 488
    Roman, 160
    in Southeast Asia, 339
    Spanish, 458
    Swahili, 575
Market(s). *See also* Slave trade
    in 1930s, 886
    in Africa, 738
    in China, 177, 350, 352, 601
    competition for, 724
    global, 751–752
    Hellenistic, 130–131
    in India, 63
    internal, 788
    in Japan, 608
    slave, 247*(i)*, 579, 581, 589
    in West Africa, 268, 572

Market capitalism, 997*(m)*
Marne, battles of, 824, 840
Maronite Christians, 209
Marquesas Islands, 343
Marriage. *See also* Intermarriage
  age at, 570, 711
  arranged, 240, 873*(b)*
  Astell on, 548
  Aztec, 310
  in China, 358
  dynastic, 419
  in Egypt, 43
  in Europe, 418
  in Greece, 123, 125*(i)*
  Hammurabi's code on, 39
  Hellenistic, 134*(i)*
  in India, 69, 337–338, 929
  in Islam, 240–242, 241*(d)*
  in Japan, 611
  middle class and, 711
  Mongol, 322
  origins of, 11
  by Ottoman sultans, 473
  in Protestantism, 423, 424–425
  in Rome, 146, 151
  same-sex, 1002, 1002*(i)*
  sexuality in, 711
  social hierarchies and, 23, 626
  in Southeast Asia, 438
  in Turkey, 863
Married women. *See also* Wives; Women
  in workforce, 677, 711
Mars (god), 143
Marshall, George C., 922
Marshall Plan, 922, 948
Martial law, in Poland, 978
Martin V (Pope), 400
Martinique, slavery in, 554
Marx, Karl
  on religion, 715
  socialist ideas of, 710

  on working class, 684, 696
Marxism (Marxian socialism), 723
  in Afghanistan, 978
  anti-imperialism and, 743
  in Argentina, 964
  in China, 872
  fascism and, 892–893
  Hitler on, 900
  in Portuguese colonies, 966
  revisionism and, 723
  revolutionary movements and, 962–963
  in Russia, 835
Marxism-Leninism, China and, 872
Mary (Burgundy), 419
Mary (Virgin), 381, 382*(i)*
Mary I (Tudor, England), 426
Mary II (England), 516
Maryland, 521
Marys at Jesus's Tomb, 212*(i)*
Masa (paste), 291, 292*(i)*
Masako (wife of Yoritomo), 368
Mascarene Islands, slaves in, 579
Massachusetts, 519, 631
Massacres. *See* specific massacres
Massawa, 573, 574
Mass production, in China, 352
Mass transportation, 709
Mastodons, 10
Al-Mas'udi (Islam), account of Zanj by, 278
Masvingo, Zimbabwe, 281
Matabele (Ndebele) people and wars, 735, 736, 737
Matamba kingdom, 588*(i)*
Material culture, in Asia, 338, 784
Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy (Principia, Newton), 537
Mathematics. *See also* specific types
  al-Khwarizmi and, 249
  Arab and Persian, 534
  astronomy and, 537
  Hellenistic, 134
  in India, 81, 334, 337*(b)*

  - Maya, 302
  - navigation and, 442
  - Newton and, 537
  - spread of ideas, 333
  - Sumerians and, 36

Matilda (England), 378
Matrilineal society, in India, 69
Matsumoto Castle, 607*(i)*
Matter
  - Indian scientists on, 81
  - physics and, 539

Mauryan Empire (India), 77, 78–80, 78*(m)*, 81
  - Bactria and, 130
  - India after, 333

Maxim gun, 737, 739*(i)*
Maximilian I (Mexico), 793
Maximilian I (Holy Roman Empire), 419
Maya, 288, 300–302, 302*(m)*
  - agriculture and trade of, 300–301
  - Aztecs and, 302
  - calendar of, 301, 303*(d)*
  - decline of, 302
  - Europeans and, 451
  - genocide against, 963
  - origins and history of, 304*(d)*
  - *Popul Vuh* of, 304*(d)*
  - science and religion of, 301–302
  - Spain and, 302
  - Teotihuacan and, 300–301, 302–303

May Fourth Movement (China), 870, 874–875*(d)*
Mayor of the palace, Merovingian, 221
Ma Yuan (China), 355*(d)*, 355*(i)*
Mazarin, Jules, 508
Mazoe River region, 284
Mazowiecki, Tadeusz, 978
Mazzini, Giuseppe, 701, 702*(d)*
Mbame (chief), 587*(i)*
Mbundu people (Angola), 588*(i)*
McCrae, John, 825*(d)*
McNeil, Donald G., Jr., on Zika spread, 1009*(d)*
Measles vaccine, 1006

Mecca
    building in, 479
    coffee drinking in, 483
    Islam in, 228, 230, 231, 232, 234
Meccan Revelation, The (Ibn al-’Arabi), 251
Mechanics (scientific)
    Newton and, 537
    theories of, 134
Mechanization. *See also* Industrialization
    of agriculture, 995
    in England, 662, 664–667
Medes, 52, 53, 55*(i)*
Media
    in Middle East revolts, 961
    in Russia, 981
Medici family (Florence), 408, 409*(i)*
    Catherine de’, 430
    Cosimo de’, 409*(b)*
    Lorenzo de’, 409*(b)*
Medicine. *See also* Diseases
    in 19th century, 680, 708
    Byzantine, 206
    Chinese, 600*(b)*
    Hellenistic, 131, 136
    herbal, 600*(i)*
    Hippocrates and, 126
    Islamic, 249, 481–482, 482*(i)*
    in Kenya, 970*(i)*
    Paleolithic shamans and, 13
    revolution in, 1006
    schools for, 393
    in Scientific Revolution, 539–540
    Soviet women in, 895
    Tan Yunxian (China) and, 600*(b)*
    urban growth and, 995
    Western, 619
Medieval period. *See also* Middle Ages
    in China, 350–353
    in India, 336–338
Medina, 232, 234
Mediterranean region. *See also* specific locations

  - empires in, 44*(m)*
  - Greek expansion in, 118, 119*(m)*
  - Hyksos from, 43
  - Islam and, 272
  - migration in, 44–47, 44*(m)*
  - Ottomans and, 440, 471, 472, 492
  - Phoenician settlements in, 48–49
  - Rome and, 146–147, 152*(m)*
  - slave trade in, 131
  - trade in, 489

Medium of exchange. *See* Currency
Megacities, 995
Megafaunal extinction, 10
Megasthenes (Greek ambassador), on Chandragupta, 78
Mehmed V (Ottoman Empire), 748
Mehmet II ("the Conqueror," Ottoman sultan), 470, 470*(i)*
Mehmet, Takiyuddin, 481
Meiggs, Henry, 803*(b)*
Meiji Oligarchs (Japan), 746, 773
Meiji reformers, 872
Meiji Restoration (Japan), 773–775, 776
Mein Kampf (*My Struggle*, Hitler), 844, 900
Memoir for the Instruction of the Dauphin (Louis XIV), 511*(d)*
Memoirs (Jahangir), 477*(d)*
Memoirs (Louis XIV), 477*(d)*
Memoirs of Louis XIV, His Court, and the Regency (Saint-Simon), 509*(d)*
Men. *See also* Division of labor; Gender
  - in Chinese society, 177–180
  - in Crusades, 384–385
  - in Egypt, 43
  - gender hierarchies and, 23, 33–34
  - in guilds, 392
  - in Islam, 240
  - as Islamic slaves, 239
  - as migrants to cities, 996, 997
  - Mongol, 322
  - in mosques, 242*(i)*
  - patriarchy and, 23
  - in Renaissance, 418
  - in Sparta, 118–119

  - in West Africa, 570, 571

Mencius, 100–101

Mendelssohn, Moses, 551, 552*(d)*

Mende people, 265

Menem, Carlos, 964

Mengchang, Lord (China), 96*(b)*

Menilek I (Ethiopia), 274, 276

Mensheviks, 835

Mercantilism, 513
  - colonial wars and, 522
  - in England, 662

Mercenaries
  - British use of, 631
  - in Ottoman armies, 492

Merchant(s). *See also* Business; Commerce; Trade
  - African, 269, 277, 584, 731
  - Armenian Christians as, 485, 490
  - Berber, 267
  - in British North America, 631
  - in China, 188, 189, 350, 598
  - colonial trade and, 554
  - decline in Islamic, 488–489
  - as dynasties, 268
  - in East Africa, 277, 279
  - in Egypt, 260–261
  - in Europe, 391–392
  - in Ghana, 270
  - Hanseatic, 392
  - Hellenistic, 130–131
  - in Indian Ocean trade, 438
  - Islam and, 228, 268, 489–490
  - in Japan, 608, 611, 773
  - Mongol trade and, 333
  - Phoenician, 48
  - as social order, 503, 626
  - in Songhai, 568
  - voyages of discovery and, 442
  - wealth of, 417

Merian, Maria Sibylla, 538*(i)*

Merici, Angela, 428, 502

Meritaton (Egypt), 41*(i)*

Merkid people, 324–325*(d)*
Meroë region, 49, 263, 273
Merovech, 220
Merovingian dynasty, 220–221, 221*(i)*
Mesa Verde, 293
Mesoamerica, 288. *See also* specific cultures and locations
  civilizations in, 292–293
  colonies in, 451–454
  horticulture in, 17
  human sacrifice in, 309*(b)*
  postclassical era in, 303
  sciences and, 534
  trade in, 290
  transportation in, 290
Mesopotamia, 34–39
  Assyrians in, 51–52
  Babylon and, 38, 40*(i)*
  empires in, 37–38
  environment of, 34–35
  Indian trade with, 63
  mathematics in, 36
  Ottomans and Persians in, 472
  politics and society in, 34–35, 34*(i)*
  Safavids and, 475
  storage in, 21–22
  Sumer in, 34–38
  writing in, 32*(i)*, 33
Messenia and Messenians, 118
Messiah, 160, 161–162
Mestizos (métis), 456, 463*(i)*, 558, 627, 652
Metals and metallurgy. *See also* Gold; Mines and minerals; Silver
  African, 585
  in China, 89, 91, 177, 352
  mining of, 458
  Moche, 296
  Xiongnu, 177*(i)*
Metaphysics, in China, 356
Methodius, Slavic alphabet of, 382
Metternich, Klemens von, 692–693
Mexica (people), 306, 310–311, 312, 450. *See also* Aztec (Mexica) Empire

Mexican-American War, 792, 794*(d)*
Mexican Revolution (1910), 790
Mexico. *See also* Aztec (Mexica) Empire
  CCT programs in, 1005
  Central Americans in, 963
  cities in, 291, 942
  crops in, 19
  economy in, 792, 804, 942
  exploration and, 448
  green revolution in, 1005
  independence and, 624, 651*(m)*, 653, 792
  industry in, 806
  Juarez in, 793, 804
  labor in, 454
  liberal reform in, 793
  Maya and, 300
  mixed races in, 463*(i)*
  NAFTA and, 957
  nationalism in, 942
  oil embargo and, 957
  Olmecs in, 293, 293*(m)*
  PRI in, 942, 949, 957, 957*(i)*
  pyramids in, 301*(i)*
  railroads in, 804
  silver in, 458, 791–792
  slavery in, 652, 653
  Spanish conquest of, 450, 451
  as Spanish-speaking American leader, 990
  Teotihuacan and, 288, 300–301, 302–306
  United States and, 790–793, 993
  U.S. wall between, 993
  in Viceroyalty of New Spain, 653
  Wars of Reform in, 793
  women of, 460*(i)*
Mexico City, 652, 653
  Aztecs in, 312*(i)*, 450, 450*(m)*
  earthquake in, 957
  jobs in, 995
  plaza in, 942, 943*(i)*
  student protests in, 949
Miasmatic theory, of disease, 708

Michael III (Byzantine Empire), 382
Michael Romanov (Russia), 525
Michelangelo Buonarroti, 414–415, 414*(i)*
Microcephaly, 1008*(d)*
Microscope, 535
Mid-Atlantic colonies, 521
Middle Ages (Europe and western Asia), 374, 376–402. *See also* High Middle Ages; Renaissance
  Christianity in, 379–384
  cities and towns in, 391–392
  as historical division, 374
  later Middle Ages, 395–402
  law and justice in, 379
  learning and culture in, 393–395, 394*(i)*
  monastic life during, 381
  serfdom in, 378, 392
  social classes in, 388–392
  trade and commerce in, 392–393
  use of term, 374
  western Asia in, 374
Middle Ages (Japan), 605–607
Middle class
  in Africa, 971
  economic activity and, 626
  in England, 697
  France, 698
  in French Revolution, 638, 640
  German, 705, 706
  in India, 761–764
  Jews in, 722
  liberalism and, 694–695
  Marx on, 696
  Napoleon and, 642
  in Popular Front, 888
  Protestantism and, 500*(i)*
  in Russia, 708
  subclasses of, 710
  in West Africa, 731
  women in, 679, 710, 711–713
  youth and sexuality in, 678, 712–713*(d)*
Middle East. *See also* Islam; specific locations

  Abrahamic religions in, 962*(m)*
  African trade with, 440
  Arab-Israeli conflicts in, 931, 931*(m)*, 959–960
  Arab Spring in, 961
  CCT programs in, 1005
  conflict in, 991
  empires in, 232–233
  Europeans in, 706
  First World War and, 827, 842, 850, 859
  imperialism in, 857
  independence in, 863, 864
  industrialization in, 674
  Latin American immigrants from, 806
  League of Nations mandates in, 858*(m)*, 861, 864
  migrants from, 993, 995
  Mongols in, 327
  Muslim states in, 385
  nationalism in, 857–865
  oil in, 863
  Ottomans in, 470
  refugees from, 983
  regional powers in, 990
  revolts in (2010–2011), 960–961
  slavery in, 239
  trade and, 243, 440–441
  wars in, 931, 931*(m)*, 959–961
  Young Turks and, 857–859
Middle Horizon period, in Andes region, 295, 296
Middle Passage, 581–583, 584
Middle powers, 990
Midway, Battle of, 914
Midwives, in China, 358
Migrant labor
  industrial working-class, 679*(i)*
  Japanese Brazilians as, 995*(i)*
  after Second World War, 948
Migration. *See also* Emigration; Immigrants and immigration; specific locations
  of 9th and 10th centuries, 376, 377*(m)*
  in Americas, 290, 752
  from Asia, 753

- Bantu, 264
  - barbarian, 200, 213–218, 215*(m)*
  - to cities, 554
  - in East Africa, 6, 278
  - in Europe, 224
  - in Fertile Crescent, 43
  - global, 752–753, 993–995
  - Greek, 116
  - human, 2, 5, 7*(m)*, 8–9, 9*(m)*
  - in India, 66, 66*(m)*
  - of industrial workers, 679
  - of Jews to Ottoman Empire, 485
  - of Jews to Palestine, 864
  - Magyar, 376
  - in Mediterranean region, 44–47, 44*(m)*
  - in Mongol era, 329–333
  - Muslim, 376
  - to New York, 753*(i)*
  - in Pacific Ocean region, 343
  - patterns of, 993
  - of peasants, 752
  - from rural areas, 680
  - in slave trade, 564, 579
  - in Southeast Asia, 340
  - to Soviet cities, 895
  - Trump and, 993
  - Turkish, 238
  - women-headed households and, 1003
- Migration chain, 753
- Milan
  - electric streetcars in, 717*(i)*
  - trade in, 392
- Militant nonviolence, in India, 866–867
- Militarism
  - in Japan, 890, 893
  - nationalism and, 724, 820
- Military. *See also* Armed forces; Soldiers; specific battles and wars
  - in Arab world, 234
  - Assyrian, 52*(i)*
  - in Brazil, 966
  - British in India, 760

- in Chile, 963
- in China, 90, 172*(i)*, 182, 187, 353, 596, 603, 890
- in Egypt, 749*(b)*
- in England, 418
- after First World War, 842, 844
- in France, 418, 508, 522
- of Grand Alliance, 913
- in India, 67–68, 68*(i)*
- Islamic, 234, 236–237
- janissaries in, 473
- in Japan, 605, 608, 615, 774, 776, 778
- Mongol, 324, 328, 330–331*(d)*
- in Nazi Germany, 902
- Ottoman, 473, 492
- Russian, 526, 527, 834–835
- Safavid, 475
- in Sparta, 119
- Turks as, 237–238
- U.S., in Iraq, 961
- U.S., in Latin America, 993

Military technology
- of Aryan peoples, 67–68
- Byzantine, 206
- in China, 97–100
- Hellenistic, 134–136, 135*(b)*
- Mongol, 328

Millet, 17, 89, 263. *See also* Crops

Mills, 663. *See also* Cotton and cotton industry; Textiles and textile industry
- cotton, 676–677
- steam power in, 667
- workers in United States, 678*(i)*

Milošević, Slobodan, 980

Milpas (plots), 300

Minamoto clan (Japan), 366
- Yoritomo, 367, 368, 368*(i)*

Mind-body dualism. *See* Cartesian dualism; Monism

Mines Act (England, 1842), 679

Mines and minerals. *See also* Coal and coal mining; Gold; Iron and iron industry; Silver; specific locations
- from American colonies, 458

  child labor in, 678–679, 680–681*(d)*
  in Chile, 963
  in Latin America, 454
  mechanization in, 666
  in South Africa, 736
  in southern Africa, 281
Ming (Bright) Dynasty (China), 362, 594, 596–603. *See also* Zheng He
  civil service examinations and, 598–599
  decline of, 601–603
  government under, 597
  Japan and, 615
  Korea and, 364
  lifestyle under, 599–601
  Mongols and, 594, 598
  Portuguese and, 616
  revolts against, 504
  scholar-officials and, 598–599
  tribute system and, 614
  urban amusements in, 602*(d)*
Minh Mang (Vietnam), 766
Miniatures, painting of, 252*(i)*, 478–479, 483*(i)*
Minoan civilization, 114, 114*(m)*, 115
Minorities. *See also* Ethnic groups and ethnicity; specific groups
  in former Yugoslavia, 981*(m)*
  Hitler on, 905
  international commerce by, 522
  migrants as, 995
Minos (mythical king), 115
Misogyny, in Christian Church, 212
Missi dominici (agents), 222
Missiles, in Cuba, 945, 947
Missions and missionaries (Buddhist), 79, 341
Missions and missionaries (Christian), 200, 218–219, 220*(m)*, 382, 446
  in Africa, 736–737, 738*(i)*, 742
  in Americas, 446, 454, 461, 554
  in China, 618, 769
  conversion by, 459–461
  in Ethiopia, 275*(b)*
  in Hawaii, 780
  imperialism and, 741
  in India, 761

  Jesuit, 428–430, 502
  Moravians as, 559*(b)*
  on slavery, 732
  in Vietnam, 766
Mississippian culture, 294, 294*(m)*, 295*(i)*
Mississippi River region, 521
Mita, 298–299, 454
Mitmaq (colonies), 292, 298
Mitochondrial DNA, 6
Mitsubishi, 776
Mitterrand, François, 982
Mixed-race peoples, 533*(i)*
  in Americas, 463*(i)*, 558
  in Caribbean region, 557, 559*(b)*
  in Latin America, 626–627, 652
  in Saint-Domingue, 646
Mnong people, 938, 993, 994*(b)*, 994*(i)*
Mobile phones. *See* Cell phones
Mobility. *See* Immigrants and immigration; Migration; Social mobility
Mobutu Sese Seko (Democratic Republic of the Congo), 942, 970
Moche civilization, 296
Moctezuma I (Mexica), 311
Moctezuma II (Mexica), 311, 312, 450
Modernism
  in arts, 847
  in Chinese thought, 870–872
Modernization. *See also* Industrialization; specific countries
  in China, 770–771, 869
  after First World War, 824, 828
  in Iran, 961
  of Japan, 746, 772, 773–778, 869, 881, 971
  of Ottoman Empire, 746
  of Russia, 527, 701, 706–708, 746, 894
  of Turkey, 862–863
Modernization theory, 925, 926*(d)*
Modern world, as historical division, 374, 406
Modi, Narendra, 976
Mogadishu (city-state), 268–269, 278, 573, 574*(m)*
  coin from, 280*(i)*
  prosperity in, 575
  trade in, 439, 575

Mohács, Battle of, 472
Mohenjo-daro, 62, 62*(i)*, 63, 64–65*(i)*
Moko Shurai Ekotoba, 331*(i)*
Moksha, 69
Moldova, Pale of Settlement in, 551
Molson, John, 668
Mombasa (city-state), 278, 278 439, 439, 575
  Said in, 731
  sultan of, 575
Monads, 542, 545
Monarchs and monarchies. *See also* Absolutism; Emperor(s); Empire(s); specific monarchs
  absolutist, 506–508
  in Brazil, 788, 793, 795, 802
  constitutional, 514, 624, 635–636
  divine right of kings and, 508, 514–515, 516
  in England, 378, 418
  in France, 418, 430, 472, 635–636, 637, 655, 698
  in Habsburg lands, 514
  Mughal and French views on, 477*(d)*
  in Rome, 143
  in Spain, 418–419
Monasticism. *See* Ascetics and asceticism; Monks and monasteries
Money. *See also* Coins; Currency; Paper money; Wealth
  in China, 332*(d)*, 350, 350*(i)*
Mongolia, 329. *See also* Mongols
  China and, 594
  Turks and, 237, 320
Mongols and Mongol Empire, 318, 320, 321–322, 326*(m)*, 329–333
  abduction of women by, 322, 324–325*(i)*
  Avars as, 202
  in Baghdad, 238, 327, 327*(i)*
  Black Death in, 396
  Buddhism and, 598
  China and, 88, 327, 328, 348, 353, 359–362, 438, 594, 596
  Chinggis Khan and, 323–325
  communication under, 326*(m)*
  in Europe, 327
  expansion by, 325–328
  Great Wall and, 598
  in Hungary, 379

- in India, 336
- invasions by, 238, 327
- Islam and, 238, 329, 535
- Japan and, 327, 331*(i)*, 348, 364, 368
- in Kievan Rus, 523
- Koreans enslaved by, 364
- language of, 323
- lifestyle of, 321–322
- military of, 328, 330–331*(d)*
- Ming China and, 596, 598
- movement of peoples under, 329–333
- paper money of, 350*(i)*
- religion and, 322, 329
- rise of, 323–325
- as rulers, 328–329
- Russia and, 328, 329, 523, 524, 550
- Thais and, 340
- trade and, 318
- women and, 319*(i)*, 322

Monism, 542

Monks and monasteries. *See also* Nuns
- Buddhist, 74, 183*(i)*, 184, 189, 192
- Christian, 210–211
- church floor plan and, 210*(i)*
- as class of society, 388
- in England, 426
- in Ethiopia, 274, 275*(b)*
- in Japan, 194, 364, 369, 606
- in Middle Ages, 381
- schools of, 211
- Tibetan, 598
- Urai Kidane Miharet Church, 275*(i)*

Monogamy
- in Ethiopia, 275*(b)*
- Muslim, 242

Monopolies
- in Chinese enterprises, 173
- in Russia, 980
- trade, 280, 646

Monotheism. *See also* specific religions
- of Hebrews, 50–51

- of Islam, 231

Monroe, James, 810

Monroe Doctrine, 810

Monserrate, Antonio, 488

Monsoons, 62, 277

Montagnais Indians, 521

Montagu, Mary Wortley, 545–546, 545*(i)*

Monte Albán, 301

Montenegro, independence of, 747

Montesquieu, baron de, 542, 544, 545, 627, 633

Monte Verde, Chile, 20*(i)*

Montevideo, 802

Montoneros, 964

Montreal, 521

Moors, 237*(i)*. *See also* Arabs and Arab world; Berbers; Islam; Muslims
- trade and, 572

Moral economy, 504

Morality
- of Ashoka, 79–80
- of Calvinism, 426–427
- of coffeehouses, 484
- Confucian, 173–174
- in Islam, 231, 240
- of middle classes, 710
- in Puritan England, 516
- relativity of, 545

Moravians, 559*(b)*

More, Thomas, 410

Morel, Edmund, 734, 735*(d)*

Moriscos, expelled from Spain, 506

Morocco
- Germany and, 821
- in Second World War, 913
- Songhai kingdom and, 570

Mortality. *See* Death rates

Mosaics
- Roman, 154*(i)*
- of Theodora, 207*(i)*

Moscow
- Grand Duchy of, 523
- Mongols in, 329

- Napoleon at, 643, 644*(m)*
- Nazi attacks on, 906

Moses, 50, 162

Moshoeshoe (Sotho), 744*(d)*

Mosques
- Islamic architecture and, 479
- in Mali, 272, 272*(i)*
- men and women separated in, 242*(i)*

Mosquitoes. *See also* Malaria
- habitats of, 1006
- people, epidemics, and, 1008–1009*(d)*

Mossaddegh, Muhammad, 961

Most-favored nation clause, China and, 769

Mosul, Safavids and, 475

Mothers. *See also* Families; Women
- in 19th century, 711–712
- of African rulers, 571*(i)*

Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo (Argentina), 964, 965*(i)*

Motion
- Descartes on, 539
- law of inertia and, 537
- Newton on, 537
- planetary, 535

Mound builders, in North America, 294–295, 295*(i)*

Mountain, the (France), 638

Mountains. *See* specific mountains

Movable type, 354, 410–411

Movement of peoples. *See also* Immigrants and immigration; Migration
- global, 993–995
- in Pacific Ocean region, 778–782

Movies, 848, 849*(i)*

Mozambique, 966
- health in, 1006
- Portugal and, 577, 942, 966
- slave trade and, 587*(i)*
- white rule in, 942

Mozarabs, 251

Mozi, *Mozi, The*, 98*(d)*

Mu'awiya (Islam), 234, 235

Mubarak, Hosni, 960–961

Mugabe, Robert, 966

Mughal Empire (India), 336, 468, 476–477, 476*(m)*, 490*(m)*
  arts in, 478–479
  books in, 479, 482
  building in, 479–480, 480*(i)*
  decline of, 477, 492, 760
  gardens in, 481
  religion in, 482
  views on priorities for monarchs, 477*(d)*
Muhammad (Prophet), 228, 230, 231, 231*(i)*, 232. *See also* Islam
  impact of, 254
  rise of, 230–231
  succession to, 233
Muhammad, Murtala (Nigeria), 958
Muhammad, Sultan, 252*(i)*
Muhammad Ali (Egypt), 746, 748, 749*(b)*
Mukden. *See* Shenyang
Mulattos, 463*(i)*, 559*(b)*
Multiethnic states, in China, 594
Multinational corporations, 998
  in information technology, 1010
Multinational state, Austrian Empire as, 693
Multiparty system, 720
Multipolar world, middle powers in, 990
Mumbai. *See* Bombay
Mummies, Inca, 296–297
Mumps vaccine, 1006
Mundo Livre S/A (Brazilian band), globalization and, 999*(d)*
Munich, Hitler's uprising in, 900
Munich Conference (1938), 903*(i)*, 904–905
Munshi, Iskandar (Persia), on Armenian deportation, 486*(d)*
Al-Muqaddasi, *Geography*, 244*(d)*
Murasaki (Lady), *Tale of Genji, The*, 365, 365*(i)*, 366*(d)*
Muromachi culture (Japan), 605, 606
Musa, Mansa. *See* Mansa Musa (Mali)
Muscat, 489
Muscovite princes, 523
Muscovites. *See* Moscow
Musharraf, Pervez, 976
Music
  African influence on, 584
  Chinese instruments and, 95*(i)*, 188, 188*(i)*

  - in Japan, 194
  - Romanticism in, 718
  - Sumerian, 34*(i)*
- Muslim League, 866, 929
- Muslims. *See also* Arabs and Arab world; Fundamentalism; Islam; Ottoman Empire; Shi'a (Shi'ite) Muslims; Sunni Muslims; specific empires
  - ca. 1700, 493*(m)*
  - administration by, 268
  - in Alexandria, 268
  - astrolabe and, 442
  - Berbers as, 268
  - Buddhism and, 336
  - Byzantine Empire and, 202
  - in Chechnya, 981
  - Christianity and, 251–253
  - coffeehouses and, 482–484
  - conquests by, 233
  - Crusades and, 253, 384–388
  - divorce and, 242
  - in East Africa, 277, 278–279*(d)*
  - Enlightenment attitudes toward, 545–546
  - in Ethiopia, 574
  - in Ghana, 270
  - Greek learning and, 534
  - Hindus and, 335, 865, 866, 869
  - in Iberian Peninsula, 381
  - in India, 476, 482, 761, 865, 866, 976
  - in Jerusalem, 384, 385
  - Mansa Musa as, 272
  - non-Muslims under rule of, 484–488
  - in North Africa, 202, 260
  - in Ottoman Empire, 501*(m)*, 746
  - Pakistan and, 335
  - at Poitiers, Battle of, 221
  - reconquista and, 384, 384*(m)*
  - religious toleration by, 484–488
  - slavery and, 268, 280, 577
  - society of, 238–242
  - in Spain, 380*(i)*, 419, 506
  - trade and, 268, 445, 489

  trans-Saharan trade and, 572
Mussolini, Benito, 899*(i)*
  Ethiopia and, 903–904, 903*(m)*
  execution of, 913
  Italian fascism and, 899–900
  Spain and, 888
Mustafa (Ottoman), 474*(b)*
al-Mu’taşim (Islam), 236
Mutinies
  against Alexander the Great, 128
  in First World War, 830–831, 840
Mwene Mutapa (rulers), 284
Myanmar. *See* Burma
Mycenae and Mycenaeans, 114, 114*(m)*, 115, 115*(i)*, 116
Mystery religions, 126, 131–133, 163
Mystics
  in India, 69
  Sufis as, 250–251
Myths
  Babylonian, 38
  barbarian, 217
  Egyptian, 133

N

NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), 938
Nabta Playa, Egypt, stone circle at, 24*(i)*
Nabuco, Joaquim, 800*(d)*
Nadir Shah (Persia), 492
NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement), 957
Nagarjuna (India), 74
Nagasaki
  atomic bombing of, 915
  Deshima and, 618
Nagoya, Japan, 608
Nahua people, 304*(d)*, 305*(i)*, 309*(b)*
Nahuatl language, 306
Naipaul, V. S., 928
Nalanda, Buddhist university of, 336
Namib Desert, 20
Nam Viet, 190, 190*(m)*. *See also* Vietnam
Nanjing (Nanking), China
  capital in, 182
  Christians in, 618
  Japan and, 877, 908
  Nationalist Party in, 870
  Rape of Nanjing and, 878
  Treaty of, 769*(i)*
  Zhu in, 596
Nantes, Edict of, 430, 507–508
Nanzhao kingdom (Yunnan), 327
Napata, Sudan, 48
Naples
  Bourbon dynasty in, 701
  in Enlightenment, 544
  kingdom of, 408
  population of, 554
Napoleon I (Bonaparte, France), 624, 642*(i)*
  abdication by, 645

  Continental System of, 643
  Directory and, 640
  in Egypt, 641, 748
  as first consul of France, 642
  Grand Empire of, 643, 644*(m)*
  Haiti and, 648*(i)*, 650
  Russia and, 643, 644*(m)*
  slavery and, 655
  Spanish throne and, 643, 652, 793
Napoleon III (Louis Napoleon, France), 698, 701, 706, 720
  Italian unification and, 703
  Mexico and, 793
  urban planning under, 708–709
Napoleonic Code (1804), 642
Napoleonic Wars, 642–643, 644*(m)*, 697
  Spain and, 650
Nara, Japan, 194, 364
Naram-Sin (Akkad), 38*(i)*
Narva, Battle of, 526
Naseby, Battle of, 515
Nash, John, 826*(i)*
Nasmyth, James, 666*(i)*
Nasser, Gamal Abdel, 930, 930*(i)*, 961
Natal, 736, 737, 867
Nathan the Wise (Lessing), 553*(d)*
Nation. *See also* State (nation); specific locations
  use of term, 547
National and Private Advantages of the African Trade Considered, The (Postlethwayt), 557*(d)*
National Assembly (France), 628*(d)*, 634–635, 698
  in 1871, 720
  Saint-Domingue revolt and, 646–647
National Assembly (Turkey), 862, 863
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), 938
National Convention (France), 625*(i)*, 637–638, 640, 648
National health insurance
  in England, 721
  in Germany, 720
Nationalism, 643, 724. *See also* Nationalist China; Ultranationalism; Zionism

1848 revolutions and, 697
1871–1914, 719–723
in Africa, 890, 938–939
anticolonial, 766
Arab, 860–861*(d)*, 864, 931
in Asia, 724, 783, 854, 856–879, 880, 928–931
in Asian Tigers, 971–972
in Austria-Hungary, 721–722, 822
in Austrian Empire, 700
in Balkans, 746
in Bangladesh, 929–930
in China, 869, 870, 876
in colonies, 743
dictatorship and, 890
in East Asia, 869–878
in Egypt, 749*(b)*, 864, 930
in England, 721
First World War and, 820, 828, 856–857
after First World War, 842, 844, 856, 857
in France, 638–640, 720
in Germany, 695*(i)*, 702*(d)*, 706, 720
Greek, 862
Hitler and, 900
in Hungary, 700
ideology of, 690, 695–696, 715
in India, 854, 865–869, 976
in Indochina, 878–879
in Iraq, 864, 930
in Ireland, 698, 721
in Italy, 701, 702*(d)*, 703, 898
in Japan, 869, 876
Jews and, 723, 860, 864, 928
Metternich on, 693
in Mexico, 957
in Middle East, 857–865, 930
in Ottoman Empire, 747, 822
in Persia, 863
in Philippines, 767*(b)*, 879
in Portuguese colonies, 966
Romanticism and, 719
after Second World War, 925

- socialism and, 723
- in South Asia, 928–931
- in Southeast Asia, 878–879
- in Syria, 864, 930
- Turkish, 857–859
- in Ukraine, 894
- workers and, 723

Nationalist China, 870, 877, 932, 972
Nationality, racism and, 415
Nationalization
- in Egypt, 930
- in France, 636, 638
- in Iran, 961
- in Mexico, 957

National Labor Relations Act (U.S., 1935), 888
National Liberation Front (FLN), 940
National socialism, 901. *See also* Nazi Germany
National Socialist German Worker's (Nazi) Party. *See* Nazi Germany; NaziParty
National workshops (Paris), 698
Nation building. *See* State-building
Nation-states. *See also* State (nation)
- in Renaissance, 418

Native Americans
- archaeological dig and, 4*(i)*
- in Canada, 809
- Constitution of 1787 and, 633
- French and, 521
- fur trade and, 521*(i)*
- in Latin America, 652
- Seven Years' War and, 630, 630*(m)*
- in sugar industry, 457*(i)*
- Western industrialization and, 752

Native peoples. *See* Aboriginal peoples; Indigenous peoples; Native Americans
NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization)
- European integration and, 981–982
- Serbian aggression and, 980
- Taliban, al-Qaeda, and, 992

Natural disasters, in Japan, 609
Natural history, 537

Natural law
  in Rome, 145
  Stoics on, 134
  women and, 548
Natural man, 546
Natural philosophy
  Scientific Revolution and, 534, 535
  Spinoza on, 542
Natural resources. *See also* Raw materials; specific resources
  in Americas, 293
  in England, 662
  in Japan, 872
  population growth and, 1005
  in southern Africa, 281
Natural rights, 516, 631
Natural selection, 4, 714, 715
Naval arms limitation treaty (1922), 872
Navigation
  European exploration and, 442, 446
  human migration and, 9*(i)*
  improvements in, 243
  sciences and, 535
Navigation Acts (England), 522, 663
Navy
  British, 630, 632, 663, 730, 821
  Chinese, 359
  German, 821
  Japanese, 872, 914, 915
  Roman, 147
  Russian, 526
  U.S., 767, 910, 914, 1009*(i)*
Nazareth, Jesus of. *See* Jesus Christ
Nazi Germany. *See also* Axis powers; Hitler, Adolf; Second World War; Soviet Union
  aggression by, 902–905
  empire of, 906–907
  growth of (1933–1939), 904*(m)*
  Hitler in, 900–905
  Holocaust and, 885*(i)*, 908, 908*(i)*, 908*(m)*
  Italy and, 904
  Japan and, 890

  Labor Front in, 902
  labor in, 900–901
  Munich Conference and, 903*(i)*, 904–905
  New Order of, 907
  Soviet Union and, 906, 913
  state and society in, 901–902
  totalitarianism and, 892
  U.S. and, 911
  women in, 902
  young people in, 901*(i)*
Nazi Party (Germany), 844, 900, 902
Nazism. *See also* Nazi Germany
  roots of, 900
  totalitarianism and, 892
Nazi-Soviet nonaggression pact (1939), 905, 906
Ndebele (Matabele) people, 735, 736, 737
Ndongo kingdom, 588*(i)*
Neanderthals, 8
Near East. *See* Middle East; specific locations
Nefertiti (Egypt), 41*(i)*, 44, 46*(i)*
Négritude, 938
Nehru, Jawaharlal, 867, 929, 974
Neighborhoods, migrants in, 752
Nelson, Horatio, at Trafalgar, 643
Neocolonialism, 795, 998
Neo-Confucianism, 356, 358–359, 599, 615
Neoliberalism, 957, 966
Neolithic era, 5
  agriculture in, 13–22, 24
  in China, 88–89, 88*(i)*
  city growth and, 34
  grinding stones from, 13*(i)*
  housing in, 20*(i)*
  human evolution in, 5, 7*(m)*
  society in, 22–26
  tools in, 13, 17
  trade in, 24–26
NEP (New Economic Policy, Soviet Union), 893, 894
Nepal, 62
  Buddhism in, 76
  Gupta Empire and, 333

Nero (Rome), 154
Nerva (Rome), 160
Nestlé, boycott of (1977), 998–999
Nestorian Christianity, 188, 209
  in Central Asia, 329
  Mongols and, 322
  Uighurs and, 321
Netherlands. *See also* Dutch; Dutch Republic; Holland; Low Countries
  Calvinism in, 501*(m)*
  civil wars in, 430–431, 503
  colonies of, 519, 758, 924
  English Navigation Acts and, 522
  golden age of, 504, 517
  Holy Roman Empire and, 502
  independence of, 430–431, 516
  Indonesia and, 924
  Jews in, 517
  Protestantism and, 431, 501
  religious wars in, 430–431, 503
  revolt in, 504
  Spain and, 425, 502, 503
  United Provinces of, 431, 506
Netherlands East Indies. *See* East Indies; Indonesia
Neto, Agostinho, 966
Neutrality, Congress of Vienna and, 692
New Christians, 419
Newcomen, Thomas, 666
New Culture Movement (China), 870–872, 875*(d)*
New Deal (U.S.), 887–888
New Economic Policy (NEP, Soviet Union), 893, 894
New England, 632
  Cabot in, 448
  Puritans in, 501, 519
  settlers in, 519
Newfoundland, 522
  Cabot in, 448
  Vikings in, 376, 445
New France, 513, 521, 630. *See also* Canada
New Granada, 454, 652. *See also* Gran Colombia
New Guinea, 343
  humans in, 8

- in Second World War, 914

New Haven, 519

New Imperialism, 728, 738–743. *See also* Imperialism; specific countries
- empire building and, 739*(i)*
- propaganda for, 740

New Kingdom (Egypt), 42, 42*(f)*, 43, 48

New Laws, 454

New Model Army, 515

New Objectivity, 848

New Order, of Nazis, 907

New Poor Law (England), 697

New Rome, Constantinople as, 164

New South Wales, 780

New Spain, 454, 653
- Aztec and Spanish views on conversion in, 462*(d)*
- breakup of, 655
- Christian conversions in, 462*(d)*
- plants in, 537
- silver from, 458

Newspapers
- in China, 772
- suffragist, 719

New State (Brazil), 945

New Stone Age. *See* Neolithic era

New Sweden, 521*(i)*

New Testament, 49, 161*(i)*, 162, 211–212. *See also* Bible (Christian)
- in German, 423
- Islam and, 231, 251
- in Latin, 211–212

Newton, Isaac, 537, 538, 539

New View of Society, A (Owen), 683*(d)*

New World. *See also* America(s); Columbus, Christopher; specific locations
- crops in Asia from, 617
- European discovery of, 436
- European values and, 546
- missionaries in, 459–461
- silver from, 617
- slave trade and, 280
- Spain and, 419, 441, 445–448

New York City
    migrants in, 753*(i)*
    September 11, 2001, attacks in, 992, 992*(i)*
New York colony, 521
New Zealand
    ecology of, 344
    First World War and, 826
    human habitation of, 9, 343
    investment in, 752
    migrants in, 752
    Polynesians in, 778
    population of, 780
    as settler colony, 778, 779
Nezahualpilli (Aztecs), 437*(i)*
Ngati Maniapoto tribe (Maori), 780*(i)*
N'gazargamu (city), 570
Nguyen Dynasty (Vietnam), 766, 766*(i)*
Niani, Mali, 271
Nicaragua, 791
    civil war in, 963
    female head of state in, 1003
    Sandinistas in, 955*(i)*
    United States and, 810, 811
    Walker in, 810
Nicene Creed, 208–209
Nichiren (preacher), 369
Nicholas I (Russia), 701
Nicholas II (Russia), 708, 818, 824, 834, 834*(i)*, 849
Nicopolis, Battle of, 401*(i)*
Niemeyer, Oscar, 945*(i)*
Nietzsche, Friedrich, 845
Nigeria, 264, 958–959
    Achebe and, 928
    gold in, 267
    Igbo people in, 265
    iron in, 47, 263
    oil and, 957, 958, 958*(i)*
    as sub-Saharan power, 990
    Tiv people in, 269
    Yoruba people in, 265
Niger River region, 265, 567, 568

- trade in, 572

Night of Broken Glass. *See* Kristallnacht

Nihawand, battle at, 233

Nijo Castle (Japan), 611*(i)*

Nile River region. *See also* Egypt entries
- agriculture in, 17, 260
- cultures in, 38*(m)*
- Egypt and, 39–42, 43
- famine in, 571
- Islam in, 268
- Red Sea canal and, 54

Nîmes, France, 156*(i)*

1911 Revolution, in China, 773

Ninety-five Theses (Luther), 422

Nineveh, 52
- battle at (627), 203

Ning Lao, on Chinese women, 873*(i)*

Nitrates, 799, 802, 806

Nixon, Richard, 938, 963

Nixtamalization, 291, 292*(i)*

Nkrumah, Kwame, 940, 940*(i)*, 942

Nobatia, kingdom of, 273

Nobility. *See also* Aristocracy
- Aztec, 307–308, 311, 450
- in Bohemia, 513
- in China, 172
- as class, 217, 388, 626
- ecclesiastical careers for, 381
- in England, 378, 418
- in Ethiopia, 274, 275*(b)*
- in Europe, 376, 626
- feudal, 376–377
- in France, 508, 514, 634, 635, 642
- hierarchy of, 417
- Inca, 297, 312–313
- in Japan, 775
- lifestyle of, 390–391
- Maya, 300
- in medieval Europe, 375*(i)*
- Mesoamerican government and, 310
- Ottoman Turk, 473

    peasants’ revolts and, 402
    in Prussia, 548
    in Russia, 524, 526, 527, 550
    in social order, 503
    women in, 391
Nobunaga, Oda (Japan), 606
Nok culture, 260*(i)*, 263
Nomads. *See also* Huns; Mongols; Turks
    in 17th and 18th centuries, 522
    in Americas, 21, 451
    in Arabia, 230
    in Asia, 318
    from Central Asia, 320–322
    in China, 88, 97, 175–177, 177*(i)*, 603
    in eastern Europe, 218
    in India, 80, 333
    in Iran, 52–53
    Mongols as, 321–322
    pastoralists as, 21
    society of, 320
    of steppes, 320
    Tuareg people as, 265–267, 267*(i)*, 572
    Turks as, 470
Nonaggression pact, Nazi-Soviet (1939), 905, 906
Non-Aligned Nations Movement (1961), 925, 930*(i)*
Nonindustrial regions, global inequality and, 750–751
Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, Treaty on the, 990
Nonviolence
    Buddhist, 598
    in India, 854, 866–869, 868*(d)*
Nonwhites, in Latin America, 653
Normandy, France, 376
    French recapture of, 399
    invasion in (Second World War), 913
Normans. *See also* Vikings
    in England, 378, 379*(m)*
North (U.S.), 633, 791, 796, 798
North Africa. *See also* specific locations
    Arabs in, 233
    Berbers of, 260, 265–267
    Byzantines and, 202

France and, 747
Islam and, 237, 268, 731
Jews in, 260
Mongols and, 238
Muslims in, 202, 260, 376
Ottomans and, 470, 471–472, 473, 492, 747
peoples of, 260
racism and, 461
refugees from, 983
revolts in (2011), 960–961
salt from, 572
in Second World War, 913
trade and, 439, 440, 572
North America. *See also* America(s); Colonies and colonization; specific locations
agriculture in, 19, 294, 294*(m)*
colonies in, 517
Dutch and, 517
European claims in (1714), 522*(m)*
France and, 521, 522
megacities outside of, 995
migrants in, 752
revolutionary era and, 624, 625*(i)*, 631–633, 632*(m)*
Seven Years' War and, 491, 630, 630*(m)*
slavery and, 685
Vikings in, 376
North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), 957
North Asia, Korea and, 191
North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), 923
European integration and, 981–982
Serbian aggression and, 980
Taliban, al-Qaeda, and, 992
Northern Dynasties (China), 182
Northern Europe
expansion in Africa and Asia, 522
exploration by, 448–449
Northern Hemisphere, wealth gap with Southern Hemisphere, 997
Northern Rhodesia, 737
Northern Wei Dynasty (China), 182, 183*(i)*
North German Confederation, 706
North Korea, 934. *See also* Korea

- nuclear weapons and, 991
- social media in, 1007–1010

Northmen. *See* Vikings
North Vietnam, 935. *See also* Vietnam; Vietnam War
Norway. *See also* Scandinavia
- Nazis and, 906, 907
- Vikings from, 376

Nō theater (Japan), 606
Notre Dame Cathedral (Paris), 394*(i)*
Nova Scotia, 522
Novels. *See also* Literature
- in China, 599

Novi Pazar, 747
Nubia, 48, 273
Nuclear arms race. *See* Arms race
Nuclear disarmament, movement for, 998
Nuclear families, in West Africa, 571
Nuclear power. *See also* Nuclear weapons
- energy crisis and, 956
- in Iran, 961

Nuclear weapons. *See also* Atomic bomb
- expansion of, 990–991
- in Iran, 961
- in Pakistan, 976
- in Russia, 980

Numerical system
- Arabic numerals and, 92
- decimal point notation and, 302, 534, 638
- Sumerian, 36

Nuns. *See also* Monks and monasteries; specific orders
- Buddhist, 74, 184–185*(d)*, 189
- in Catholic Reformation, 428
- in Ethiopia, 274
- monasticism and, 210, 211
- in Protestant Reformation, 425

Nuremberg Laws (Germany, 1935), 902
Nurhaci (Manchus), 603
Nursing (medical). *See* Medicine
Nyamwezi people, 731
Nzinga, Ana (Ndongo and Matamba), 588*(i)*
Nzinga Mbemba (Dom Affonso I) (Kongo Empire), 586*(d)*

O

Oaxaca region, 301
Oba (king of Benin), 566*(i)*, 567–568
Obregón, Alvaro, 805
Observatory, of Bhaskara, 337*(i)*
Obsidian, 293, 302
Occupation (labor). *See also* Labor; Workers
    in China, 359
    of Puritans, 515*(i)*
Occupation (military)
    by Britain, of Egypt, 750
    by Nazi Germany, 904–905
    by U.S. of Iraq, 961, 992–993
Oceans. *See also* specific ocean regions
    global warming and, 1000
Octavian. *See* Augustus (Octavian, Rome)
October Manifesto (Russia), 708
Oda Makoto, 937*(d)*
Odoacer, 200
Odoric of Pordenone, 360*(d)*
Odyssey, 116, 151
Oeconomicus (Xenophon), 124*(d)*
Oedipus at Colonus (Sophocles), 121
Oedipus the King (Sophocles), 121
Of Natural Characters (Hume), 546
Ogé, Vincent, 646
Ögödei (Mongols), 325, 327
Ohio River region, English and French in, 630
Oil
    in Iran, 863
    in Iraq, 864
    in Mexico, 957
    in Nigeria, 958, 958*(i)*
Oil embargo
    in 1973, 959
    Brazil and, 965

  by OPEC, 956
Oil shocks, 956, 965
Okinawa, Battle of, 915
Old-age pensions, 720, 721, 888
Old Bolsheviks, public trials of, 895
Old Church Slavonic, 392
Old Kingdom (Egypt), 42, 42*(f)*, 43
Old Stone Age. *See* Paleolithic era
Old Testament (Hebrew Bible), 49, 217*(i)*. *See also* Bible
  Islam and, 231, 251
  in Latin, 211
  science and, 540
Old World. *See* Africa; Asia; Europe; specific locations
Oligarchs and oligarchies
  in Americas, 790
  Dutch, 517
  Greek, 117–118
  in Latin America, 790
Olivares, Count-Duke (Gaspar de Guzmán), 507
Olmecs, 293, 293*(m)*
Olympia, Pan-Hellenic festivals in, 126
Olympic games
  in Greece, 126
  in Mexico (summer, 1968), 942, 943*(i)*, 949
Olympus, Mount, 123
Oman, 731
Omani Arabs, 577
al-Omari (Mali), 272
Omdurman, Battle of, 732, 739*(i)*
Omu (female chiefs), 265
On a Mountain Path in Spring (Ma Yuan), 355*(d)*, 355*(i)*
On Christian Liberty (Luther), 422–423*(d)*
On Crimes and Punishments (Beccaria), 544
“One China” policy, 972
One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich (Solzhenitsyn), 946–947
On Floating Bodies (Archimedes), 135*(b)*
Oni (Yoruban king), 259*(i)*
On Plane Equilibriums (Archimedes), 135*(b)*
On the Origin of Species by the Means of Natural Selection (Darwin), 714
On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Spheres (Copernicus), 536, 540

On the Structure of the Human Body (Vesalius), 540
OPEC (Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries), oil embargo by, 956
“Open Letter to His Serene Majesty Leopold II, An” (Williams), 735*(d)*
Opium trade, 489, 491, 760, 767–769
Opium War, 767–769
Oportunidades CCT (Mexico), 1005
Optics, Newton on, 537
Oracles, in Africa, 265
Orange, House of, 517. *See also* William III of Orange
Orange Free State, 736, 737
Orbits. *See* Astronomy; Planets; Universe
Orders (religious). *See* Religious orders; specific orders
Orders (social). *See also* Estates (French orders)
    in 17th-century Europe, 503
    in Rome, 145–146
Oresteia, The (Aeschylus), 121
Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), oil embargo by, 956
Original sin, 213
Origin myths
    Aztec, 304*(d)*
    Toltec, 306
Orléans, battle at, 399
Oromo people, in Ethiopia, 574
Orphans
    as factory workers, 664
    UN and, 1003
Orthodox(y), use of term, 208
Orthodox Christianity, 209
    Crusades and, 385
    in eastern Europe, 501*(m)*
    expansion of, 382
    icon from, 214*(i)*
    iconoclastic controversy and, 213
    monasticism in, 211
    Nicene Creed and, 209
    Ottoman Empire and, 470
    in Russia, 382, 523
    Turks and, 400
Orwell, George, *Road to Wigan Pier, The*, 891*(d)*

Osaka, Japan, 194, 608
    Battle of, 618
Osiris (god), 42, 133, 133*(i)*
Osman (Turks), 470
Ostrogoths, 200, 215, 219
Otto I (Holy Roman Empire), 378–379
Ottoman Empire, 400, 468, 470–473, 471*(m)*
    Afghans and, 492
    Algeria and, 698
    antinationalism and, 693
    Arabs and, 857–861
    arts in, 478–479
    Balkan region and, 400, 470, 747, 747*(m)*, 820, 821*(m)*
    Christians in, 400
    in Constantinople, 534
    Crimean War and, 705*(m)*, 706
    decline of, 492, 746–748, 857
    destruction of, 822, 864
    Egypt and, 471, 674, 748–750, 749*(b)*
    England and, 859
    Europeans and, 545–546, 746
    First World War and, 822, 826
    after First World War, 843, 850, 857–861, 860*(d)*, 862
    France and, 698, 859
    Habsburgs and, 472, 513
    Jews in, 485, 860–861
    languages in, 478
    laws of, 473
    military in, 473, 492
    Muslims in, 501*(m)*
    Napoleon and, 692
    national self-determination in, 856
    Nicopolis Battle and, 401*(d)*
    partition of (1914–1923), 858*(m)*
    population of, 489
    power politics in, 747*(i)*
    Protestants and, 472
    religion in, 482
    Russia and, 526, 706, 747
    Safavid Empire and, 471, 472–473, 475
    slavery and, 416, 441, 473

  Syria and, 471, 746
  tent in, 472*(i)*
  tobacco in, 484–485*(d)*
  trade and, 440–441
  women and, 545
  Young Turks and, 748, 857–859
Ottoman Turks. *See also* Ottoman Empire; Turkey; Young Turks
  Armenian genocide and, 859*(i)*
  in Constantinople, 534
  in Ethiopia, 574
  First World War and, 856
  Habsburg fighting with, 425
  Orthodox Church and, 400
Outcasts, in Japan, 370
Out-migration, male, 996
Ouyang Xiu (China), 356
Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores, The (Ma Huan), 614
Over the Top (Nash), 826*(i)*
Owen, Robert, 677, 683*(i)*, 685
Owen, Wilfred, 825*(d)*
Oxus River region, 55*(i)*, 233
Ozone layer, 1000

P

Pachacuti Inca, 296, 297, 312
Pacific Islanders, in Australia, 779
Pacific Ocean region. *See also* specific locations
    Atlantic economy and, 554
    Japan and, 773, 911
    movement of people in, 778–782
    navigation in, 9*(i)*
    Russia and, 525
    Second World War in, 911, 912*(m)*, 913*(i)*, 914–915
    settlement of islands in, 9, 343–344, 343*(i)*, 343*(m)*
    Spain and, 448
    trade in, 339
Pacifism, in England, 903
Paekche kingdom (Korea), 192
Pagan (state), 340
Pagans, Christianity and, 161, 219
Pagoda, 193*(i)*
Pahlavi family
    Muhammad Reza Shah, 961
    Reza Shah, 863
Paine, Thomas, 631
Painting. *See also* Art(s); Cave art; specific painters
    in Athens, 125*(i)*
    in China, 350*(d)*, 354, 355*(d)*
    in East Asia, 190
    genre, 518*(d)*
    of miniatures, 252*(i)*, 478–479, 483*(i)*
    Paleolithic, 11, 14*(i)*, 15*(i)*, 16*(i)*
    of Persian miniatures, 252*(i)*
    in Renaissance, 414–415, 414*(i)*, 415*(i)*
    Romanticism in, 718, 718*(i)*
    scientific, 538*(i)*
Pakistan, 62. *See also* India
    Alexander the Great in, 128
    Bhutto, Benazir, in, 992

  - bin Laden in, 992
  - development vs. democracy in, 974–976
  - female head of state in, 1003
  - government of, 976
  - Harappan civilization in, 62
  - India and, 64*(i)*, 924, 929, 929*(m)*, 976
  - Islam in, 335
  - nuclear testing by, 991
  - UN and, 924
  - U.S. aid to, 976
- Palace of Electricity (Universal Exhibition, Paris), 716*(i)*
- Palaces. *See also* Forbidden City (Beijing); specific palaces
  - of absolutist rulers, 514
  - in China, 90
  - in Crete, 115
  - in Islamic empire, 479–480
  - of Jahan, 479
  - at Knossos, 115
- Pale (Dublin), 426
- Palenque, 300
- Pale of Settlement, 551*(m)*
- Paleolithic era, 5
  - arts in, 11, 12*(i)*
  - culture in, 11–13
  - hand markings from, 11, 14*(i)*, 15*(i)*
  - housing in, 20*(i)*
  - humans in, 5, 7*(m)*, 8
  - society in, 10–13
  - tools from, 8, 10*(i)*
- Paleontology, 5
- Palestine. *See also* Arabs and Arab world; Middle East
  - Arab-Jewish tensions and, 864–865, 931, 959–960
  - England and, 860–861
  - after First World War, 842, 850
  - Islam and, 233
  - Israel and, 931
  - Jews and, 860–861, 931
  - in Ottoman Empire, 471, 474*(b)*
  - partition of, 931
  - trade in, 440
  - Turks and, 321, 384

Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), 931, 959
Palestinian Authority, 959
Palimpsest (manuscript), 135*(i)*
Palm d'Aelders, Etta, on rights of women, 629*(d)*
Palm oil, trade in, 730
Pan-Africanism, 580, 938, 941*(d)*
Panama, female head of state in, 1003
Panama Canal, 751, 812–813
Panama City, conference in, 653
Panama Railway, 810
Pan-Andean cultures, 296
Panaqa (Inca trust), 296, 297
Pan-Hellenic festivals, 126
Panics (financial), 886
Panipat, India, battle at, 476
Pankhurst, Christabel, 691*(i)*
Pantheon (Rome), 156*(i)*
Papacy. *See also* Christianity and Christians; Crusades; Pope(s); Roman Catholic Church; specific popes
  American colonial Christianity and, 454
  in Avignon, 400
  Carolingians and, 221
  Huns and, 218
  Italy and, 701
  reforms and, 380–381, 502
Papal Inquisition. *See* Inquisition
Papal States, 408
Paper
  in China, 175, 534
  for Muslim books, 248
Paper money, in China, 332*(d)*, 350, 350*(i)*
Papua New Guinea, horticulture in, 17, 19
Papyrus, 43
Paracelsus, 539–540
Paradise, Persian gardens, carpets, and, 480–481
Paraguay War, 802
Paramedics, 1006
Paris
  academy of science in, 540
  brothel in, 714*(i)*
  in Franco-Prussian War, 706, 720, 774

  population of, 268, 554
  revolution in (1848), 698
  salons in, 548, 549
  size of, 392
  university studies in, 393, 393*(i)*
  urban planning in, 708–709
Paris, Treaty of
  in 1763, 491, 630
  in 1783, 632
Paris Climate Agreement (2015), 1002
Paris Commune (1871), 720
Paris Peace Conference (1919), 840, 842, 856, 860*(d)*. *See also* League of Nations
  Arabs at, 861
  China and, 870
Park Chung Hee (South Korea), 971–972
Parlement of Paris (court), 379, 508
Parliament. *See also* Parliament (England)
  in Brazil, 795
  European, 982
  in Germany, 701, 720
  in Ireland, 426
  in Japan, 775
  Ottoman, 746
  in Prussia, 701, 705, 706
Parliament (England)
  Charles I and, 515
  in constitutional monarchy, 516
  development of, 399
  India and, 760
  Ireland and, 721
  North American colonies and, 631
  Peasants’ Revolt and, 400
  Puritans and, 515–516
  slave trade and, 685, 730
  Socialists in, 891*(d)*
Parthenon, 121
Parthia and Parthians, 130
  China and, 175
  Rome and, 149, 160
  Sassanids and, 160, 203

Partitions. *See also* “Scramble for Africa” (1880–1914)
  of Africa, 733*(m)*, 772
  of India, 929–930, 929*(m)*
  of Ottoman Empire (1914–1923), 858*(m)*
  of Poland, 550, 550*(m)*
Parzival (Eschenbach), 253
Paşa, Lütfi, 473
Pasha, in Egypt, 749*(b)*
Passover, Jesus during, 162
Pasteur, Louis, 708
Pastoralism, 21, 263
  in Asia, 318
  spread of, 18–19*(m)*
Patagonia, 802
Pate (city-state), 575
Paterfamilias, 147–148
Patirruppattu (Indian literature), 93, 94*(d)*
Patriarch, in Orthodox Christianity, 209, 380, 400
Patriarchy, 23
  barbarian society as, 215
  in European society, 503
  in India, 69, 338
  in Japan, 611
Patricians (Rome), 145, 146
Patrick (Saint), 219
Patrilineal society
  in China, 91, 93, 177–180, 358
  in India, 69
Patriotism. *See also* Nationalism
  in China, 871*(d)*
  First World War and, 830, 832*(b)*, 833
  in France, 638–640, 720
  in Germany, 706, 720
  in Vietnam, 766
  of Young Turks, 748, 857
Patriots (American Revolution), 631–632
Patronage
  of arts, 408, 411
  in France, 514
  in Mexico, 957
Paul III (Pope), 428, 502

Paul of Tarsus, 162
Pax Romana, 153, 154, 160
Peacekeeping (UN), 924
Peace of Augsburg, 425, 472, 501*(m)*, 502, 504
Peace of Paris, 692
Peace of Utrecht, 512–513, 512*(m)*, 522
Peace of Westphalia, 505–506
Peace process, in Middle East, 959
Peacock Throne, 480, 492
Peanut production, 730
Pearl Harbor, Japanese attack on, 910
Peasants. *See also* Farms and farming; Serfs and serfdom
    after 1815, 697
    in Africa, 731, 738
    in Austria, 550
    Black Death and, 397
    in China, 177, 350, 601, 854, 872, 877, 972
    as class of society, 388
    cottage industry in, 551
    in Egypt, 749*(b)*
    in Ethiopia, 274
    in Europe, 388–389, 697
    in France, 634, 638, 642
    German Peasants' War and, 424
    in India, 336, 764, 854
    in Ireland, 697–698
    in Italy, 898
    in Japan, 368, 606–607, 609–611, 773
    levels of, 389
    poverty of, 504
    revolts by, 400–402, 424
    in Russia, 523*(i)*, 833, 834
    social order and, 503
    Soviet, 893, 894, 896–897*(d)*
    in Vietnam, 766
Pedro I (Portugal, Brazil), 653, 793, 795
Pedro II (Portugal, Brazil), 795, 802
Peking. *See* Beijing
Peloponnesian War, 120, 121, 127
Peloponnesus, 114, 114*(m)*, 118
Pemba (city-state), 278, 579

PEMEX, 957
Penance, ritual of, 219
Pendulum clock, 535
Peninsulares, 650–652
Pennsylvania
  Quakers in, 521
  September 11, 2001, attacks and, 992
Pensions, 720, 721, 888
Pentagon, September 11, 2001, attack on, 976, 992
Pentateuch, 217*(i)*
People, the. *See* Common people; specific groups
People of color. *See also* specific groups
  free, 626, 627, 628–629*(d)*, 645, 652
  women and, 559*(b)*
People's Congress (China), 972
People's Republic of China, 88, 932. *See also* China
Pepper, 438
Perestroika (restructuring), 978
Pergamum, 147
Pericles (Athens), 121, 124*(d)*
Periodization, 5
Periplus of the Erythanean Sea, 262*(d)*, 277, 280
Permanent Mandates Commission, 856
Perón, Eva, 943–944, 944*(i)*
Perón, Isabelita, 944*(b)*, 964
Perón, Juan, 943–945, 944*(b)*, 964
Perry, Matthew, 773
Persecution. *See also* Witch-hunts
  of Christians, 165*(d)*
  of Jews, 419
Persepolis, 53
Persia. *See also* Iran; Persian Empire; Safavid Empire; Sassanids (Persia)
  Abbasid culture and, 235
  Arabs and, 203
  archers from, 31*(i)*
  arts in, 54
  astronomy, mathematics, and, 333
  China and, 359
  East Africa and, 278
  forced relocation of Armenians from, 486–487*(d)*

    gardens in, 239*(i)*, 480–481
    Greece and, 112, 120–121, 122*(d)*, 127, 128, 130
    India and, 476, 489
    Islam and, 233, 238, 329
    Medes from, 52
    modernization in, 863–864
    Mongols and, 238, 325, 327, 328, 329
    painting of miniatures from, 252*(i)*, 478–479
    paper money in, 332*(d)*
    polo from, 481*(i)*
    Safavid Dynasty in, 468
    Sassanid, 203, 232–233
    trade and, 243
    Turks and, 237, 321
Persian Empire, 53*(m)*. *See also* Parthia; Persia; Sassanids (Persia)
    Alexander the Great and, 53, 77, 127, 128
    alphabet in, 49
    Greeks and, 120–121
    India and, 77
    learning in, 534
    Safavids and, 440
    trade in, 54
    Zoroastrianism in, 203
Persian Gulf region, 438, 863
Persian Gulf War (1990), 961, 992
    Second (2003–2011), 961
Persian language
    in India, 476
    in Islamic empires, 478
    Turkish use of, 321
Persian Letters, The (Montesquieu), 542
Persian wars, 120*(m)*
Personal computers, 1007
Peru. *See also* Inca Empire
    Callao-Lima-Oroya railroad in, 803, 803*(i)*
    Chinese in, 782, 807
    demography of, 627
    economy in, 799
    elites in, 454
    exploration and, 448
    language in, 297

  rebellion in, 652, 653
  Spanish conquest of, 451, 451*(m)*
  as Spanish Viceroyalty, 454
  War of the Pacific and, 802

Pesticides, 1000

Pétain, Henri-Philippe, 906

Peter the Great (Russia), 526*(i)*
  foreign experts and, 523, 524–525*(d)*
  modernization by, 746
  state-building by, 526–527

"Petition of Natives of Bengal to the British Privy Council for Trade," 675*(d)*

Petrarch, Francesco, 408

Petrine Doctrine, 209

Petrodollars, 956, 965

Petrograd, riots in, 834

Petrograd Soviet, 835, 837*(d)*

Petroleum. *See* Oil

Pharaohs (Egypt), 42, 43, 46
  women as, 43–44, 46*(b)*

Philadelphia, 631

Philip II (Macedonia), 127–128

Philip II (Spain), 425, 431, 458, 502
  Netherlands and, 431
  sciences and, 537

Philip II Augustus (France), 378

Philip IV (Spain), 504

Philippine-American War, 811

Philippines
  Bataan Death March in, 914*(i)*
  Chinese immigrants in, 781
  Christianity in, 767
  emigration from, 782
  female head of state in, 1003
  imperialism in, 742, 758, 767
  independence and, 767, 878, 879
  Japan and, 606–607, 615, 911, 914*(i)*, 915
  nationalism in, 869
  revolt in, 767
  Rizal in, 768*(i)*
  in Second World War, 914*(i)*, 915

  Spain and, 458, 879
  Spanish-American War and, 879, 879*(m)*
  trade and, 458, 767
  United States and, 811, 879*(i)*
Philistines, 50
Philosophes, 542–543, 548
Philosophy. *See also* Religion; specific beliefs
  in Age of Anxiety, 845
  in China, 86, 100–102
  in Greece, 126–127
  Hellenistic, 131, 133–134
  human development and, 7
  in India, 81
  science and, 535
Phoenicia and Phoenicians, 48–50. *See also* Carthage
  Carthage and, 146
  ironwork and, 263
  Mediterranean settlements of, 48–49, 48*(m)*
  trade and, 49–50
  writing by, 49, 49*(i)*
Phonetic writing
  Chinese logographic writing and, 92, 92*(f)*
  Sumerian, 35
Physicians. *See* Medicine
Physics, 714
  Aristotle on, 535
  after First World War, 845, 846*(i)*
  Newton and, 537
Picart, Bernard, "Jewish Meal During the Feast of the Tabernacles," 553*(i)*
Picasso, Pablo, 848, 892*(i)*
Pico della Mirandola, Giovanni, 409*(b)*, 413*(d)*
Pictographic writing, 35*(i)*, 36, 115
Piedmont, 701
Piedras Negras (Mesoamerica), 300
Pieds-noirs, 940
Piers the Plowman (Langland), 253
Pig iron, 664, 667
Pigs, in China, 180*(i)*
Pilate, Pontius, 162
Pilgrimages

  - Crusades and, 384
  - Islamic cities for, 479
- *Pillow Book* (Sei Shonagon), 364–365, 366–367*(d)*
- **Pinochet, Augusto**, 963–964
- Piracy
  - in 18th century, 556
  - in Asia, 614
  - in Hellenistic trade, 131
  - Japan and, 608, 614–615
- **Piri Reis** (Ottomans), maps by, 481
- Pitcairn Island, 343
- **Pius V** (Pope), Holy League of, 472
- **Pius VII** (Pope), 642
- **Pius IX** (Pope), 701
- **Piye** (Kush), 48
- **Pizarro, Francisco**, 312–313, 313*(d)*, 450–451
- Place value, Sumerian concept of, 36
- Plague. *See also* Black Death (plague)
  - Italian and English views of, 398*(d)*
  - Justinian, 195*(d)*, 206
  - Muslim medicine and, 482
  - reduction of deaths from, 1006
- **Planck, Max**, 845
- Plan de Ayala, 805–806
- Planets. *See also* Astronomy; Universe
  - Aristotle on, 535–536
  - Kepler on, 536–537
- Planned economies
  - in First World War, 828
  - in French Revolution, 638
- Plantations. *See also* Sugar and sugar industry
  - in Americas, 451, 519, 796
  - in Brazil, 521
  - in Caribbean region, 554
  - free people of color and, 533*(i)*
  - in Haiti, 655
  - in Hawaii, 780
  - in India, 761
  - Islamic slavery and, 240
  - in Natal, 867
  - in Portuguese colonies, 443

- in Saint-Domingue, 630*(m)*, 646, 647, 649*(b)*
- slavery and, 416, 652, 730
- sugar, 457

Plants. *See also* Agriculture; Crops
- in Africa, 261
- domestication of, 13–19
- population growth and, 551
- scientific study of, 537
- spread by trade, 246

Plato and Platonic ideals, 126, 249
Platonic Academy (Florence), 409*(b)*
Platt Amendment, 811
Platter, Thomas, on London Theater, 602*(d)*
Plays. *See* Theater
Plaza of the Three Cultures, 942, 943*(i)*
Plebeians (Rome), 145–146
Pleistocene epoch, 5
Pliny the Elder, 155*(d)*
- on Arellius and Lepidus, 351*(d)*

Pliny the Younger, on Pliny the Elder, 155*(d)*
PLO. *See* Palestine Liberation Organization
Plow agriculture, 21–22, 23, 89, 274
Plutarch, on Archimedes, 135*(b)*
Plymouth Colony, 519
Poets and poetry. *See also* Epic literature; Literature; specific works
- in China, 93, 95, 99*(d)*, 182, 188–189, 354, 360*(d)*
- courtly love, 390–391*(d)*
- in First World War, 825*(d)*
- in Greece, 116
- in India, 334
- Romantic, 684, 719

Pogroms, in Russia, 723
Poincaré, Raymond, 843
Poison gas, in First World War, 824
Poitiers, Battle of, in 732, 221
Poland
- economy in, 978
- after First World War, 842, 844
- Germany and, 904*(m)*, 905, 906
- Mongols in, 327
- Nazis and, 907

Pale of Settlement in, 551
partition of (1772–1795), 550, 550*(m)*
protests in, 947, 948
Solidarity movement in, 978
Soviets and, 947
Warsaw Ghetto in, 908*(i)*
Police
in conservative authoritarian state, 890
in Japan, 774
Polio vaccine, 1006
Polis (Greek city-state), 116–118, 121. *See also* Colonies and colonization; Greece (ancient)
Political culture, in South America, 790
Political parties. *See also* specific parties
anti-Semitism and, 723
multiparty system, 720
socialist, 723
Political rights
Sieyès on, 636–637*(d)*
of women, 627
Politics, The (Aristotle), 125*(i)*
Politics and political thought. *See also* Government; specific countries
in Africa since 1990, 970–971
in Asia, 784
barbarian migrations and, 217–218
in China, 92–93, 187, 971
in Europe, 376–379, 947
in First World War, 830–831
in Germany during Reformation, 425
in Greece, 117–118
imperialism and, 739
in India, 334
instability in Africa and, 1006
intellectual thought and, 535
in Japan, 194
liberalism and, 954
Luther and, 424
Machiavelli and, 410
of Moche people, 296
in Nazi Germany, 901
Ottomans and, 473, 747*(i)*

  popes and, 380
  Reformation and, 500–501
  in Renaissance, 418–419
  in Rome, 144–146, 149, 163–164
  in Russia, 981
  in Spain, 419
  spread of voting rights and, 720
  Sumerian, 35
  in Vietnam, 190
Politiques (France), 430
Poll tax
  in England, 400
  on non-Muslims under Muslim rule, 485
Pollution, 1000. *See also* Environment
  environmental protection movement and, 1000–1002
Polo (game), 481*(i)*
Polo, Marco
  China and, 438
  Description of the World, 245*(d)*, 329, 331*(d)*
  on Hangzhou, 352
  on Mongols, 329
  on paper money, 332*(d)*
  on tree planting, 333*(i)*
Poltava, battle at, 527
Polygamy
  in barbarian society, 215
  in Muslim society, 242
Polygyny
  in Ethiopia, 275*(b)*
  in West Africa, 570
Polynesia and Polynesians
  migrations and, 9*(i)*, 9*(m)*, 343
  settlements by, 778
Polytheism
  in Egypt, 42
  Mesopotamian, 35
Pompeii, 141*(i)*, 146*(i)*, 154
Pompey (Rome), 149
Pont du Gard (Nîmes, France), 156*(i)*
Pontifex maximus (Rome), 149
Poorhouses, factories and, 677

Poor people. *See also* Poverty
    in England, 662, 697
    socialists and, 696
Pope(s), 209. *See also* Papacy; specific popes
    in Avignon, 400
    Crusades and, 384
    iconoclasm and, 213
    in Middle Ages, 400
    Protestants and, 423
    Stephen I (Hungary) and, 379
Popol Vuh (Maya), 304*(d)*
Popular Front (France), 888
Popular sovereignty, 528
Population
    in 17th century, 504
    18th-century growth of, 626
    in Africa, 268, 589
    of African Americans, 941
    of American slaves, 730
    of Americas, 291, 449
    in Asia, 783
    of Australia, 779
    Black Death and, 397
    of Buenos Aires, 807
    of China, 172–173, 177, 350, 601, 603, 769, 780
    crop raising and, 17
    of England, 668
    of European cities, 554
    great migration and, 752
    growth of, 551–554, 1005
    of India, 761, 780, 929
    indigenous in Americas, 454–455, 627
    industrialization and, 668–670
    of Ireland, 697
    of Islamic empires, 489, 492
    of Japan, 607, 872
    of Korea, 615
    of Malaya, 764
    of Maya region, 300
    of Mexico, 805
    of Neolithic villages, 24

- of New Zealand, 780, 826
- Paleolithic, 11
- plague in Europe and, 397
- of Rome, 155, 157
- of Russia, 706, 833
- of Southeast Asia, 438
- urban, 708, 808, 996*(f)*
- of West African cities, 268

Population Bomb, The (Ehrlich), 1005
Population Division (UN), 1006
Populism
- in Brazil, 943–945
- in Latin America, 942–946

Porcelain. *See also* Ceramics; Pottery
- in China, 602, 605, 619*(i)*

Porfiriato (Díaz regime), 804
Port Arthur, 778
Port cities. *See also* specific locations
- industrialization and, 709

Port Moresby, New Guinea, 914
Portolans (navigational aids), 446
Port-Royal, 521
Portugal. *See also* Iberian Peninsula; Portuguese Empire; Spain
- Africa and, 442–444, 577, 588*(i)*, 938, 942
- Angola and, 966
- Asia and, 445, 616
- Benin and, 568
- blacks in, 415–416
- Brazil and, 451, 454, 521, 580–581, 650, 793
- colonies of, 451, 454, 517, 650, 938
- conservative authoritarianism in, 890
- decolonization and, 939, 942, 966
- East Africa and, 279–280, 284, 573, 575, 577
- East Asian trade and, 619
- economic problems in, 984
- Ethiopia and, 574
- exploration by, 441, 442–445
- France and, 643
- gold trade and, 443
- independence of, 507
- India and, 438, 476, 489, 760

  Kongo and, 456
  Napoleon in, 653
  Ottomans and, 471
  revolt in, 504
  Sapi people and, 585*(i)*
  slavery and, 456, 577, 581
  southern Africa and, 281
  spice trade and, 448, 449, 489
  sugar industry and, 451
  Tordesillas, Treaty of, and, 448
  trade and, 440*(i)*, 443–444, 443*(i)*
  West Africa and, 571
Portuguese Empire, 653
Portuguese language, 157
Postclassical era, in Mesoamerica, 303
Postcolonialism, 927–928
Poster art, in China, 933*(d)*, 933*(i)*
Postindependence, in Africa, 971
Postlethwayt, Malachy, on abolition of slavery, 557*(d)*
Potatoes
  from Americas, 292, 551
  in Ireland, 677, 697–698
  sweet, 343
  white, 456
Potosí, silver from, 458, 506
Potsdam Declaration (1945), 915
Potter’s wheel, 21–22
Pottery. *See also* Ceramics
  from Belitung shipwreck, 245*(i)*
  Christian, 162*(i)*
  Greek, 121, 123*(i)*
  in Mesopotamia, 21–22
  Neolithic, 18, 22*(i)*
  Roman, 160
Poverty. *See also* Poor people; Wealth gap
  in Central America, 963
  of children, 1003
  in China, 353, 601
  dependency theory and, 925, 927
  of eastern European Jews, 723
  in Egypt, 960

  in Europe, 708–709
  feminization of, 1003
  in Gaza Strip, 959–960
  in Italy, 898
  Latin American CCT programs and, 1005
  urban, 504, 678
  of women, 1003
Power (energy). *See* Energy; Steam power
Power (political). *See also* Government; specific locations
  in early states, 33
  European, 498
  in Fascist Italy, 900
  Jesuits and, 502
  in Neolithic society, 22
  in Soviet Union, 893
  in Vietnam, 190
Power loom, 664, 683*(i)*
Power politics, in Ottoman Empire, 747*(i)*
Praetors (Rome), 145
Prague
  Czech nationalists in, 700
  Soviet invasion of (1968), 948, 949*(i)*
Prague Spring, 948–949, 949*(i)*
Prebisch, Raúl, 925
Pre-Columbian societies, religion in, 416
Predestination, Calvin on, 426
Pregnancy, women’s control over, 1003
Prehistory, 2
Premarital sex. *See also* Sex and sexuality
  in Southeast Asia, 439
Presbyterian Church, in Scotland, 427, 501
Pre-Socratics, 126
Prester John (mythical king), 574
PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party, Mexico), 942, 949, 957, 957*(i)*
Prices
  control in French Revolution, 638
  in Rome, 164
  in Russia, 980
Priests and priestesses. *See also* Brahmans and Brahmanism (India); specific religions
  Greek, 123–126

  in India, 68, 69
Primates, 4, 5
Prince(s)
  in Germany, 505
  in India, 760
Prince, The (Machiavelli), 410
Princeps civitatis, 149
Princip, Gavrilo, 822
Principate, 151, 154
Principia (Newton), 537
Printing, 535. *See also* Paper
  in China, 354, 410, 599
  Gutenberg and, 410
  in Islamic empires, 482
  Luther and, 423
  Protestantism spread by, 423
  social impact of, 410–411
  woodblocks for, 363*(i)*
Prisoners of war, Japan and, 911
Privateers, 554–556
Private property. *See also* Property
  communism and, 892
  Nazism and, 892
Process of National Reorganization (Argentina), 964
Procopius (historian), 195*(d)*, 203–206, 207*(b)*
Production. *See also* Industrialization; Manufacturing
  in England, 668
  Great Depression and, 886, 887
  in Sweden, 888
Productivity, labor value and, 580
Professions, middle class, 710
Profit
  Islamic approval of, 242
  in Russia, 980
  from slave trade, 554
Proletariat, 833
  Marx on, 696
Propaganda
  in First World War, 830, 833*(d)*
  imperialist, 740
  in Nazi Germany, 902

Property
  in British India, 491
  church ownership of, 420–421, 425
  control by gender, 438–439
  in France, 642
  in Ottoman Empire, 473
  socialists on, 696
  as voting qualification, 694
  women’s rights to, 240, 713
Prophet(s). *See also* Muhammad (Prophet)
  Hebrew, 50
  Islam and, 231
Prosperity. *See also* specific locations
  in East Africa, 575
  in Roman provinces, 157–160
Prostitution, 711
Protected peoples, 238–239, 335
Protective tariffs, 672, 674, 675*(d)*, 707, 886
Protectorates
  in Africa, 732
  in China, 772
  in England, 516
  Korea as, 778
  in Middle East, 864
Protest(s). *See also* Revolts and rebellions; specific countries and issues
  in Africa, 938–939
  in British North America, 631
  in China, 871*(i)*, 972
  in Czechoslovakia, 978
  in eastern Europe, 949
  in England, 697
  against genetically modified foods, 1001*(i)*
  in Japan, 936*(i)*, 949
  in Latin America, 949
  in Russia, 707, 707*(i)*
  in Ukraine, 981
  against Vietnam War and draft, 937*(i)*, 949
Protestant Reformation, 406, 419–427, 498, 500–501
  German politics and, 425
Protestants and Protestantism, 500. *See also* Christianity and Christians; Luther, Martin; Puritans; specific locations

  - in American colonies, 519
  - in Bohemia, 513
  - in England, 426, 501
  - family life and, 500*(i)*
  - in France, 427, 430, 507–508, 541, 628*(d)*, 636
  - in Geneva, 426–427
  - in Holy Roman Empire, 425
  - in Ireland, 721
  - marriage and, 423, 424–425
  - in Netherlands, 431, 431*(i)*, 503, 541
  - on proper behavior, 427*(d)*
  - women and, 424–425
- Protestant Union, 505
- **Protten, Rebecca**, 559*(i)*
- Providence, 519
- Provinces
  - in India, 78
  - Roman, 147, 153–160
- Provincial Assembly of Saint-Domingue, 646
- **Pruitt, Ida**, 873*(i)*
- Prussia, 722. *See also* Bismarck, Otto von; German Empire; Germany
  - Austria and, 514, 627, 701, 705, 706, 722
  - at Congress of Vienna, 692
  - France and, 637, 705*(m)*, 706, 720
  - Frederick II in, 548
  - in German Confederation, 701, 705
  - in German Empire, 720
  - German unification and, 701, 705–706
  - in Grand Alliance (1701), 512
  - in Holy Alliance, 692
  - liberals in, 701
  - Napoleon and, 643, 645
  - Poland and, 550*(m)*
  - in Quadruple Alliance, 692
  - revolt in (1848), 701
  - in Seven Years' War, 627
  - in War of the Austrian Succession, 627
  - war with France, 705*(m)*, 706, 720
- Psychology, Freudian, 846
- Ptolemies (Egypt), 129, 130. *See also* Cleopatra VII (Egypt)
  - Ptolemy I, 129

- Ptolemy XIII, 150*(b)*
- Rome and, 149
- Rosetta Stone and, 262*(d)*

Ptolemy, Claudius (astronomer)
- Aristotle and, 535
- *Geography* by, 442, 445*(i)*, 447, 536
- Kepler and, 537

Public education. *See* Education; School(s)

Public health. *See also* Health and health care
- in Japan, 776
- law in England, 708

Public sphere, 556
- urban life and, 556

Public works, in Sweden, 888

Publishing. *See also* Book(s); Printing
- in China, 599
- in Japan, 609

Puddling furnace, 667

Puebla, Battle of, 793

Pueblo people, 293

Puerto Rico, 449, 655
- United States and, 811, 812

Pugachev, Emelian, 550

Pulaar language (Senegambia), 566

Punic Wars, 144*(m)*, 146–147

Punishment. *See also* Justice
- of Christian heretics, 381
- in medieval Europe, 379

Punjab, 77
- Sikhs in, 975
- Turks in, 335

Puranas, 77

Purdah, in Hausa city-states, 570

Pure Land Buddhism, 189, 369

Purges, in Soviet Union, 895

Puritans
- in England, 426, 501, 515, 516
- in New England, 501, 519
- occupations of, 515*(i)*

“Purity of blood” laws, 558

“Purple People,” Phoenicians as, 48

Putin, Vladimir, 981
Putting-out system, 663, 672, 676
Puyi (China), 870, 877
Pygmies, 260
Pyongyang, Korea, 615
Pyramids
    Cahokia mound as, 295*(i)*
    in Egypt, 40*(d)*, 43
    Maya, 301*(i)*
    in Meroë region, 49
    Olmec, 293
    in Tenochtitlan, 302
Pythian games, 126

Q

Qadis (judges), 236, 253
al-Qanun (Avicenna), 249
Qi (Chinese state), 101
Qi (vital energy), 356
Qianlong emperor (China), 604–605, 605*(i)*, 620
Qin Dynasty (China), 95, 100, 105–106, 170, 172–173
  First Emperor of, 172–173, 172*(i)*
  Xiongnu and, 175
Qing (Manchu) Dynasty (China), 494, 594, 603–605
  empire of (ca. 1800), 604*(m)*
  Europeans and, 767–769
  revolution against, 870
  Russia and, 525
  Taiping Rebellion and, 770
  trade and, 620
Qizilbash Sufis, Safavid Empire and, 475, 482
Quadruple Alliance, 645, 692
Quakers, in Pennsylvania, 521
Quantum theory (Planck), 845
Quebec, 521
Quechua language, 297
Queens. *See also* Monarchs and monarchies; specific rulers
  conversion to Christianity, 218
  in West Africa, 265
Quetzalcoatl (god), 301*(i)*, 302, 304–305*(d)*, 305*(i)*, 310*(i)*
  Topiltzin and, 306
Quinine, malaria and, 739, 740
Quinoa, 292
Quito, Ecuador, 297
Qur’an, 230, 231
  study of, 236, 246, 248, 272
  trade in, 242
  on women, 240
Qutb-ud-din (India), 336
Qu Yuan, poetry by, 99*(d)*

R

Ra (god), 42
Rabi’a (Islam), Sufism and, 250
Race and racism. *See also* Ethnic groups and ethnicity; Holocaust; Slaves and slavery; Slave trade; specific groups
  Africa and, 258
  in American colonies, 519
  Aryans and, 66
  in Cape Colony, 578, 735–736
  in Caribbean region, 557, 811
  challenges to, 547
  in colonies, 556, 626–627
  discrimination and, 591
  Enlightenment views of, 545–546
  in Europe, 532, 546–547
  in Fascist Italy, 893, 900
  toward Filipinos, 879
  free people of color and, 533*(i)*
  in Germany, 893
  in Great Depression, 887*(i)*
  Hitler and, 900, 906
  human classification and, 9
  ideas about, 546–547, 711–712
  imperialism and, 711, 739, 742
  inequality and, 626–627
  Islamic slavery and, 239–240
  Jews and, 419, 723
  Mali tolerance and, 273
  mixed-race peoples and, 463*(i)*
  Nazi, 907
  scientific, 715
  slavery and, 268, 415–416, 461, 580, 626, 627
  social reform and, 998
  in South Africa, 967
  in southern Africa, 732–737
  in United States, 808, 948

  - use of term, 546–547
- Radiation
  - fears of, 990
  - solar, 1000
- Radical reformation, 424
- Radicals and radicalism
  - after 1815, 695, 696
  - in China, 872
  - in decolonization, 954
  - in France, 624, 638
  - Karlsbad Decrees and, 692
  - in Portuguese colonies, 966
- Radical totalitarian dictatorships, 890–893
- Radio, 848, 1006, 1007
- *Raft of the Medusa, The* (Géricault), 718*(i)*
- Railroads
  - in Africa, 737–738, 752*(i)*
  - in continental Europe, 672, 673*(m)*
  - in India, 769
  - in Latin America, 802, 803*(i)*, 804
  - in Russia, 674, 706, 707
  - steam-powered, 667–668
  - track mileage of (1890), 668*(f)*
  - trade and, 751
  - as transportation, 669*(d)*, 680
  - in United States, 667
- *Rain, Steam, and Speed — the Great Western Railway* (Turner), 669*(i)*
- Rain forests, in Africa, 260
- Raja (chief), 68
- Rajasthan, 62
- **Rákóczy, Francis** (Hungary), 513–514
- Ramadan, 231, 231 570
- Ramadan War, 956
- *Ramayana*, 69, 70–71*(d)*, 77, 82, 116
- **Ramesses II** (Egypt), 47
- Ranches, in Argentina, 804
- Rape of Nanjing, 878, 908
- **Raphael Sanzio**, 414
  - Castiglione portrait by, 407*(i)*
- *Ras Assir* (Cape of Slaves), slave trade and, 280
- **Rashid al-Din** (Persia)

    History of the World and, 327*(i)*, 329
    on paper money, 332*(d)*
    siege of Baghdad and, 327*(i)*
Rasputin, 834, 834*(i)*
Rastislav (Moravia), 382
Rathenau, Walter, 828
Rationalism. *See also* Enlightenment
    of Descartes, 539
Raw materials. *See also* Natural resources
    Asian exports of, 890
    competition for, 724
    industrialization and, 662, 663, 674, 709
    world economy and, 751
Raynal, **abbé**, 547
Razin, Stenka, 526
Reading. *See* Literacy
Reagan, Ronald, 978
Realism, in arts, 719
Rearmament, in Germany, 902
Reasoning, 539
Rebellions. *See* Revolts and rebellions
Recessions. *See also* Great Depression
    in 1980s, 957, 958
    in Brazil, 965
    in Chile (1982), 964
    oil and, 956
Reconquista, 251, 380*(i)*, 384, 384*(m)*
    European expansion after, 442
    Muslim captives and, 442
Record-keeping systems
    in Andes region, 290
    in China, 172–173
    in Ethiopia, 273–274
    in Inca Empire, 33, 450
    of Maya, 301
    Mongol, 323–324
Records of the Grand Historian (Sima Qian), 174–175
Recreation
    in China, 599
    of urban working classes, 711
Red Army (Soviet), 839

Red Guards (China), 921*(i)*, 934, 972
  on democratic reform, 974–975*(d)*
Red River region, 190
Reds, in Italy, 899
Red Sea, Persian canal and, 54
Red Terror, 839
Red Turbans (China), 596
Reflections on the Revolution in France (Burke), 636
Reforestation, in China, 601
Reform(s). *See also* Reformation; >specific individuals and countries
  in 17th century, 503
  in 19th century, 708–709
  in Africa, 971
  in Aztec Empire, 311
  in Brazil, 945
  of Catholic Church, 502, 927
  in China, 770–772, 877, 974–975*(d)*
  in Egypt, 750
  in England, 685
  enlightened absolutism and, 548–551
  European integration and, 981–984
  Great Depression and, 888
  in India, 761, 975–976
  of Islam, 748
  in Japan, 773–775, 872
  in Korea, 778
  in Latin America, 799
  in Mexico, 793, 957
  in Ottoman Empire, 473, 746–748
  papal, 380–381
  in Philippines, 767
  in Rome, 149, 151
  in Russia, 526–527, 548–549, 706–707, 818
  in Siam, 767
  social, 998–1000
  in South Africa, 967
  in Soviet Union, 946, 978
  in Spain and Spanish Empire, 650
  in urban areas, 708–709
Reformation. *See also* specific locations
  Catholic, 428–430, 502

  Protestant, 406, 419–427, 500–501
Reform Bill (England), First (1832), 697
Reform communism, in 1960s, 979*(b)*
Reformed Church, 427
Refugees, 990
  from Armenian genocide, 859*(i)*
  barriers to, 995
  from Chechnya, 981
  children as, 1003
  in Europe, 983
  to European Union, 995
  Mnong, 938, 994*(b)*
  religious European, 427
  from Vietnam, 938
Regency, in France, 508
Regular clergy, 211
Regulation. *See* Law(s)
Reichstag (Germany), 720, 723, 828, 831, 901
Reign of Terror (France), 638–640
Reincarnation
  in Buddhism, 182, 189
  in India, 69
Rejón, Manuel Crescencio, 794*(d)*
Relics, Christian, 219
Relief programs, in Great Depression, 888
Religion(s). *See also* Catholic Reformation; Monks and monasteries; Mystery religions; Philosophy; Protestant Reformation; Secularism; specific religions
  in Africa, 265, 277–278
  in Age of Anxiety, 845
  in American colonies, 519, 631
  in Americas, 293, 295
  as art theme, 411
  of Ashoka, 79–80
  in Aztec Empire, 309*(b)*, 311
  of barbarians, 217
  Chavín, 295
  in China, 90, 100–102, 182, 188
  conversion to Christianity and, 459–461
  Crusades and, 384–388
  deists and, 543

division in (ca. 1555), 501*(m)*
drama and, 395
in East Asia, 190
in Eastern Roman Empire, 209
in Egypt, 44
in England, 219, 514–516
in Ethiopia, 273–277, 274*(i)*
in Europe (ca. 1555), 429*(m)*
European expansion and, 441–442
in France, 501, 507–508, 636, 642
in Ghana, 269, 270
government and, 500–501
in Greece, 116, 123–126, 127*(i)*
of Hebrews, 49–51
Hellenistic, 131–133
in Holy Roman Empire, 502
human development and, 7
humanists and, 408
Inca views on, 313*(d)*
in India, 60, 68–69, 70–77, 82, 334, 975
in Iran, 863
in Islamic empires, 482
in Japan, 194, 608
in Korea, 192, 363, 615
in Mali, 271
Marx on, 715
Maya, 301
Mongols and, 322, 329
mystery, 126, 131–133
in Ottoman Empire, 400, 473, 746, 747
Paleolithic spirituality and, 11–13
Peace of Westphalia and, 505–506
political determination of, 424
popular, 381
in pre-Columbian societies, 416
radicalism in, 424
in Rome, 143–144, 165*(d)*
science and, 540
along Silk Road, 321
spread along trade networks, 243*(m)*
in Srivijaya, 341

- in Sudan, 265
- Sufism and, 250–251
- in Sumer, 34–35
- in Teotihuacan, 302
- Thirty Years' War and, 504–505
- in Turkey, 862–863
- in Vietnam, 341
- violence over, 430–432, 502–503
- witch-hunts and, 431–432
- of Zoroaster, 55

Religious freedom, in French Revolution, 636

Religious orders, 381, 420–421. *See also* specific orders
- in Catholic Reformation, 428–430, 502
- in Protestant Reformation, 420–421

Religious toleration
- Dutch, 517, 541
- in Enlightenment, 545, 552–553*(d)*
- for European Jews, 551
- in India, 334, 485–488
- in Muslim world, 484–488, 534
- in Ottoman Empire, 746
- in Prussia, 548

Religious wars
- in France, 430, 503–504
- in Germany, 503
- in Holy Roman Empire, 425
- Islamic jihads as, 731
- in Netherlands, 430–431, 503

Remarque, Erich, 824

Rembrandt van Rijn, *Jewish Bride, The*, 520*(i)*

Ren (humanity), 100

Renaissance (Carolingian), 223

Renaissance (European), 406, 408
- arts in, 411–415
- culture of, 408–415
- England in, 418
- European expansion and, 442
- France in, 418
- gender roles in, 417–418
- Habsburgs in, 419
- Italian, 408

  politics in, 418–419
  Scientific Revolution and, 534
  slaves in, 416
  Spain in, 418–419
  use of term, 406
  wealth in, 416
Reparations, after First World War, 840, 842, 843, 844, 888
Repartimiento system, 454, 652
Representation, in British North America, 631
Representative government. *See also* Constitutionalism
  in England, 516, 697
  in France, 508
  liberals on, 627, 694
  liberty in U.S. and, 633
Republic(s). *See also* Dutch Republic; Soviet Union
  in China, 773, 870
  democratic, 699*(d)*
  in former Soviet Union, 980, 982*(m)*
  France as, 624, 637–638, 706, 720–721
  in Mexico, 653
  in Rome, 140, 143, 146, 147*(m)*, 148–149
  in Spain, 892
  Swiss Confederation as, 517
  in U.S., 655
Republicanism, 514, 788
  in France, 698, 720
  radical, 695, 699*(d)*
Republicans, in Spanish Civil War, 888, 904
Republic of China (ROC). *See* Taiwan
Republic of Letters, 543
Republic of South Africa. *See* South Africa
Republic of the United Provinces of the Netherlands. *See* Dutch Republic
Requerimiento, 313*(d)*
Residency requirements, in Japan and France, 607
Resistance. *See also* Revolts and rebellions; Revolution(s)
  to authoritarianism, 984–985
  in Chechnya, 981
  against French colonialism, 766
  in Haiti, 647–648
  to Hitler, 902

  to imperialism, 742–743
  in India, 760, 867
  in Java to Dutch, 766
  in Latin America, 652–655
  in Manchu China, 603
  nonviolent, 854, 867
  in Second World War, 914
  by slaves, 591, 647–648
Resources. *See* Natural resources; Raw materials; specific resources
Restoration, in England, 516
Resurrection, 162
Reunification. *See also* Unification; specific countries
  of Germany, 978
Revisionism, 723
Revival of the Religious Sciences (al-Ghazali), 241*(d)*
Revolts and rebellions. *See also* Revolution(s); specific countries
  in 17th century, 504
  in Afghanistan, 864
  Arab (1916), 857–861
  in Asia, 783
  Boxers and, 676, 772, 772*(i)*
  in China, 182, 188, 350, 872
  in Cuba, 813*(d)*
  in France, 508, 634, 638, 698
  Great Mutiny/Great Revolt (India) and, 760, 760*(m)*
  against imperialism, 743
  against Inca, 298
  in India, 866, 867
  in Ireland, 515
  in Korea, 778
  Kronstadt, 893
  in Latin America, 652–655
  in Middle East (2011), 960–961
  in Mughal India, 477
  by Ottoman janissaries, 746
  by peasants, 400–402
  in Philippines, 767
  in Rome, 148, 154
  in Russia, 525, 526, 548–550, 706
  in Saint-Domingue, 647–648
  against Spanish power, 507, 562

- by Spartan helots, 118
- Taiping Rebellion, 769–770
- in Tunisia, 960
- urban, 402
- in Vietnam, 190–191
- by Young Turks, 748

Revolution(s). *See also* Industrial Revolution; Revolts and rebellions; Scientific Revolution; specific countries

- of 1848, 690, 696–697, 698–701
- American, 625*(i)*, 631–633
- in Atlantic world, 624–656
- in China (1911), 773, 856, 870, 872
- in China (1923), 870
- in China (1949), 924
- in eastern Europe, 978
- in France (1830, 1848), 698
- in Haiti, 645–650, 652
- in Iran, 956, 961, 962*(m)*
- in Iraq, 961
- in Latin America, 624, 650–655
- Marxist, 724
- Mexican (1910), 790
- in Romania, 978
- Russian anticommunist, 980, 982*(m)*
- in Turkey, 862

Reza Shah Pahlavi. *See* Pahlavi family

Rhapsody *(fu)*, in China, 181*(b)*

Rhea Silvia (mythology), 143

Rhineland

- after First World War, 840, 843
- Nazi invasion of, 903

Rhine River region

- as Roman frontier, 152, 163
- in Second World War, 913

Rhode Island, 519

Rhodes, Cecil, 736–737

- Lobengula (Ndebele, Matabele people) and, 737

Rhodesia, 737, 966

Ricardo, David, 670, 684, 696

Ricci, Matteo, 599–601, 618, 618*(i)*

Rice

- in American colonies, 519
- in China, 89, 352, 352*(i)*, 597, 601
- in Great Depression, 890
- green revolution and, 1005
- in India, 336
- in Japan, 370, 776

Richard II (England), 400

Richelieu, Cardinal, 505, 508

Rickards, Robert, on British tariffs on Indian cloth exports, 675*(d)*

Riefenstahl, Leni, 848

Rigaud, André, 648, 649*(b)*

Rigaud, Hyacinthe, Louis XIV portrait, 511*(i)*

Rights. *See also* Human rights; Liberty(ies); specific types
- Cold War and, 923–924
- in Egypt, 43
- in France, 628–629*(d)*, 635, 642
- Ho Chi Minh on, 936*(d)*
- lesbian, gay, and transgender, 1002, 1002*(i)*
- liberalism and, 790
- natural, 516
- before revolutionary era, 626
- in United States, 631, 633
- of women, 627, 629*(d)*, 633, 635, 642, 691*(i)*, 712–713, 1003

Rig Veda, 66–67, 67*(d)*, 68

Rimfa, Muhammad (Hausa), 570

Rio de Janeiro, 583, 583*(i)*, 653

Ríos-Montt, José Efraín, 963

Riots. *See also* Revolts and rebellions; specific locations
- in Alexandria, 750
- bread, 504
- in China, 603
- in India, 866, 867
- in Japan, 609
- by women, 504

Risk, in stock purchases, 886

Rite of Spring, The (Stravinsky), 848

Rituals
- Christian, 219, 381
- Greek religious, 123–126, 127*(i)*
- Hellenistic and Chinese, 132*(d)*
- in Rome, 143

Rivers and river regions. *See* specific rivers and river regions
Rizal, José, 768*(i)*
Roads
  in Andes, 290
  in China, 173
  Inca, 298, 300, 450
  in India, 489
  Persian, 54
  Roman, 143, 144, 152
Road to Wigan Pier, The (Orwell), 891*(d)*
Roanoke colony, 519
Robe nobility (France), 508
Robert of Geneva. *See* Clement VII (Pope)
Robespierre, Maximilien, 628*(d)*, 638, 640, 641*(i)*
Rocket (locomotive), 667
Rock painting, 263*(i)*
Roma et Augustus (cult), 151
Roman alphabet, 49
Roman-Byzantine Empire. *See* Byzantine Empire
Roman Catholic Church, 209. *See also* Christianity and Christians; Conversion; Councils (Christian); Monks and monasteries; Orthodox Christianity; Pope(s); Protestants and Protestantism; Reformation
  in ca. 1555, 501*(m)*
  in American colonies, 454
  in Argentina, 964
  Catholic League and, 505
  Charlemagne and, 222
  in Chile, 964
  Clovis and, 221
  criticisms of, 420
  Crusades and, 385
  in England, 426, 516
  expansion of, 382–384
  in France, 502–503, 636, 642, 720–721
  Great Schism in, 400
  Holy Roman Empire and, 501
  Inquisition and, 419
  in Ireland, 426, 515, 516, 697, 721
  liberation theology in, 927
  in Maryland, 521
  in Mexico, 793

  - in Netherlands, 503
  - Nicene Creed and, 209
  - in Philippines, 767
  - reforms of, 380–381, 428, 500, 502, 927
  - Scientific Revolution and, 540
  - in Vietnam, 766

Romance languages, 157

Romance literature
  - in China, 601*(i)*
  - courtly love poetry, 390–391*(d)*

Roman Empire. *See* Eastern Roman Empire; Rome (ancient); Western Roman Empire

Romanesque architecture, 395

Romania and Romanians
  - in Austrian Empire, 700
  - after First World War, 842
  - independence of, 747
  - nuclear weapons and, 991
  - revolts by, 700, 978
  - Rome and, 152

Romanian language, 157

Roman Inquisition, 428

Romanov dynasty (Russia), 525, 526. *See also* specific tsars

Romanticism, 684, 718–719

Romantic movement, 543

Rome (ancient), 140. *See also* Armed forces; Byzantine Empire; Eastern Roman Empire; Italy; Western Roman Empire
  - architecture in, 156*(i)*
  - under Augustus, 148–154
  - barbarians and, 213, 216*(d)*, 217–218
  - Charlemagne and, 222
  - China and, 160, 180
  - Christianity and, 162–163, 164, 165*(d)*, 208
  - citizenship in, 144, 144*(m)*
  - classes in, 145
  - crisis of the third century in, 163, 164
  - culture of, 147, 153, 341
  - dynasties in, 154
  - Eastern and Western, 163–164
  - economy in, 149, 164
  - Egypt and, 129, 273

- empire of, 140, 149–160
- Etruscans and, 142, 142*(i)*, 142*(m)*
- expansion of, 152–153, 153*(m)*, 160
- foundation myths, 142–143
- government of, 140, 143, 145
- Greece and, 147
- Hellenistic world and, 130
- historical periods in, 140
- Indian trade and, 81
- industry in, 157–160
- Italy and, 142–144, 144*(m)*
- Jews and, 160
- land in, 148–149
- law in, 145–146
- lifestyle in, 155–157
- literature in, 151
- Mediterranean conquests by, 146–147
- military diploma from, 159*(i)*
- military of, 158–159*(b)*
- provinces of, 153–160
- in Punic Wars, 146–147
- religions in, 143–144
- republic in, 140, 143, 146, 147*(m)*, 148–149
- slavery in, 204–205*(d)*
- society in, 145–146, 151, 180
- trade in, 157

Rome (city), 144*(m)*
- Fascist march on, 899
- founding of, 142–143
- lifestyle in, 155–157
- Nazi seizure of, 913
- papacy and, 701
- in Renaissance, 408, 414–415
- sacks of, 143

Rome-Berlin Axis (1936), 904

Romero, Oscar, 963

Romulus and **Remus**, 142–143, 151

Roosevelt, Franklin Delano
- New Deal and, 887–888
- in Second World War, 912–913
- Soviet Union and, 922

  United Nations and, 924
  at Yalta, 913, 913*(i)*
Roosevelt, Theodore, 810, 811
Roosevelt Corollary, to Monroe Doctrine, 810
Rosas, Juan Manuel de, 791*(i)*
Rosetta Stone, 262*(d)*
Rostow, Walt Whitman, 926*(d)*
Rouffignac Cave, France, hand painting from, 14*(i)*
Rouhani, Hassan (Iran), 961
Rouruan people, 320
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 543, 544, 548
Rowlandson, Thomas, 580*(i)*
Rowlatt Acts (India, 1919), 866
Roy, Rammohun (India), 759, 761, 762*(d)*
Royal African Company (England), 457
Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies (Spain), 454
Royal courts. *See* Court (royal)
Royalty. *See* Emperor(s); Monarchs and monarchies; specific rulers
Rubber
  in Brazil, 799
  in Congo, 734
  Olmec trade in, 293
Rubella, vaccine, 1006
Rudd, Charles, and Rudd Concession, 737
Rudolph II (Holy Roman Empire), 536
Rudolphine Tables, 536, 537
Rugs. *See* Carpets
Ruhr region
  industrialization of, 672
  occupation after First World War, 843, 843*(m)*
Ruiters, Dierick, 568
Rule of Saint Benedict, The, 211
Rump Parliament (England), 516
Runaway slaves, 799, 800–801*(i)*
Rural areas. *See also* Agriculture; Farms and farming; specific countries
  in Americas, 314–315
  in China, 599
  cottage industry in, 551
  in Greece, 116
  industry in, 662, 697
  lifestyle in 18th century, 679

  - migration from, 680
  - population growth and, 551, 697
  - urban migration from, 995
- Rus (Russia), trade of, 206
- Russia. *See also* Russian revolutions; Soviet Union; specific rulers
  - Afghanistan and, 863, 863*(m)*
  - antinationalism and, 693
  - Baltic region and, 526, 527
  - Catherine the Great in, 548–549
  - China and, 605
  - civil war in, 838–839, 839*(m)*
  - at Congress of Vienna, 692
  - Enlightenment and, 527
  - expansion of, 523, 527*(m)*, 707
  - First World War and, 818, 824, 826, 831, 833–834, 836–837*(d)*, 839
  - after First World War, 842
  - France and, 641, 643, 645, 821
  - fur trade and, 525
  - Germany and, 839, 843
  - HIV/AIDS in, 1007*(m)*
  - in Holy Alliance, 692
  - Hungary and, 701
  - industrialization and, 671, 674, 706–707
  - Japan and, 766, 778
  - Jews in, 706, 722
  - Korea and, 778
  - migration to Americas from, 290
  - military in, 526, 527
  - modernization of, 706–708
  - Mongols and, 327, 328, 329
  - Muslims in, 981
  - Napoleon in, 643
  - nobility in, 524, 526, 527, 550
  - nonaggression treaty with Germany (1887), 821
  - non-Russian elites in, 525
  - nuclear weapons and, 991
  - October Manifesto in, 708
  - Orthodox Christianity in, 382
  - Ottomans and, 692, 706, 746, 747, 826
  - Pale of Settlement in, 551

  peasants in, 523*(i)*, 833, 834
  Persia and, 863
  Peter the Great in, 526–527
  Poland and, 550*(m)*
  population of, 489
  Putin in, 981
  in Quadruple Alliance, 692
  railroads in, 674, 706, 707
  in Second Coalition, 641
  serfs in, 524, 525, 527, 697, 706
  society in, 526–527
  after Soviet Union, 980–981, 982*(m)*
  trade in, 525
  Vikings in, 376
  westernization of, 527
Russian Empire, 523–527
  anti-Semitism and, 723
  China and, 605
  fall of, 831, 833–834
  modernization of, 701
Russian people, Nazis and, 907
Russian revolutions
  of 1905, 707–708, 707*(i)*, 707*(m)*
  of 1917, 551, 831, 833–835, 838–839, 849
  Italy and, 898–899
Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905), 707, 707*(m)*, 756, 778
Russo-Turkish War (1877–1878), 747
Rutherford, Ernest, 845
Rwanda, 971, 1006
Ryūkyū Islands, 615

S

Sabuncuoglu, Serafeddin (physician), 482*(i)*
Sacks (military)
  by Mongols, 238
  of Rome, 143
Sacraments (Christian), 213
  marriage as, 424
Sacred images, 430
Sacrifices. *See also* Blood sacrifice; Human sacrifice
  in China, 91, 92
  in India, 69, 72
Sadat, Anwar, 960
Saddam Hussein, 930, 961, 993
al-Sadi, on Jenne, 569*(d)*
Safavid Empire (Persia), 468, 473–475, 475*(m)*
  Armenians in, 522
  arts in, 478–479
  building in, 479
  Charles V and, 472
  Christians in, 485
  decline of, 492
  military in, 475
  Ottomans and, 471, 472–473, 475
  population of, 489
  religion in, 482
  trade in, 440
Sahagún, Bernardino de, 453*(d)*
Sahara Desert region, 260. *See also* Trans-Saharan trade
  Islam and, 265
  peoples of, 269
  rock paintings in, 263*(i)*
  salt making in, 573*(i)*
  slave trade in, 730
  trade in, 265–269, 439, 564
Al-Saheli (architect), 272
Sahel region, 260, 261, 265

Saichō (Japan), 365
Said, Sayyid (Oman), 731
Saigon, 766
Sailing. *See* Ships and shipping
Saint (Christian), 219, 381. *See also* specific saints
Saint Bartholomew's Day massacre, 430, 503
Saint-Domingue, 630, 630*(m)*. *See also* Haiti
  free people of color in, 645
  L'Ouverture and, 648, 649*(b)*
  revolution in, 624, 645–650, 652
  slavery in, 554, 645
Saint-Gall abbey, library of, 246
St. Helena, Napoleon exiled to, 645
St. Lawrence River region, 448, 521, 668
St. Petersburg, Russia, 526*(i)*, 527, 674, 707, 707*(i)*. *See also* Petrograd; Petrograd Soviet
Saints' days, 381
Saint-Simon, **duke of** (Louis de Rouvroy), on Louis XIV, 509*(d)*
St. Thomas, 559*(b)*
Sakk (money order), 242
Saladin (Salah-al-Din), 385
Salazar, António, 966
Salem, Massachusetts, witchcraft trials in, 432
Salerno, medical studies in, 393
Salim III (Ottoman Empire), 748
Salinas de Gortari, Carlos, 957
Salk, Jonas, polio vaccine of, 1006
Salons, 549*(i)*
  women in, 541, 548, 549*(d)*
Salt
  in Sahara region, 573*(i)*
  trade in, 270, 491, 572
Salt March, of Gandhi, 868–869, 869*(i)*
Salvador, 454
Salvation
  in Buddhism, 75, 184
  in Catholicism, 422–423
  in Protestantism, 421, 422–423, 426, 500, 501
Samaria, 50
Samarkand
  Mongols and, 328

- Timur from, 329

Same-sex relations. *See also* Homosexuals
- in 19th century, 711
- in ancient society, 23
- in Greece, 119, 123
- marriage and, 1002, 1002*(i)*

Samsara (reincarnation), 69

Samurai (Japan), 348, 366–369, 607–609
- Meiji Restoration and, 773
- Nobunaga as, 606
- Osaka Battle and, 618
- Tokugawa Shogunate and, 607–609
- training of, 774

Sanchi, stupa at, 79*(i)*, 338*(i)*

Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), 955*(i)*, 963

San Francisco, 709

Sanitation
- in cities and towns, 392, 679, 708
- in India, 63, 761
- in Rome, 157

Sanjo Palace, attack on, 369*(i)*

San Juan, Catarina de, 460*(b)*

San Salvador, 446*(d)*, 447

Sans-culottes (France), 638, 639*(d)*, 639*(i)*

Sanskrit language, 60, 63, 81
- in Southeast Asia, 340

Santa Anna, Antonio López de, 791

Santo Domingo, 647, 647*(m)*

Santo Domingo Improvement Company, 810

São Paulo, 806–807

Sapi people, 585*(i)*

Sappho, 123

Sardinia, 118, 701, 703, 706

Sardinia-Piedmont, 703*(m)*

Sarfati, Isaac, 485

Sargon (Akkad), 37–38, 62

Sarmiento, Domingo, 802

Sarraut, Albert, 766*(i)*

Sassanids (Persia), 202–203, 232–233
- Byzantine Empire and, 202–203, 233
- cameo of, 203*(i)*

  empire of, 202*(m)*
  Islam and, 224, 234
  Parthians and, 160
  Zoroastrianism in, 203, 233
Sassoon, Siegfried, 824
Satellite kingdoms, of Napoleon's Grand Empire, 643
Sati (widow immolation, India), 338, 488, 760
Satraps (Persian administrators), 53–54
Satyagraha (militant nonviolence), 867
Saudi Arabia. *See also* Mecca
  Ka'ba in, 232*(i)*
  oil in, 956, 959
Saul (Hebrews), 50
Savanna (Africa), 260, 264, 267
Savery, Thomas, 666
Savior. *See* Messiah
Saxons, 218. *See also* Anglo-Saxons
Saxony, Magyars in, 376
Scandinavia. *See also* specific locations
  Christianity in, 382
  in Great Depression, 888
  Lutheranism in, 501*(m)*
  socialism in, 888
  women's voting rights in, 719
Schall von Bell, Johann Adam, 618*(i)*
Scheherazade (character), 246
Schism, in Christian Church, 380
Schlieffen plan, 824
Scholar-officials (China), 173, 353–356, 357*(b)*, 357*(i)*, 362, 598–599. *See also* Civil service; Civil service examination system
  Qianlong and, 604
  Taiping Rebellion and, 770
Scholars, in China, 598–599
Scholarship. *See also* Intellectual thought
  in Baghdad, 235, 534
  in Córdoba, 246, 534
  Islamic, 249
  in medieval Europe, 393–395
  in Timbuktu, 272–273
Scholastica (Saint), 211
Scholastics, 393–394

Schönberg, Arnold, 848
School(s). *See also* Education; Universities and colleges
  in China, 188, 248
  for Chinese officials, 599
  in East Indies, 766
  in Europe, 248
  Jesuit, 430
  monastic, 211
  parochial Catholic, 720
  Sumerian scribal, 367
  in Timbuktu, 272
Science(s). *See also* Astronomy; Mathematics; Medicine; Philosophy; Scientific Revolution; Technology; specific sciences
  to 1550, 535–536
  in 19th century, 714–715
  since 1950, 1005–1010
  in China, 357*(b)*
  discoveries in, 714–715
  Hellenistic, 134–136
  human development and, 7
  in India, 81, 337*(b)*
  in Islamic world, 235–236, 481, 482
  for masses, 714–715
  of Maya, 301–302
  methods of, 538–539, 714
  Mongols and, 333
  philosophy and, 535
  popularizing of, 541*(i)*
  Pre-Socratics and, 126
  religion and, 540
  society and, 540–541
Scientific laws. *See* Law (scientific)
Scientific method, 538–539
Scientific racism, 715, 790
Scientific Revolution, 532, 534–541. *See also* Science(s)
  industrialization and, 662
Scipio Africanus, 147
Scotland
  Calvinism in, 501*(m)*, 515
  England and, 418
  Enlightenment in, 543–544, 558

- imports into, 522
- Presbyterian Church in, 427, 501
- Protestantism and, 501

“Scramble for Africa” (1880–1914), 730, 732–734
- African views of, 744–745*(d)*

Scratch plows, 21, 274

Scribes
- in China, 91*(i)*, 175
- Egyptian, 43
- Sumerian, 36

Script. *See also* Writing
- Chinese, 92, 173
- Gothic, 219

Scriptures
- Christian, 161, 162
- Hebrew, 127, 214*(b)*
- translation into Ge’ez, 274

Sculpture
- Aryan, 66*(i)*
- in China, 189*(i)*
- on Easter Island, 343–344, 343*(i)*
- Harappan, 65*(i)*
- by Nok people, 260*(i)*, 263
- Paleolithic, 17*(i)*

Scythia and Scythians
- Greece and, 120*(i)*
- Persian Empire and, 53
- Xiongnu and, 177*(i)*

Seaborne trade. *See* Maritime trade; Trade

Seals
- cylinder, 32*(i)*, 40*(i)*
- inscribed in India, 65*(i)*

Sea of Japan, 192

Sea Peoples, 47

Secessionism, in Ukraine, 981

Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets, 838

Second Coalition, against France, 641, 642

Second Congo War, 970

Second Continental Congress (U.S.), 631

Second Empire (France), 698

Second estate (France). *See* Estates (French orders)

Second Industrial Revolution, 671
Second Intermediate Period (Egypt), 42, 42*(f)*, 43
Second Intifada, 959
Second Matabele War, 737
Second Persian Gulf War (2003–2011), 961
Second Punic War, 147
Second Republic (France), 698
Second Sino-Japanese War, 878
Second Spanish Republic, 892*(i)*
Second Treatise of Civil Government (Locke), 516
Second Triumvirate (Rome), 149
Second World, use of term, 924
Second World War (1939–1945), 905–916. *See also* Holocaust; specific countries
    Africa and, 907*(m)*, 939
    casualties in, 914, 915
    China and, 877
    end of, 913, 915
    in Europe, 907*(m)*, 913
    events leading to, 905
    Japan and, 877, 911
    Jews in Italy and, 900
    Normandy landing in, 913
    in Pacific Ocean region, 911, 912*(m)*, 914–915
    prosperity after, 946–950
    U.S. in, 910–911, 912–915
Secret History, The (Procopius), 206, 207*(b)*
Secret History of the Mongols, The, 322, 324–325*(d)*
Secret police, Soviet, 895
Secret service, in China, 597
Secularism
    in Afghanistan, 863–864
    in Iran, 956
    in Iraq, 961
    in Middle East, 959
    in Ottoman Empire, 746, 747
    in Turkey, 748, 862–863
Security Council (UN), 924, 931. *See also* Peacekeeping (UN)
    Iraq and, 961
    Russia in, 980
Securocrats, in South Africa, 967

Sedan, battle at, 706
Sedentary peoples, 261–263
Segregation
    in Philippines, 879
    in South Africa, 737
    in United States, 798, 848
    of working women, 678
Sei Shonagon (Japan), *Pillow Book* of, 364–365, 366–367*(d)*
Selective breeding
    of crops, 13–16
    of livestock, 551
Seleucids, 147
Seleucus (Macedonia), 77, 78
Self-determination
    national, 743, 856, 860*(d)*
    after Second World War, 913*(i)*, 924
Self-government
    in Africa, 939
    after First World War, 856
    in India, 764, 865–869
    for Ireland, 721
    national, 856
    in Palestine, 959
    Spanish colonies and, 652–653
Self-strengthening movement
    in China, 770–772
    in Korea, 778
Selim I (Ottomans), 471
Selim II (Ottomans), 474*(b)*
Selim III (Ottomans), 746
Seljuk Turks, 237–238, 238*(m)*, 321*(i)*
    Byzantine Empire and, 321
    Ottomans and, 470
    in Palestine, 384
Semi-sedentary communities, 291
Semiskilled workers, 711
Semitic peoples and languages. *See also* Jews and Judaism
    Sumerians and, 37
Senate (Rome), 140, 142, 143, 144–145
    Augustus and, 149, 151
    Struggle of the Orders and, 146

Senegal, 566
  First World War and, 827
  gold in, 267
  tirailleurs soldier from, 819*(i)*
Senegal River region, 264
Senegambia, 564, 566–567
  famine in, 571
  French-Wolof intermarriage in, 585
  slaves from, 581
Senghor, Léopold Sédar, 942
Sensationalism, Locke and, 542
Sensibility, 544
Seoul, Korea, 615
Separate spheres, 677–679, 711
Separation of powers, Montesquieu on, 542
Separatism
  in India, 975
  in New Spain, 655
Sepoys (India), 491, 760
September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, 976, 992, 992*(i)*
Sepúlveda, Juan Ginés de, 461
Serbia
  First World War and, 822
  independence of, 747
  Milošević in, 980
  minorities in, 981*(m)*
  nationalism in, 822
  Ottomans and, 747, 822
  Rome and, 152
Serbs, in Austrian Empire, 700
Serer language, 566
Serfs and serfdom. *See also* Peasants
  African enslavement and, 580
  in Austria, 550, 697, 700
  Aztec, 308
  in Bohemia, 513
  in China, 91, 97, 106
  emancipation of, 706
  in Europe, 378, 389, 392, 503
  in France, 634
  Greek helots as, 118

  - in Korea, 362–363
  - peasant revolts and, 402
  - in Prussia, 548
  - revolutions of 1848 and, 696
  - Roman tenant farmers as, 164
  - in Russia, 524, 525, 527, 706
- Sericulture, in Japan, 194
- *Serious Proposal to the Ladies, A* (Astell), 548
- Servants. *See also* Domestic service; Indentured labor; Slaves and slavery
  - in England, 684
- Service nobility, in Russia, 524
- Settlement(s). *See also* Expansion; Exploration; specific locations
  - in Africa, 263, 264, 443
  - in Americas, 290–292, 293, 293*(m)*, 449–456
  - Bantu, 264
  - in China, 90
  - in Ethiopia, 274
  - in Funan, 339
  - Inca, 297*(m)*
  - in India, 68
  - Jewish, in Palestine, 865, 865*(i)*
  - Neolithic, 13, 13*(i)*
  - of Pacific Islands, 343–344, 343*(i)*, 343*(m)*
  - Portuguese, 443
  - Roman, 152
  - Viking, 376
  - in West Bank, 959
- Settler colonies, in Pacific Ocean region, 778–780
- Seven Years' War, 627–630, 630*(m)*, 631
  - Austria in, 627
  - Canada and, 630, 630*(m)*
  - England in, 627, 630, 630*(m)*
  - France in, 627, 630, 630*(m)*, 634
  - India and, 491, 630*(m)*
  - Prussia in, 627
  - Spain and, 554, 627
- Sewage systems, 551, 708
- Sex and sexuality. *See also* Gender; Same-sex relations
  - Christian attitudes toward, 212, 213
  - in Greece, 119, 123

  Islam and, 240–242
  in marriage, 711
  in Paleolithic families, 11
  in Protestant homes, 500*(i)*
  in Southeast Asia, 439
  women’s roles and, 548
  of working-class youths, 678
  Zweig on middle-class, 712–713*(d)*
Sexism, in Europe, 532
Sex trafficking, 1003
Sexual division of labor, 677–679
Seymour, Jane, 426
Shah (Persia, Iran), 473, 863, 961. *See also* Pahlavi family
  of Safavid state, 473, 475
Shahjahanabad. *See* Delhi, India
Shahnama (Book of Kings), 249*(i)*
Shaka (Zulu leader), 734–735
Shaka people, in India, 80
Shakespeare, William, 411
Shakyamuni (Buddha), 72
Shamans, 13
  Paleolithic, 13, 16*(i)*
Shamash (god), 38
Shandong (Shantung) Peninsula, Japan and, 827, 842, 872
Shang Dynasty (China), 86, 89–92, 90*(m)*
Shanghai
  British in, 769
  foreign soldiers in, 772*(i)*
  Japan and, 877
  protest in, 871*(d)*
Shapur (Sassanids), 160, 203*(i)*
Sharecroppers, in Korea, 615
Shari’a (law), 236
  in Nigeria, 959
Sharpeville Massacre, 967, 967*(i)*
Shaykhs (leaders), 251
Sheba, **Queen of**, 274, 276*(d)*
Sheep
  in Australia, 778–779
  domestication of, 19, 21*(i)*
Shehzade Mosque (Istanbul), 479

Sheik, in Bedouin society, 238
Shelter. *See* Housing; Lifestyle
Shenbao (newspaper), 770*(i)*
Shen Gua (China), 357*(b)*
Shenyang (Mukden), 877
Sheriff (England), 378
Shi (Chinese aristocracy), 93, 95
Shi'a (Shi'ite) Muslims, 234–235, 237, 962*(m)*
    Fatimids as, 237
    in Iran, 961
    in Iraq, 992
    Safavid Empire and, 468, 475, 492
    Shi'ite/Sunni split and, 236–237, 482
    Sunni Ottomans and, 472
Shikoku, Japan, 192
Shimomura Hachigoro, on malaria control, 1009*(d)*
Shinran (Japan), 369
Shinto religion (Japan), 194, 370
Ships and shipping. *See also* Navy; Railroads; Trade
    in American Revolution, 632
    Belitung ship, 244*(i)*, 245*(i)*
    Chinese, 351, 352, 359, 601
    Dutch, 517, 522
    English, 522, 662
    imperialism and, 740
    mercantilism and, 522
    Middle Passage and, 581–583, 584
    Muslim, 489
    Ottomans and, 472
    Phoenician, 48
    Polynesian oceangoing canoe and, 9*(i)*
    Portuguese, 442, 443*(i)*
    Roman, 146*(i)*, 160
    Russian, 524–525*(d)*
    steam power and, 668, 751
    trade and, 243
    Viking, 376
    voyages of exploration and, 442
Shiraz, Iran, 278
Shires, in England, 378
"Shock treatment" (economic)

- in Chile, 964
- in Russia, 980

Shoguns (Japan), 605. *See also* specific shoguns and shogunates
- Kamakura, 367–370, 369*(m)*
- Minamoto Yoritomo, 367, 368*(i)*
- Tokugawa, 607–611, 608*(m)*

Shore trading, for slave trade, 583–584

Shōtoku (Japan), 193*(i)*, 194

Shrines
- Arab, 230
- in Japan, 609

Shudra (Indian caste), 68

Siam (Thailand), independence of, 767

Siberia. *See also* Inner Asia
- human migration from, 8–9
- Korea and, 191
- migrants in, 752
- Russia and, 524, 525, 707, 839

Sicily
- Bourbon dynasty in, 701
- Greeks and, 119
- Muslims in, 376
- revolt in, 504, 703
- Romans in, 146
- Vikings in, 376

"Sick man of Europe," Ottoman Empire as, 747

Siddhartha Gautama (Shakyamuni, the Buddha), 72. *See also* Buddhism

Sieng (Mnong refugee), 994*(b)*

Sierra Leone, 585*(i)*
- as British colony, 730
- freed slaves in, 796
- Mende people from, 265
- refugees in, 990

Sieyès, Emmanuel Joseph, "What Is the Third Estate?," 634, 636–637*(d)*

Sigismund (Hungary), 401*(d)*

Sigismund I (Poland), 474*(b)*

Sigismund II (Poland), 474*(b)*

Sijilmasa, 268

Sikhs, 482, 866, 975

Silent Spring (Carson), 1000
Silesia, 627, 697
Silk, 178*(i)*
  banner of, 179*(i)*
  in China, 176, 358*(i)*
  in India, 438
  in Japan, 194, 776
  manufacture of, 178–179*(d)*
  trade in, 131, 160, 458, 602
Silk Road, 176
  brocade from, 178*(i)*
  Buddhism spread along, 182
  Hellenistic trade and, 131
  Sassanids and, 203
  Turks and, 320
Silla Dynasty (Korea), 192, 362
Silver
  from Americas, 451, 454, 455
  China and, 458, 602–603, 617, 767
  Dutch and, 507, 517
  Inca, 451
  in Mexico, 454, 791–792
  Spanish wealth from, 458, 506, 517
Sima Guang (China), 349*(i)*, 356
Sima Qian (Chinese historian)
  history of China, 174–175
  on Ji An, 155*(d)*
Simony, 380
Sin
  in Christianity, 162, 213
  skin color and, 461
Sinai Peninsula, 931, 960
Sinan, Mimar, 479, 480*(i)*
Sinchis (Inca kings), 306
Sind area (Pakistan), 334, 335
Singapore
  as “Asian Tiger,” 971
  Chinese settlers in, 781
  economy in, 972
  England and, 764
  Japan and, 911

Singh, Manmohan, 975–976
Sino-Japanese War, 772, 778
  Second, 878, 908
Sistine Chapel, 414*(i)*, 415
Sittanavasal Cave, India, 81*(i)*
Six-Day War, 931
Sixtus IV (Pope), 419
Siyon, Amda, 275*(b)*
Skandagupta (India), 334
Skepticism, 542
Skilled workers, 672, 711, 723
Skin color
  human classification by, 268
  slavery and, 268, 461
Skyscrapers, in Japan, 777*(i)*
Slash-and-burn agriculture, 19
Slave army. *See* Janissaries
Slave coast, 568
Slave labor camps. *See* Forced labor
Slaves and slavery. *See also* Serfs and serfdom; Slave trade
  abolition of, 738
  in Africa, 267
  American disease incidence and, 580
  American Revolution and, 631, 632, 633, 655
  in Americas, 519
  Aztec, 308–310
  Baghdad market for, 247*(i)*
  barbarian, 215
  blacks associated with, 580
  in Brazil, 451, 457, 580–581, 795, 798–799
  in Caribbean region, 517, 629*(i)*
  in China, 91
  in Cuba, 589, 730, 812–813*(d)*
  disease and, 506–507, 572
  in East Africa, 731
  economic and cultural impact of, 584
  in Egypt, 50
  England and, 685
  Equiano on abolition of, 557*(d)*
  European trade in, 522
  in French colonies, 624, 698

  in Ghana, 270
  gladiators and, 157
  in Greece, 122
  in Haiti, 645–646, 648, 649*(b)*
  imports by destination, 581*(f)*
  in India, 69, 476, 760
  as industrial labor force, 685
  in Islam, 236, 239–240, 731
  in Italy, 416, 441
  in Korea, 362–363, 364
  markets for, 579
  from Mediterranean region, 456
  Mongol, 238, 322
  Muslims and, 237, 268–269, 456
  in Ottoman Empire, 473, 746
  plantation agriculture and, 240, 443, 554, 652
  Portugal and, 443
  Postlethwayt on abolition of, 557*(d)*
  as property, 790
  race and, 268, 415–416, 627
  resistance and, 591
  in Roman and Germanic society, 204–205*(d)*
  in Rome, 148
  Safavid, 475
  Said and, 731
  in Saint-Domingue, 645, 646, 647–648, 649*(b)*
  in Senegambia, 566–567
  skin color and, 268, 461
  slave destinations and, 797*(i)*
  social hierarchies and, 22–23
  in Songhai, 568
  in Spanish America, 652, 653
  sugar industry and, 416, 457–458
  Turks and, 321
  in United States, 633, 730, 791
  whites as, 577
  women and, 589
Slave trade, 459*(m)*, 692
  abolition of, 581, 589, 652, 655, 685, 796
  African, 258, 267, 440, 577–589, 584*(i)*
  Atlantic economy and, 416, 441, 455, 554

- in Caribbean region, 554
- in Constantinople, 206
- control of, 584
- Dutch, 517, 577–578
- in East Africa, 280, 579
- economic impact on African societies, 585–589
- England and, 583, 662, 685
- gold trade and, 267–268
- in Hellenistic world, 131
- Italian, 441
- labor for mines and, 458
- markets for, 267
- in mid-1800s, 730, 795
- in New World, 280
- political consequences of, 585
- Portugal and, 581
- in Renaissance, 416
- transatlantic, 457, 457*(m)*, 564, 579–589, 588*(f)*, 730, 795
- trans-Saharan, 267, 267*(f)*, 577
- Venice and, 416
- in West Africa, 522, 581
- women in, 585

Slave Trade Act (U.S., 1807), 582*(b)*

Slavs
- alphabet of, 382
- Nazis and, 900, 902, 904*(m)*, 907
- in Russia, 523

Slovenia, 980

Smallpox, 21
- in Americas, 312, 450
- in China, 619
- in Japan, 194
- reduction of, 1006
- slavery and, 580
- vaccination for, 680
- in West Africa, 571

Smartphones, 1007, 1010*(i)*

Smell of Apples, The (Behr), 968*(d)*

Smelting
- of coke, 667
- Neolithic, 24

Smith, Adam, 544, 696
Smith, Ian, 966
Smoking. *See* Tobacco
Smuggling, trade and, 616
Smyrna, battle at, 862
Social class. *See* Class
Social Contract, The (Rousseau), 543
Social Darwinism, 715, 739, 790, 806
Social Democratic Party (Germany), 720, 723, 840, 901
Social hierarchies, 33–34
  in China, 93, 102
  in Egypt, 43
  in Europe, 417–418, 697, 709–711
  gender and, 23
  in India, 68
  in Khmer society, 340
  in Muslim society, 238–240
Socialism, 724. *See also* Bolsheviks; Communism; Marxism; Soviet Union; specific leaders
  1848 revolutions and, 697
  in 1871–1914, 719, 723
  in England, 723
  in First World War, 835, 838, 849
  in France, 698
  in French Revolution, 638, 664
  in Germany, 720, 723
  ideology of, 690, 696
  industrialization and, 684
  Marxist, 872
  in Scandinavia, 888
  Soviet, 895
  in Sweden, 888
  women leaders in, 713
  working class and, 891*(d)*
Socialist parties, in Italy, 898, 899
Social media, 1007–1010
  in Middle East revolts, 961
Social mobility
  in China, 95, 359
  in Hellenistic world, 130
  in Japan, 773

in Roman Empire, 164
Social movements, in 21st century, 998–1005
Social networking sites. *See* Internet
Social security system
  in Germany, 720
  in United States, 888
Social welfare. *See also* Welfare system
  in England, 721
  in Germany, 720
  in Great Depression, 888
  in Soviet Union, 895
  spending on, 983
Society. *See also* Civilization(s); Culture(s); Elites; Social hierarchies; specific countries and regions
  in 18th-century Europe, 626–627
  after 1815, 697–698
  Abbasid, 235–236
  in Africa, 258, 261–265
  in African colonies, 737–738
  in Americas, 290–296
  Arab, 230
  in Athens, 119–120
  Aztec, 307–310, 450
  barbarian, 213–217
  in Benin, 568
  in British India, 760–761
  Buddhism and, 182
  in China, 89, 90, 91, 93–95, 180, 182, 603, 877
  classes in Europe, 388–392
  in Egypt, 42–43, 748
  in Ethiopia, 274
  in First World War, 828–830
  Germanic, 204–205*(d)*
  Greek, 114, 122–123
  Hebrew, 51
  Hellenistic, 129–131
  human evolution and, 7–8
  Inca, 299*(d)*, 450–451
  in India, 60, 68–69, 336–338
  industrialization and class in, 684
  inequality and class in, 626

  - intellectual thought and, 535
  - Islamic, 268
  - in Japan, 370, 773
  - Khmer, 340
  - in Korea, 362, 615
  - mass unemployment and, 886–887
  - Maya, 300–302
  - Mesopotamian, 34–35, 34*(i)*
  - of Mexica, 306
  - Minoan, 115
  - Muslim, 238–242
  - Mycenaean, 115
  - in Nazi Germany, 901–902
  - Neolithic, 22–26, 89
  - nomadic, 320
  - Paleolithic, 10–13
  - peasants and, 503
  - printing and, 410–411
  - revolutions in, 660–685
  - in Rome, 145–146, 151, 180, 204–205*(d)*
  - in Russia, 526–527
  - in Saint-Domingue, 646
  - salons in, 548
  - science and, 540–541, 715
  - in Songhai, 568
  - in southern Africa, 281
  - Soviet, 895, 978
  - stateless, 269
  - West Africa and, 267–268, 567*(m)*
- Society of Jesus. *See* Jesuits
- Society of Revolutionary Republican Women (France), 639*(d)*
- **Socrates**, 126
- Sofala (city-state), 243, 278, 281
  - Arabic language in, 573
  - Barbosa on, 578*(d)*
  - Portugal and, 575
  - trade in, 574*(m)*, 577
- Sokoto caliphate, 731
- **Solano López, Francisco**, 802
- Solar calendar. *See* Calendar
- Solar system. *See* Astronomy; Universe

“Soldier, The” (Brooks), 825*(d)*
Soldiers. *See also* Armed forces; Military; War(s) and warfare; specific battles and wars
  in Africa, 738
  in China, 94*(d)*, 97, 117, 182, 596
  in Chinese First Emperor’s tomb, 172*(i)*
  in First World War, 819*(i)*, 827*(i)*, 837*(i)*, 856, 865
  foreign, in Shanghai, 772*(i)*
  Greek hoplites as, 117, 118*(i)*
  Hellenistic, 129
  Islamic, 236
  in Japan, 615
  Mongol, 324
  Ottoman, 473
  Roman, 148–149, 160
  in Russia, 527
  sepoys as, 491
Solidarity movement, 978
Solomon (Hebrews), 50, 274, 276*(d)*
Solomonic dynasty (Ethiopia), 275*(b)*, 276–277, 573
Solon (Athens), 119–120
Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr, 946–947
Somalia
  Mogadishu in, 268
  slave trade in, 280
  trade and, 243
Somme, Battle of the, 824, 828
Somoza Debayle, Anastasio, 955*(i)*, 963
Song Dynasty (China), 348, 350–359, 354*(m)*
  defeat of, 359
  Mongols and, 327
  painting in, 355*(d)*
  printing and, 354
  Sima Guang in, 349*(i)*
  Southern, 353, 354*(m)*, 362
  trade in, 350–352
  Turkestan and, 605
  women in, 356–359, 356*(i)*
Songhai kingdom and people, 269, 273, 564, 566, 568–570
  Almoravids in, 268
  European account of, 569*(d)*

  Islam in, 268, 568–569
Songs, in vernacular, 395
Songs of Chu (China), 95, 99*(d)*
Soninke people, 269, 271
Sonni Ali (Songhai), 568
Son of Heaven (China), 93
Sophie (Austria-Hungary), 822
Sophists, 126
Sophocles, 121
Sorghum, 17, 263
Sorrieu, Frédéric, lithographs on democratic republics, 699*(d)*
Sorting, in trade, 583
Sotho people, 735, 736
South (developing countries). *See* Third World
South (U.S.), 632, 633, 791, 792, 796, 798, 810
South Africa. *See also* Southern Africa
  anti-apartheid movement and, 998
  apartheid in, 967–970
  Asian people in, 967
  Chinese labor for, 782
  coloureds in, 967
  freedom struggle in, 968–969*(d)*
  Gandhi in, 782, 867
  gold in, 736*(i)*
  health in, 1006
  Indian emigrants in, 782
  Mandela in, 967, 970
  nuclear weapons and, 991
  as sub-Saharan power, 990
  Union of, 737
  white rule in, 938, 967–970
  Zimbabwean workers in, 995
South Africa Company, British, 737
South African Defense Force, in Angola, 966
South African War (1899–1902), 737, 737*(m)*, 742
South America. *See also* America(s); Latin America; specific locations
  colonies in, 451–454
  Dutch and, 517
  independence in, 624, 651*(m)*
  Japanese emigrants in, 782
  lakes in, 291

- metals from, 458
- migrants in, 752
- Pacific Island communication with, 343
- settlement of, 8–9, 290
- slavery and, 685

South Asia. *See also* Asia; Southeast Asia; specific locations
- in 13th century, 339*(m)*
- HIV/AIDS in, 1007*(m)*

South Australia, 780

South China Sea region, commerce in, 438

Southeast Asia, 338–344. *See also* Asia; Emigration; South Asia; specific groups; specific locations
- in 13th century, 339*(m)*
- bride wealth in, 438
- Buddhism in, 76, 182, 318, 341
- Chinese agriculture and, 89
- Chinese migrants to, 753
- Dutch and, 517, 577
- emigration from, 781
- imperialist competition for, 765–767
- independence in, 878–879
- Indian culture in, 338–341
- Japan and, 615, 911
- Mongols and, 327
- nationalism in, 878–879
- peoples of, 438–439
- in Second World War, 911
- sex and sexuality in, 439
- spice trade in, 340*(m)*
- trade in, 438
- U.S. military intervention in, 993
- women in, 438–439

Southern Africa, 281–284, 966–971. *See also* South Africa
- in 19th century, 734–737
- division of, 736
- Dutch in, 517
- guerrilla groups in, 966

Southern Dynasties (China), 182

Southern Hemisphere, wealth gap with Northern Hemisphere, 997

Southern Rhodesia, 737. *See also* Zimbabwe

Southern Song Dynasty (China), 353, 354*(m)*

painting in, 355*(d)*
South Korea, 934. *See also* Korea
as “Asian Tiger,” 971, 972
industrialization of, 984
migration to U.S. from, 993
South Seas, Chinese trade in, 351
South Sudan, 971
South Vietnam, 935. *See also* Vietnam; Vietnam War
Southwest Asia. *See also* Middle East
societies in, 30, 31*(i)*, 32–55, 38*(m)*
Sovereignty
centralized power as, 506
in England, 516
popular, 528
Soviets (Russia), 835
Soviet Union. *See also* Cold War; Russia; Second World War; Soviet Union (former); Stalin, Joseph; specific leaders
activist on his revolutionary duty, 897*(d)*
Afghanistan and, 976, 978, 991
Africa and, 970
American migrants to, 886
Arab-Israeli conflicts and, 956
arms race and, 990–991
Asia and, 856
Cold War and, 923–924
collectivization in, 894, 896–897*(d)*
communism in, 892, 893–898, 980
Cuba and, 945, 947
Czechoslovakia and, 948–949, 949*(i)*, 978, 979*(b)*
dictatorship in, 838–839
economy in, 893
end of, 972, 980
five-year plans in, 893, 894–895
forced-labor camp in, 898*(i)*
in Germany, 913
in Grand Alliance, 912–913
industry in, 893, 894–895
life and culture in, 895
Nazis and, 905, 906, 913
radical totalitarian dictatorship in, 890
reforms in, 946, 947, 978

- Russian independence from, 980
- satellites of, 922, 947
- Second World War and, 905, 913, 915
- after Second World War, 922
- social welfare in, 895
- society in, 978
- Spanish Civil War and, 904
- under Stalin, 893–898
- as superpower, 923
- terror and purges in, 895–898
- totalitarianism and, 892
- Zimbabwe and, 66

Soviet Union (former), 980–981, 982*(m)*
- nuclear weapons and, 991

Spain. *See also* Reconquista; specific rulers
- absolutism in, 506–508
- Africa and, 732
- American Revolution and, 632
- Americas and, 295, 445–448
- Andalusian, 251
- Atlantic economy and, 554
- Aztecs and, 306, 311–312, 449–450
- Bourbon dynasty in, 650
- Caribbean region and, 521
- Chinese in colonies of, 617
- Christian-Muslim fighting in, 385
- Civil War in, 888
- colonies of, 451–454, 517, 558, 627, 650–655, 758
- conservative authoritarianism in, 890
- Creole Spaniards and, 650–652
- Dutch and, 431, 502, 507
- economic problems in, 984
- exploration by, 441, 445–448
- fascism in, 892*(i)*, 904
- France and, 430, 638, 650
- gardens in, 480
- Greek expansion to, 118
- in Holy Roman Empire, 420*(m)*
- immigrants from, 709
- Incas and, 299*(d)*, 312–314, 313*(i)*, 450–451
- indigenous labor and, 454, 455*(i)*

  - inflation in, 458
  - Inquisition in, 419
  - Islam and, 233, 236
  - Jews in, 260, 419
  - Maya and, 302
  - missionaries from, 454
  - Moors in, 237*(i)*
  - mosque in, 380*(i)*
  - Muslims in, 251, 260, 380
  - Napoleon and, 643, 652
  - Netherlands and, 503
  - New World and, 441
  - Philippines and, 767, 879
  - reconquista in, 384
  - in Renaissance, 418–419
  - revolts in 17th century, 504
  - Rome and, 147, 152
  - Saint-Domingue revolt and, 647–648
  - scientific expeditions by, 537
  - in Seven Years' War, 627, 630, 630*(m)*
  - silver and, 458
  - slaves in, 416
  - in Thirty Years' War, 507
  - Tordesillas, Treaty of, and, 448
  - trade and, 458
  - urban revolts in, 402
  - War of the Spanish Succession and, 512, 513–514, 522
  - wealth of, 458, 506
- Spanish America. *See also* Latin America; specific locations
  - free womb laws in, 796, 799
  - governments in, 650
  - indigenous people in, 626–627, 804
  - liberalism in, 790, 793
  - slavery in, 652, 795–796, 798–799
  - trade and, 650
- Spanish-American War, 811–812
  - Philippines and, 767, 879, 879*(m)*
- Spanish Armada, 431
- Spanish Civil War, 888, 904
- Spanish Empire
  - economy in, 506

  - in New World, 419, 650, 651*(m)*
  - revolutions in, 650–655
  - trade in, 458
- Spanish Inquisition, 419, 460*(b)*
- Spanish language, 157
- Spanish Netherlands (Belgium), 503, 512*(m)*
- Sparta, 114*(m)*, 116, 118–119
  - Athens and, 121
  - hoplites in, 117, 118*(i)*
  - Messenia and, 118
  - Peloponnesian War and, 121
  - Persian wars and, 120–121
  - society and government in, 118–119
  - women in, 119
- Special Administrative Regions (SARs), 972
- Special-interest groups, imperialism and, 740–741
- Specialization. *See also* Division of labor
  - economic, 710
  - of labor, 21, 22
- Species, 4. *See also* *Homo* (genus)
- Speculation
  - Great Depression and, 886
  - in Japan, 971
- Spellbinding, in China, 98–99*(d)*
- Spells, religious rituals and, 132*(d)*
- **Spencer, Herbert**, 715
- Spending. *See also* Economy
  - government reductions in 1980s, 983
- **Spengler, Oswald**, 847
- Spheres of influence, 810
  - in Asia, 783
  - English, 863
  - Russian, 707, 863
- Spice trade, 340*(m)*
  - Dutch and, 458–459, 517
  - European expansion and, 441
  - gold trade and, 267
  - India and, 43 8, 81
  - Portugal and, 448, 449, 489, 575
- Spinning jenny, 663, 664*(i)*, 665*(b)*
- Spinning mule, 665*(b)*

Spinoza, Baruch, 542, 544, 545
Spirit of Laws, The (Montesquieu), 542
Spirituality. *See* Religion(s)
Split inheritance, 296, 297
SPQR (the Senate and the Roman people), 144–145
Sri Lanka. *See* Ceylon
Srivijayan kingdom, 341
SS (Nazi Germany), 902, 907

Stadholder (Dutch Republic), 517
Stagflation, 956
Stalin, Joseph, 838*(i)*
  five-year plans of, 893
  Nazi nonaggression pact with, 905
  Soviet Union under, 893–898
  terror and purges under, 895–898
  totalitarianism of, 892, 946
  at Yalta, 913, 913*(i)*
Stalingrad
  Battle of, 907*(m)*, 913
  proclamation calling for open rebellion in, 896*(d)*
Stamp Act (U.S. colonies, 1765), 631
Standard of living
  Dutch, 517
  in England, 697
  Industrial Revolution and, 660
  of workers, after 1850, 723
State(s), in United States, 633
State (nation), 56. *See also* Church and state; specific locations
  in Africa, 564
  beginnings in Europe, 378
  centralization of, 464
  in East Asia, 348
  in Europe, 376, 498, 506
  in India, 80–81, 339–340
  in Mesopotamia, 34–39
  nationalism and, 695
  Nazi Germany as, 901–902
  in Renaissance, 418–419
  rise of, 33–34
  Roman, 144–145
  Russian, 525
State-building. *See also* specific countries
  in 1860s, 690
  in Americas, 790, 814
  in Europe, 506–527
  in Italy, 701–703
  in Latin America, 790
  in Russia, 526–527
Stateless societies, in Africa, 269, 567

States General (Dutch), 517
Statues. *See* Sculpture; specific carvings
Status. *See* Class; Society
Steam power, 666*(i)*, 672, 751
  railroads and, 667–668
  steam engine and, 664–667, 708
  steam hammer and, 666*(i)*
  steamships and, 668, 680, 740, 760, 784
Steel, in China, 352
Steles
  of Akkad, 38*(i)*
  of Maya, 301
Stephen I (Hungary), 379
Steppes, 320
  in Africa, 260
  nomads of, 218
Sterilization
  in India, 975
  in Puerto Rico, 812
Sternpost rudder, 442
Stock exchanges, 886
Stock market crash
  of 1873, 723
  of 1929, 886
Stoicism, 133–134
Stone(s), inscriptions on, 33, 34
Stone Age, 5. *See also* Neolithic era; Paleolithic era
  housing in Chile and China, 20–21
Storage, food, 21, 22, 63
Straits
  Bosporus, 164
  of Gibraltar, 233
  of Magellan, 448
  of Malacca, 339*(m)*, 341, 614
Stravinsky, Igor, 848
Streetcars, electric, 709
Stresemann, Gustav, 843, 844
Strikes
  in England, 684
  in Nazi Germany, 902
  in Rome, 145–146

  in Russia, 707, 834
Struggle of the Orders (Rome), 145–146
Stuart family, in England, 514
Students
  activism by, 998
  in China, 934, 972
  demonstrations and protests by, 972
  foreign study by, 782
  in Japan, 910–911*(d)*
Stupas
  of Ashoka, 61*(i)*
  Buddhists at, 75*(b)*
  at Sanchi, 38*(i)*, 79*(i)*
Subatomic particles, 845
Subclasses, 710
Subcontinent, of India, 62, 78, 438
Subculture, of blacks in London, 577
Submarine warfare
  in First World War, 828
  in Second World War, 914
Sub-Saharan Africa, 260. *See also* Africa; Southern Africa; specific locations
  Berbers and, 260
  change in, 970–971
  HIV/AIDS deaths in, 1006
  investments in, 742
  ironworking in, 263
  Islam in, 268, 731
  migration and, 753
  slaves from, 577
  trade in, 48, 260, 441*(i)*
Succession
  in China, 86
  in England, 501
  in Ghana, 269
  in Japan, 605
  to Lenin, 893
  Mongol, 325–327
  in Mughal India, 492
  War of the Austrian Succession, 627, 634
  War of the Spanish Succession, 512, 513–514

Sudan, 566, 568–570
  Battle of Omdurman in, 732, 739*(i)*
  Berber caravan trade and, 267
  Egypt and, 748
  empires in, 269
  England and, 732
  famine in, 971
  Ghana and, 269
  Islam in, 731
  kingdoms of, 264–265
  Koumbi Saleh in, 268
  Nubia and, 48
  origins of term, 260
  trade in, 439, 572
Sudatta (follower of Buddha), 75*(b)*
Sudetenland, 903*(i)*, 904–905
Suez Canal, 748*(m)*
  Egypt and, 930
  England and, 760, 864, 930
  shipping and, 751
Suffrage. *See* Voting and voting rights
Suffragists (suffragettes)
  Auclert, Hubertine, as, 719–720
  in England, 619*(i)*
  in France, 719–720
  Pankhurst, Christabel, as, 691*(i)*
Sufis and Sufism
  collective ritual of, 252*(d)*
  mysticism of, 250–251
  Qizilbash Sufis, 475
Sugar and sugar industry
  in Americas, 456, 580, 796, 811
  in Brazil, 451, 521, 796
  in China, 601
  colonial trade and, 554
  in Cuba, 811
  deaths in, 458
  in Hawaii, 780
  Indians in, 457*(i)*
  labor for, 782
  Philippines and, 879

  Portugal and, 443
  slavery and, 416, 457–458, 564, 579, 580, 581, 646, 730
Sui Dynasty (China), 185, 186–187, 192
Sulayman the Merchant, on travel to India and China, 244*(d)*
Suleiman I ("the Magnificent," Ottomans), 472, 473
  building under, 479, 480*(i)*
  coffee drinking and, 483*(i)*
  Hürrem and, 474*(b)*
  medicine under, 481
  Ottoman decline after, 746
Suleimaniye Mosque (Istanbul), 479, 480*(i)*
Sulla (Rome), 149
Sullivan, Louis H., 847
Sultan(s). *See also* specific sultans and sultanates
  Ottoman, 470, 473
Sultanate
  of Delhi, 327, 336, 476
  in Mogadishu, 268
  in Ottoman Empire, 746
Sumatra, 341
  Chinese labor for, 782
  Srivijaya kingdom in, 340
  Zheng He and, 614
Sumer and Sumerians, 34–38. *See also* Mesopotamia
  city-states of, 116
  environment of, 34
Summae (reference books), 394
Sun-centered solar system, 134
Sundiata (Mali), 271
Sun King. *See* Louis XIV (France)
Sunna, 230, 235, 475
Sunni Muslims, 235
  in Hamas, 959
  in Iraq, 961, 992
  Ottomans as, 400, 472
  Shi'ite/Sunni split and, 236–237, 482
  Turks as, 237
Sun Wu (China), 97–100
Sun Yatsen (China), 773, 782, 870
Superego, 846
Supernatural

  - Paleolithic, 12–13
  - saints and, 381
- Superpowers
  - arms race and, 990
  - emergence of, 923
- "Supplement to Bougainville's Voyage" (Diderot), 546–547*(d)*
- Supreme Sacred Congregation of the Roman and Universal Inquisition (Holy Office), 428, 502, 540
- Suriname, 538*(i)*
- Surplus, agricultural, 21
- Surrealism, 848
- *Survival in Auschwitz* (Levi), 909*(b)*
- Survival of the fittest, 715
- **Su Shi** (China), 356, 360*(d)*
- **Su Song** (China), 356
- **Su Teh** (China), 873*(b)*
- Sutras (Buddhist), 72–74, 369
- **Suu Kyi, Aung San**, 977*(d)*
- Swahili people and culture, 258, 260, 278
  - agriculture of, 575
  - city-states of, 573, 574–577, 578–579*(d)*
  - in East Africa, 278, 564
  - Lamu and, 576*(d)*
  - language and culture of, 574–575
  - meaning of Swahili, 574
  - Portugal and, 575
  - trade and, 280, 439, 440*(i)*
- Swazi state, 735
- Sweated industries, 711
- Sweden. *See also* Scandinavia
  - in Great Depression, 888
  - Nazi New Order and, 907
  - Russia and, 526, 527
  - in Thirty Years' War, 505
  - Vikings from, 376
  - women's voting rights in, 719
- Sweet potatoes, 343
- Swiss Confederation, 517
- Switzerland, 699*(d)*
  - neutrality of, 692
- Sykes-Picot Agreement (1916), 859

Symposium (dinner party), 123*(i)*
Syria
  in Akkadian Empire, 37
  civil war in (961), 961
  coffee drinking in, 483
  Egyptian occupation of, 748
  Faisal bin Hussein in, 861
  after First World War, 842, 860–861*(d)*, 864
  France and, 861, 864
  General Syrian Congress (1919) and, 860–861*(d)*
  independence of, 861, 864
  Islam and, 233
  Israel and, 931
  migrants from, 995
  Mongols and, 328
  Ottomans and, 471, 746
  refugees in, 990
  Saladin and, 385
  trade and, 157, 321, 440
  Turks in, 237
  in United Arab Republic, 930
  Yom Kippur War and, 959
  Young Turks in, 857
Syrian Congress, General, 860–861*(d)*, 861
Syrian National Congress, 861

T

Tabriz, Persia, 473
Tabula rasa, Locke on, 542
Taghaza, 568, 572
Tahir (Islam), 236
Tahiti, 343
Taino people, 447–448
Taiping Rebellion, 769–770
Taira family (Japan), 366, 367
  Kiyomori, 367
Taiwan (Republic of China), 871*(d)*. *See also* Nationalist China
  as “Asian Tiger,” 971, 972
  China and, 594, 605, 617, 932, 972
  economy in, 972
  Japan and, 776, 872
  pirates in, 615
  United Nations and, 924
Taizong (China), 187
Taizu (China), 353, 596, 597
  tree-planting and, 601
Tajikistan, 55*(i)*
Taj Mahal, 477, 480, 480*(i)*, 481
Takauji (Japan). *See* Ashikaga Shogunate
Tale of Genji, The (Lady Murasaki), 365, 365*(i)*, 366*(d)*
Tale of the Heike, The, 369–370
Taliban, 976, 991
  guerrilla war against, 992
  NATO and, 992
Tamerlane. *See* Timur
Tamil culture, 81–82
Tang Dynasty (China), 185, 187–189, 188*(m)*
  breakup of, 353
  culture of, 188–189, 189*(i)*
  decline of, 350
  Korea and, 192
  literature in, 354

  - Thais and, 340
  - tribute system of, 614
  - Turkestan and, 605
  - Turks and, 320
  - Vietnam and, 191
- Tangut people, 354*(m)*
- Tannenberg, Battle of, 824
- **Tan Yunxian** (woman doctor), 600*(b)*
- Tanzania, 277
  - agriculture in, 263
  - human evolution in, 6*(i)*
- Tanzimat (regulations), 746
- Taotie (animal face), 91
- Tariff(s)
  - in China, 769
  - in France, 513
  - industrialization and, 663, 672, 739
  - in Japan, 778
  - protective, 672, 674, 675*(d)*, 886
  - in Russia, 707
- Tariff protection, 672
- *Tarikh al-Sudan* (al-Sadi), 569*(d)*
- **Tarquin** (Etruscans), 143
- Tartars, 238, 522. *See also* Mongols
  - in Russia, 550
- Tashkent (Central Asia), 233
- Tasmania, 780
- Tassili, Algeria, rock painting at, 263*(i)*
- Tawantinsuyu, Inca Empire as, 296
- Taxation
  - of British North American colonies, 631
  - in China, 106, 173, 177, 602
  - in England, 663, 721
  - in France, 634
  - in Hungary, 379
  - Inca, 298–300
  - in India, 78, 333, 476
  - in Japan, 606, 609
  - medieval, 393
  - by Mongols, 328
  - nobility exempted from, 626

  Ottoman, 473
  peasant revolts and, 400
  in Prussia, 705, 706
  in Rome, 164
  for Seven Years’ War, 630, 631
  social welfare and, 888
  in Spanish America, 650
Tax-farming, 328
Taxila (trade center), 77, 80
Tea
  in India, 760
  in Japan, 776
  trade in, 620
Tea Act (U.S. colonies, 1773), 631
Teaching
  Islamic, 246, 248, 248*(i)*
  in Japan, 774
  in universities, 394
Technology. *See also* Digital revolution; Green Revolution; Industrialization; Industrial Revolution; Industry; Science(s); Tools
  since 1950, 1005–1010
  African, 585
  in Americas, 290
  in Asia, 783
  bronze, 24
  digital, 1006–1010
  in England, 663–668
  exploration and, 441, 442
  food production and, 1005–1006
  gap between West and non-Western regions, 740
  in Hellenistic world, 131
  of Iceman, 25
  industrial, 662, 663–668, 714
  iron and, 24, 48
  in Korea, 191
  labor for, 564
  military, 67–68, 97–100
  Mongols and, 333
  in Russia, 526
  sciences and, 535, 714
  society and, 679–680

- steam engine and, 664–667
- in Teotihuacan, 302
- trade and, 243
- wealth production and, 751
- writing as, 32–33

Tecuhtli (Aztec lords), 307
Tegguida-n-Tessum, Niger, 573*(i)*
Tel Aviv, 864
Telecommunications, digital divide and, 1010
Telegraph, 680, 1007
- world communications and, 717*(m)*, 751

Telephones, cell phones and, 1007
Telescope, 535, 536*(i)*, 537
Television, 1006, 1007
Temples
- Buddhist in China, 183*(i)*, 185
- in Ethiopia, 274
- in Great Zimbabwe, 281
- Hindu, 335*(i)*
- Hōryūji Temple (Japan), 193*(i)*, 194
- Inca, 297
- in Japan, 193*(i)*, 194
- of Jerusalem, 50
- of Quetzalcoatl (Teotihuacan), 305*(i)*
- in Sumer, 34–35

Temujin. *See* Chinggis Khan (Mongols)
Tenant farmers
- in India, 491
- in Rome, 164
- in social order, 503

Ten Commandments, 50, 214*(b)*
Tenements, 679*(i)*
Ten Hours Act (1847), 697
Tennis Court Oath (France), 634, 635*(i)*
Tenochtitlan (Mexico City), 306, 310, 437*(i)*, 449*(i)*
- Cortés in, 311–312, 450, 450*(m)*
- costs of maintaining, 311

Ten Years’ War, 798, 811
Teotihuacan, 288, 300–301, 302–306, 304*(d)*
- Temple of Quetzalcoatl in, 305*(i)*

Tepanec Alliance, 306, 307, 312

Teresa of Ávila, 428*(i)*
Terror, the. *See* Reign of Terror
Terrorism
    al-Qaeda and, 976, 991–992
    by ISIS, 993
    in London, 992
    in Madrid, 992
    Pakistan-based, 976
    on September 11, 2001, 976, 992, 992*(i)*
    Soviet, 895–898
Testament of Youth (Brittain), 832*(b)*
Tet Offensive, 938
Tewfiq (Egypt), 750
Texas
    Mexican-American War and, 792, 794*(d)*
    as U.S. state, 792
Texcoco
    Lake, 291, 306, 309*(b)*
    ruler of, 437*(i)*
Textiles and textile industry. *See also* Cloth and clothing; specific types
    Asian-European trade and, 489
    in China, 179*(d)*, 605
    in England, 663–664, 672
    in India, 438, 491, 674, 675*(d)*, 676*(i)*, 760
    industrialization and, 663–664
    in West Africa, 572–573
    women in, 664*(i)*
Texts
    of Ashoka, 80
    Avesta as, 55
    in China, 104*(d)*
Thailand. *See* Siam (Thailand)
Thai people, 340
Thatcher, Margaret, 983
Theater
    in China, 599
    Greek, 121–122
    in Japan, 606, 609
    kabuki, 610*(d)*
    in London, 602*(d)*
    vernacular, 395, 411

Thebes, 115, 127, 128
Theodicy (Leibniz), 542
Theodora (Byzantine Empire), 207*(b)*
Theodosius (Rome), 164, 208
Theodosius II (Rome), 202
  law code of, 204*(d)*
Theogony (Hesiod), 116
Theology. *See also* Religion
  Christian, 163, 208–209
  iconoclastic controversy and, 213
  Islamic, 234
  Protestant, 422–424, 426, 501
  study of, 393
Theory of Moral Sentiments (Smith), 544
Thermidorian reaction, 640
Thermodynamics, 714
Thermometer, 535
Thiers, Adolphe, 720
Things Fall Apart (Achebe), 928
Thinker of Cernavoda, The, 3*(i)*
Third Coalition, against France, 643
Third estate (France), 626*(i)*, 634, 636–637*(d)*. *See also* Estates (French orders)
Third Intermediate Period (Egypt), 42*(f)*
Third International, 870
Third of May 1808, The (Goya), 645*(i)*
Third Punic War, 147
Third Republic (France), 720–721
Third World, use of term, 924–925
Thirteenth Amendment (U.S.), 798
Thirty Years' War, 504–506
Thomas Aquinas (Saint), 394
Thomson, J. J., 845
Thousand and One Nights, The, 246
Thrace, 53
Three Kingdoms Period (Korea), 192
Three Principles of the People (Sun Yatsen), 870
Three Rivers, 521
Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, 124*(d)*
Thutmose II (Egypt), 46*(b)*
Thutmose III (Egypt), 46*(b)*

Tiananmen Square (Beijing), student demonstrations in (1989), 972, 973*(i)*
Tianjin Awakening Society, “Declaration on Marriage, Education, and Economics, 1919,” 874*(d)*
Tiantai (Tendai) Buddhism, 363, 365
Tiberius (Rome), 154
Tiberius Gracchus (Rome), 149
Tiber River region, 142
Tibet
  Buddhism in, 76, 182, 598
  China and, 88, 190, 350, 584, 605
  Mongols and, 598
Tigrayan highlands, Ethiopia, 274
Tigris River region, 34
Tikal, 300
Tilsit, treaties of, 643
Timbuktu, 268, 272–273, 564, 568
  Africanus on, 568, 569*(d)*
  intellectual thought in, 272–273, 568
  Portugal and, 443, 574
  trade in, 268, 572
Time. *See* Clocks
Time of Troubles, in Russia, 525
Timur (Tamerlane, Turks), 329
  Delhi sultanate and, 336
Timurid Empire. *See also* Timur
  Russia and, 523
Tirailleur soldier (Senegal), 819*(i)*
Tithes, to French church, 634
Titian, *Laura de Dianti*, 416*(i)*
Titicaca, Lake, 291, 296
Tito, Josip, 930*(i)*, 946, 980
Titus (Rome), 154
Tiv people, Nigeria, 269
Tiwanaku (Andean city-state), 296
Tizoc (Aztec Empire), 310
Tlacaelel (Aztec adviser), 309*(b)*
Tlalmaitl (landless workers, serfs), 308
Tlaloc (Chac, god), 302, 309*(b)*
Tlatelolco, Mexico, 306, 942, 943*(i)*, 949
  massacre in (1968), 957

Tlatoani (Aztec ruler), 307, 310
Tlaxcala, 311, 312, 450, 455*(i)*
Tobacco, 796
    Chelebi on, 484–485*(d)*
Tōdaiji, Japan, temple at, 194
Todar Mal, Raja, 476
Toga, 143
Tokugawa Ieyasu (Japan), 594, 607, 611*(i)*
Tokugawa Shogunate (Japan), 594, 607–611, 608*(m)*, 773
    agriculture under, 611
    Christianity and, 608, 618
    kabuki and, 609
Tokyo (Edo), Japan, 608, 608*(m)*, 614*(i)*, 773
Tolerance. *See also* Religious toleration
    racial in Mali, 273
Toltecs, 288, 300, 303–306, 306*(m)*
Tombs
    in China, 90, 90*(i)*, 91, 171*(i)*, 173, 189*(i)*, 191*(i)*
    Egyptian, 42
    in Korea, 191*(i)*
    in Rome, 204*(i)*
Tondibi, battle at, 570
Tonghak movement, 778
Tonkin Gulf Resolution, 937*(d)*
Tools. *See also* Technology
    in China, 93
    human use of, 5, 6, 7
    iron, 47
    Neolithic, 13, 17
    Paleolithic, 8, 10*(i)*
Topiltzin-Quetzalcoatl (king), 306
Topography. *See* Geography
Tordesillas, Treaty of, 448, 451
Tories (England), 697
Tortillas, 291, 292*(i)*
Torture, in Chile, 964
Totalitarianism, 891–892. *See also* Dictators and dictatorships
    in 1930s, 888
    features of, 892
    in Italy, 900
    of left and right, 892

  radical totalitarian dictatorships and, 890–893
  after World War I, 884
Total war
  in First World War, 828, 849, 856
  War Communism as, 839
Toure, Muhammad (Songhai), 568, 570
Touré, Sékou, 942
Tourism. *See* Travel(s)
Tours, battle at, 234
Toussaint L'Ouverture. *See* L'Ouverture, Toussaint
Towns. *See* Cities and towns; Villages; specific locations
Trade. *See also* Caravan trade; Commerce; Cross-cultural connections; Free trade; Global trade; Maritime trade; Mercantilism; Merchant(s); Silk Road; Silver; Slave trade; Spice trade; Trans-Saharan trade
  in 18th century, 522
  African, 263, 265–267, 266*(m)*, 268, 284, 439–440, 585
  in Afroeurasia, 438–441, 439*(m)*
  Akkadian, 37
  in Aksum, 273
  in Americas, 290, 799
  Armenian, 490
  Asian, 614, 616–617
  in Atlantic region, 554, 662
  barriers to, 925
  in Benin, 568
  Berbers and, 267
  in Brazil, 799
  in Canada, 448–449
  Chinese, 93–94, 96*(b)*, 131, 160, 170, 173, 174*(m)*, 176, 177, 187, 188, 350–352, 362, 598, 601, 602–603, 614, 767, 781
  by Christian Armenians, 522
  Christian-Muslim contact and, 251
  colonial, 650
  commercial revolution and, 392–393
  communication and, 532
  in Constantinople, 206–208
  consumption and, 556
  cross-cultural connections and, 24–26
  Crusades and, 385–388
  Dutch, 458–459, 489, 517, 522, 616
  in East Africa, 277, 278–279

in East Asia, 619–620
Egyptian, 47, 48, 147
English, 157, 522, 662, 751
Ethiopian, 273, 275, 275*(b)*
Etruscan, 142
European prominence and, 686–687
French, 522
fur, 448–449, 521
in Genoa, 441
in Ghana, 270
globalization of, 436
in gold, 267
in Great Depression, 888
Hausa, 570
Hellenistic, 130–131
ideas spread through, 24–26
in India, 62–63, 68, 80–81, 339, 489–490
in Indian Ocean, 243, 244–245*(d)*, 334, 438–439, 489
intercontinental, 751
iron, 48
Islamic, 235, 242–246, 243*(m)*, 268, 488–491
in Islamic Empires, 489
in Japan, 192, 608, 776
in Mali, 271, 272
Maya, 300–301, 302*(m)*
of Medes, 53
medieval, 392–393
Mesoamerican, 290
in Mexico, 804
in Minoan Crete, 114
Mongols and, 318, 333
national economies and, 993
nomadic, 320
in North America, 294
in oil, 956
Olmec, 293
Ottoman, 441, 471
in palm oil, 730
Persian, 55
Philippines and, 458, 767
Phoenicians, 48

  plants spread by, 246
  Portugal and, 443*(i)*, 517, 616
  railroads and, 751
  Roman, 147, 152–153, 153*(m)*, 157, 160
  Russian, 525
  silk, 438
  silver and, 458
  in Songhai, 568
  Spanish, 517
  Spanish colonial, 506, 650
  in Srivijaya kingdom, 341
  in sub-Saharan Africa, 48
  Swahili, 260, 575
  technology and, 243
  in Teotihuacan, 302–303
  in towns, 392
  trans-African, 574
  trans-Saharan, 263, 265–269
  triangle, 584
  Trump and, 993
  U.S.-Mexico, 993
  in West Africa, 267–268, 271, 564, 572, 730
Trade routes. *See also* Silk Road; Trans-Saharan trade; specific routes
  in Africa, 269, 572*(m)*
Trade unions. *See also* Labor unions
  in France, 720
  in Germany, 723, 902
  in Poland, 978
  Soviet, 895
Trading posts
  in Africa, 522
  in Asia, 517
  British in India, 489
  Dutch and, 517
  northern European–established, 522
  Phoenician, 49
  Portuguese, 445, 617
  in West Africa, 517
Trafalgar, Battle of, 643
Trains. *See* Railroads
Transatlantic trade, 532. *See also* Slaves and slavery; Trade; specific

  products
    slave trade as, 457, 457*(m)*, 564, 579–589, 588*(f)*, 662, 730
Transgender rights, 1002, 1002*(i)*
Transistor radios, 1007
Translation, of Bible, 211–212
Transoceanic telegraph, 751
Transportation. *See also* Chariots; Mass transportation; Railroads; Roads; Steam power; specific types
    in Americas, 290
    in Belgium, 673
    in England, 662*(m)*
    improvements in, 672–673
    in India, 760, 761
    mass, 680, 709
    steam power and, 667–668, 751
    world economy and, 751–752
Trans-Saharan trade, 263, 265–269. *See also* Africa; Sub-Saharan Africa; Trade
    Ghana and, 269
    slave trade, 267–268, 267*(f)*, 577
    West Africa and, 267–268, 572
Transvaal
    gold from, 736, 737
    in Union of South Africa, 737
Transylvania, Ottomans and, 492, 513
Travel(s)
    to Egypt, 750*(i)*
    England-India, 760
    of Ibn Battuta, 247
    in Japan, 609
    literature about, 545
Travels of Friar Odoric, 360*(d)*
Travels of Sir John Mandeville, The, 442
Treaties. *See also* specific treaties
    Chinese-Russian, 605
    after First World War, 840, 842, 843
    Japanese-Korean, 778
    naval arms limitation (1922), 872
    nuclear testing ban, 990
    Peace of Utrecht as, 512*(m)*
    after Second World War, 913

  - Song-Liao, 353
- *Treatise on Toleration* (Voltaire), 552*(d)*
- Tree planting
  - under Khubilai, 333*(i)*
  - in Ming China, 601
- Trench warfare, in First World War, 824, 826*(i)*, 830*(d)*
- Trent, Council of, 428, 502
- *Trial*, *The* (Kafka), 847
- Trials
  - by ordeal, 379
  - in Soviet Union, 895
  - for witchcraft, 431–432
- Triangle trade, 584
- Tribes. *See also* Barbarians; specific groups
  - Arab, 230
  - barbarian, 216–217
  - Germanic, 213–215
  - Islam and, 234, 238
  - Mongol, 322, 324
  - nomad, 320
- Tributary system, in China, 176, 614
- Tribute
  - in Aztec Empire, 310
  - Inca, 298–300, 300*(i)*
  - in Spanish Empire, 454
- Triennial Act (England, 1641), 515
- Trinity, 209, 253
- Triple Alliance (Aztec Empire), 307
- Triple Alliance (First World War), 821, 824
- Triple Entente, 821, 824, 827, 828
- Tripoli, 384
- Triremes (Rome), 146*(i)*
- Trojan War, 116
- Tropical rain forests, in Africa, 260, 263
- **Trotsky, Leon**, 838, 893
- Troubadours, 395
- *True History of the Conquest of New Spain*, *The* (Díaz del Castillo), 462*(d)*
- **Trujillo, Rafael**, 811
- **Truman, Harry**
  - eastern Europe and, 922, 978

  Korean War and, 934
Truman Doctrine, 922
Trumbull, John, 632*(i)*
Trump, Donald, trade, migration, and, 993
Trung sisters (Vietnam), 191
Truth, relativity of, 545
Truth and Reconciliation Commission (South Africa), 970
Tsars (Russia). *See* specific tsars
Tsetse fly
  labor productivity and, 580
  trade and, 572
Tsinghua University, May Fourth Movement at, 875*(i)*
Tswana state, 735
Tuareg people, 265–267, 267*(i)*, 570, 572
Tuberculosis, deaths from, 1006
Tudebode, Peter, on fall of Antioch, 386*(d)*
Tudor dynasty (England), 418, 426. *See also* specific rulers
Tula, 303–306
Tunisia
  emir in, 236
  Ottomans and, 471–472
Tupac Amaru (Inca), 313–314
Túpac Amaru II (Peru), 652
Turfan, 182
Turkestan, 88, 605
Turkey. *See also* Anatolia; Kemal, Mustafa; Ottoman Empire; Ottoman Turks
  Armenian massacre by, 859, 859*(i)*
  Çatal Hüyük in, 24
  communism and, 922
  EU and, 983
  after First World War, 862–863
  France and, 862
  Greece and, 114*(m)*, 116, 120–121, 862
  ISIS terrorism in, 993
  Jews in, 485
  Kurds and, 962*(m)*
  modernization of, 862–863
  as regional power, 990
  revolution in, 862
  Turks of, 320

    Young Turks and, 748, 857–859
Turkic languages, 320
Turkish Empire. *See* Ottoman Empire
Turkish language
    in Islamic empires, 478
    in Mughal Empire, 476
Turkish rug, 479*(i)*
Turkmen people, 320
Turks, 320–321. *See also* Ottoman Empire; Seljuk Turks; Uighur Turks; Young Turks
    Arabs and, 857–859
    Babur as, 476
    China and, 187–188
    Crusades and, 384–385
    after First World War, 857
    India and, 318, 333, 335
    in Iran and Afghanistan, 334
    Islam and, 236, 237–238, 318, 321, 334–335, 468
    at Lepanto, 472, 492
    Mongols and, 327, 328–329
    Nicopolis Battle and, 401*(d)*
    Ottoman, 400, 470–473
    ruling houses of, 470–477
    Tamerlane and, 329
Turner, Joseph M. W., 669*(d)*
Tuscany, 701
    Medici and, 409*(b)*
Tutsis, Hutus and, 970–971
Twelve Stories (Japanese building), 777*(i)*
Twelve Tables, Laws of the, 146
Twentieth Party Congress (Soviet Union), 946
Twitter, 1007–1010
Tyche (god), 131
Tyranny, in Greece, 117
Tyre, 48
Tytler, John, 762*(d)*

U

Uaxactún, 300
Ubertinus of Padua, letter to, 412*(d)*
Uganda, health in, 1006
Uighur Turks, 320–322
  China and, 188, 350, 359, 605
  Mongols and, 329
Ukraine
  collectivization in, 894
  nationalism in, 894
  Nazis and, 906, 907
  nuclear weapons and, 991
  Pale of Settlement in, 551
  Russia and, 525, 527, 839, 981
Ulama (scholars), 235, 475, 479
Ulfilas (Arian missionary), 219
Ulster, 721
Ultranationalism, in Japan, 876, 877, 881, 890, 910–911*(d)*
Ulysses (Joyce), 847
Umar (Islam), 233, 234
Umayyad Dynasty, 234, 235, 235*(i)*
  in Córdoba, 382
  India and, 334
  Muslim society under, 240
  women's rights under, 240
Umma, in Islam, 232, 234, 928
UN. *See* United Nations
Unas (Egypt), 40–41*(d)*
Uncertainty principle, 845
"Undesirables," in Nazi Germany, 902
Unemployment. *See also* Employment
  in Africa, 890
  benefits for, 721, 888
  in Germany, 902
  in Great Depression, 886–887, 888
  in Japan, 971

in Soviet Union, 895
Unification
  of China, 170, 172–173, 196, 870, 876
  of Egypt, 42, 48, 385
  European, 981–984
  of Germany, 705–706, 705*(m)*, 724
  of Italy, 408, 701–704, 704*(m)*, 724
  of Korea, 192
  of Syria, 385
Unigeniture, in Russia, 527
Union, labor. *See* Labor unions; Trade unions
Union of South Africa, 737. *See also* South Africa
Union of Utrecht, 431, 503
United Arab Republic, 930
United front, against Germany, 903
United Kingdom. *See* England (Britain)
United Nations (UN), 916–917, 924
  Charter of, 924, 939
  Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1003–1005
  Fourth World Conference on Women (1995), 1003, 1003*(i)*
  Framework Convention on Climate Change, 1002
  Iraq and, 961
  Milošević and, 980
  Population Division of, 1006
  programs of, 924, 924*(i)*
  Russia in, 980
  World Health Organization of, 999
United Provinces of the Netherlands. *See* Dutch Republic
United States, 699*(d)*. *See also* American Revolution; Cold War; Second World War; Western world
  Afghanistan and, 991
  anti-apartheid movement in, 969*(i)*, 998
  Arab-Israeli conflicts and, 956
  arms race and, 990–991
  Asians in, 782, 808, 808*(i)*
  Central Americans in, 963
  Chinese people in, 782, 808, 808*(i)*
  civil rights in, 941*(d)*, 948
  Civil War in, 655
  Cold War and, 923–924
  Constitution of, 424, 633, 790, 791

  - Cuba and, 811–812
  - economic aid to Egypt, 960
  - economy in, 948
  - empire of, 810–814
  - First World War and, 828
  - after First World War, 844
  - government of, 633
  - in Grand Alliance, 912–913
  - Great Depression and, 886–888
  - immigration to, 698, 808–809, 808*(i)*, 864
  - imperialism by, 767, 810–814
  - industrialization in, 660, 671, 814, 948
  - investment in, 752
  - ISIS terrorism in, 993
  - Japan and, 910–911
  - Korea and, 778, 934
  - Kyoto Protocol and, 1002
  - Mexico and, 790–793
  - military coups supported by, 927
  - military interventions by, 993
  - NAFTA and, 957
  - New Deal in, 887–888
  - Pan-Africanism and, 941*(d)*
  - Panama Canal and, 812–813
  - Philippines and, 811, 879, 879*(i)*, 879*(m)*
  - racism in, 941*(d)*
  - same-sex marriage in, 1002
  - Sandinistas, Contras, and, 963
  - in Second World War, 905
  - slavery and, 655, 685, 730, 791, 798, 814
  - Spanish-American War and, 811
  - stagflation in, 956
  - as superpower, 923
  - women’s voting rights in, 719
- United States of Venezuela, independence of, 652–653
- Universal gravitation, Newton on, 537
- Universalism, of Rome and Christianity, 162
- Universal manhood suffrage
  - by 1914, 719
  - in England, 721
  - in France, 637

- in Prussia, 706
- in Spain, 652

Universe. *See also* Astronomy; Cosmology
- Aristotle on, 535, 535*(i)*
- Brahe and, 536
- Copernicus on, 536
- Galileo on, 537
- Kepler on, 536–537
- in Nahua tradition, 309
- Newton on, 537
- religion and, 540

Universities and colleges. *See also* Higher education
- activism in, 998
- medieval, 393–394, 393*(i)*
- in Muslim world, 534
- western European, 534
- women in, 541

Unskilled workers, 668, 711, 723

Untermenschen (inferior people), 905

Untouchables, in India, 69

Upanishads (India), 69, 761

Upper Egypt, 42, 260

Upper house, in Japanese government, 775

Upper middle classes, 710

Ur (city), Enhueduana in, 37

Urai Kidane Miharet Church, 275*(i)*

Urban II (Pope), 384

Urban VI (Pope), 400

Urban areas. *See also* Cities and towns
- in 18th century, 626
- in 19th century, 708–719
- in Americas, 288, 455
- in China, 187*(i)*, 599, 601, 602*(d)*
- ideologies and, 708–719
- industrialization and, 677–678, 708–709
- in Japan, 187*(i)*, 608
- Jewish life in, 51
- medieval, 392–393
- population of, 626, 679
- poverty in, 504
- public sphere and, 556

- revolts in, 402
- Roman, 157
- in Soviet Union, 978
- in West Africa, 268

Urbanization
- after 1945, 995–998
- class diversification and, 710–711
- industrialization and, 679, 697, 708–709
- in Mexico, 942
- outside Europe, 709

Urban planning
- after 1850, 708–709
- in Nigeria, 958

Ure, Andrew, 684
Ursuline order, 428, 502
Uruguay
- Garibaldi in, 704*(b)*
- Paraguay and, 802

Uruk (city), 34, 36*(d)*
U.S.S.R. *See* Soviet Union
Usury, Muslims and, 231
Utagawa Kunimasa IV, 777*(i)*
Uthman (Islam), 233, 234
Uthman Dan Fodio, 731
Utopia (More), 410
Utrecht
- Peace of, 512–513, 512*(m)*, 522
- Union of, 431, 503

Uxmal, 300
Uzbeks, 320

V

Vaccines
  development of, 708
  polio, 1006
  smallpox, 680
Vacuum, 539, 540
Vaishya (Indian caste), 68, 81
Valerian (Rome), 160, 203*(i)*
Valladolid debate, 461
Valley of Mexico. *See* Aztec Empire; Mexico
Valois kings (France), 425, 430
Values
  middle-class, 710
  Roman, 147–148
Valverde, Vicente de, 313*(d)*
Vanderbilt, Cornelius, 813
Van Dieman's land. *See* Tasmania
Vargas, Getúlio, 945
Varnas (social strata, India), 68–69, 81
Vassals
  in China, 90, 93
  in Europe, 376–377
Vatican. *See also* Papacy
  Mussolini and, 900
Vedas, 76
Vedic Age (India), 63–69, 66*(m)*
Vegetius, *Epitome of Military Science*, 159*(d)*
Vehicles. *See also* specific types
  wheeled, 22, 47
Veiling, in Islam, 240
Velázquez, Diego Rodriguez de Silva y, 507*(i)*
Velvet Revolution, in Czechoslovakia, 978, 979*(b)*
Vendée, rebellion in, 638, 638*(m)*
Veneration
  of icons, 214*(b)*
  of saints, 219, 381

Venereal disease, 711
Venetia, 701
Venezuela, 651*(m)*
  Declaration of Independence in, 654*(d)*
  independence of, 652–653
  slave rebellions in, 652
Venice
  Nicopolis and, 401*(d)*
  in Renaissance, 408
  slave trade and, 416
  trade and, 441
Venus figures, Paleolithic, 11, 12*(i)*
Verbiest, Ferdinand, 618*(i)*
Verdun
  Battle of, 824, 828
  Treaty of, 223–224, 224*(m)*
Vergerius, Peter Paul, letter by, 412*(d)*
Vernacular languages
  in China, 599
  literature in, 395, 599
  printing in, 411
Versailles
  Estates General at, 634
  Louis XIV at, 514
  Treaty of (1919), 840, 842, 843, 849–850, 856, 892, 903
Vesalius, Andreas, 539, 540
Vespasian (Rome), 154
Vespucci, Amerigo, 448
Vesuvius, Mount, eruption of, 154
Veterans, Roman, 148–149, 157
Viceroyalties (New World), 454, 562, 653
Vichy France, 906, 910, 913
Victor Emmanuel (Sardinia, Italy), 701, 703, 704*(b)*
Victor Emmanuel III (Italy), 899
Victoria (England)
  Lobengula letter to, 744*(d)*
  opium in China and, 767–768
Victoria, Australia, 779, 780
Victoria, Lake, 264
Vienna, 514
  anti-Semitism in, 723

  Ottomans and, 472
  revolution of 1848 in, 700, 701
Vietnam, 880–881. *See also* North Vietnam; South Vietnam
  China and, 186, 187, 190–191, 339, 340
  communism in, 932
  France and, 766
  Khmers and, 340
  kingdom of, 190*(m)*
  migration to U.S. from, 993
  missionaries in, 766
  Mnong from, 994*(b)*
  Mongols and, 327
  nationalism in, 935
  Nguyen Dynasty in, 766
  religion in, 341
Vietnamization, 938
Vietnam War, 935, 935*(m)*, 936–937*(d)*, 938
  protests against, 936*(i)*, 937*(i)*, 949
Viet people, 190
Vigesimal system, 302
Vikings, 376
  in England, 378
  exploration by, 445
  in France, 376
  in Newfoundland, 445
Villa, Pancho, 805–806, 805*(i)*
Villages. *See also* Cities and towns***
  African and Asian women in, 996
  agriculture and, 18
  barbarian, 215
  Chinese Neolithic, 89
  in India, 337
  in Japan, 611
  in stateless societies, 269
Villas (Roman estates), 164
Vindhya Mountains, 62
Violence. *See also* War(s) and warfare
  in Africa, 970–971
  in Central America, 963
  by European imperialists, 732–734
  gender and, 11

  in Middle East, 959–960
  religious, 430–432, 502–503
Viracocha Inca, 296
Virgil, 151–152
Virginia, 519, 632
Virgin Islands, 559*(b)*
Virgin Mary, 381, 382*(i)*
Virtù, 410
Virtue(s)
  in Confucianism, 102
  in Daoism, 103–105
  Plato on, 126
Vishnu (god), 76*(i)*, 340
Visigoths, 201*(i)*, 215, 217*(i)*
  Clovis and, 221
  Muslims and, 233
Visual arts. *See* Art(s); specific arts
Vitruvius, 135*(b)*
Vizier
  in Islam, 236, 238
  in Ottoman Empire, 473
Vladimir I (Kiev), 382
Vodou (voodoo), 647
Volga River region, 674
Voltaire (François Marie Arouet), 542, 543, 544
  on China, 545, 619
  Treatise on Toleration, 552*(d)*
Von Bora, Katharina, 424, 425*(i)*
Voting and voting rights
  by 1914, 719–720
  for African Americans, 848*(i)*
  in Athens, 120
  in British American colonies, 631
  in England, 697, 721
  in France, 637, 698
  in Italy, 898
  in Latin America, 943
  in Rome, 145*(i)*
  in South Africa, 970
  in Turkey, 863
  in United States, 633

  - women and, 633, 691*(i)*, 719–720, 780

Voyages of exploration
  - by Columbus, 446–447*(d)*, 446–448, 448*(m)*
  - European, 441–449, 444*(m)*
  - sciences and, 537
  - by Zheng He, 438, 614

Vulgate Bible, 211–212

W

Wa (island land), 192
Wadai, Islam in, 268
Wadi el-Obeiyd, Egypt, handprints from, 15*(i)*
Wagadou (Soninke kingdom), 269
Wages
  in Africa, 738
  in England, 662
  industrial, 677, 679
  iron law of, 670
  of women, 711
Wahanui (Maori), 780*(i)*
Wales, 662
Wałęsa, Lech, 978
Walker, William, 810
Walls. *See also* Berlin Wall
  in China, 93
  of Constantinople, 202
  around European towns, 392
  Israeli, 960
  in Korea, 363–364
  in Sumer, 34
  between U.S. and Mexico, 993
Wang Kon (Korea), 362
Wang Yangming, on proper behavior, 427*(d)*
War(s) and warfare. *See also* Civil war(s); Military; Military technology; Religious wars; Trench warfare; specific battles and wars; specific wars
  in Argentina, 964–965
  Assyrian, 52
  Aztec, 309*(b)*
  in *Book of Songs* and *Patirruppattu*, 94*(d)*
  colonial, 522
  during French Revolution, 637, 638, 650
  Iran-Iraq, 961
  in Italian cities, 408

  in Louis XIV's France, 508–513
  mercantilism and, 522
  Minoans, Mycenaeans, and, 115
  Mongol, 324
  in Nigeria, 958, 959
  Persian, 120*(m)*
  Sun Wu on, 97–100
War College, in Japan, 774
War Communism, 839
War crimes, Milošević and, 980
War debts, after First World War, 842, 843, 888
Wari (Andean city-state), 296
Warlords, in China, 182, 353, 869, 870, 871*(d)*, 877
War of the Austrian Succession, 627, 634
War of the Pacific, in Latin America, 802
War of the Spanish Succession, 512, 513–514, 522, 650
War of the Triple Alliance (Paraguay War), 802
War Raw Materials Board (Germany), 828
Warring States Period (China), 87*(i)*, 90*(m)*, 93, 95–100, 97*(m)*, 103, 170, 608
  art of, 107*(i)*
  history of, 356
  inscribed bamboo slips in, 104*(d)*
  Korea and, 191
  soldiers in, 117
Warriors. *See also* Nobility
  Arab, 230
  Assyrian, 52*(i)*
  Aztec, 307–308, 311
  barbarian, 216–217
  in Ethiopia, 274, 275*(b)*
  Greek, 115
  in India, 68, 77
  in Japan, 348, 607–609
  Turkish, 321
Warsaw Ghetto, 908*(i)*
Warsaw Pact, 923
Wars of Reform (Mexico), 793
Wars of the Roses (England), 418
Washington, D.C., September 11, 2001, attack in, 992
Washington Consensus, 957

Waste, effects of, 1000
Waste Land, The (Eliot), 847
Water
  African trade and, 572
  flooding and, 34
  mosquito breeding and, 1006
  resources of, 264
Water buffalo, 21
Water frame, 663
Waterloo, battle at, 645
Water mills, 389
Waterpower
  steam power and, 667
  textile industry and, 663
Water screw, 134
Waterways. *See also* Canals; Ships and shipping; specific river regions
  Islamic trade and, 242
  steam engine and, 668
Watt, James, 666–667
Wayna Daga, Battle of, 574
Wealth. *See also* Economy; Wealth gap; specific locations
  in China, 90, 93–95
  from commercial revolution, 393
  digital divide and, 1010
  global distribution of, 993, 997*(m)*
  hierarchies of, 23
  of Indian merchants, 489–490
  of industrialists, 674*(i)*
  inequality of, 750–751
  inheritance of, 23
  Kushite, 48
  labor and, 22–23
  in Mali, 271–272
  of Middle East oil producers, 959
  in Nigeria, 958
  in Renaissance, 416
  rights and, 628*(d)*
  social hierarchies and, 627
  of Spain, 458, 506
Wealth gap, 709, 997
  in Great Depression, 886

- between nations, 750–751

Wealth of Nations. See Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations (Smith)

Weapons. *See also* Nuclear weapons; specific weapons
- of Archimedes, 134, 135*(b)*
- Aztec, 308
- in China, 90, 97, 352
- in Egypt, 43
- in First World War, 824
- Greek fire as, 206, 206*(i)*
- in Hundred Years' War, 399
- in India, 68*(i)*
- iron, 48
- in Japan, 194, 615
- machine gun as, 732, 824
- Mongol, 322
- naval, 872
- Safavid, 475
- in Vietnam, 190

Weaving
- by ancient peoples, 8
- Aztec, 310
- of carpets, 478
- in cottage industry, 554*(i)*
- gender hierarchies and, 23
- Inca, 300*(i)*
- in India, 760
- mechanization and, 664
- of silk, 178*(d)*

Web. *See* Internet

Weddings. *See* Marriage

Weimar Republic, 843, 900

Welfare system. *See also* Social welfare
- in First World War, 828
- in Great Depression, 888

Wellesley, Richard, 491

Wergeld, 217

West. *See* Western world; specific countries

West Africa. *See also* Africa; East Africa; specific locations
- in 15th and 16th centuries, 566–572
- disease in, 571

  economy in, 572
  empires in, 268, 269–272
  England and, 732
  Europe and, 564
  famine in, 571
  folk medicine in, 571
  industry in, 572–573
  labor in, 730–731
  languages in, 566
  lifestyle in, 570–572
  middle class in, 731
  Portugal and, 443, 454
  salt and, 572, 573*(i)*
  slave coast in, 568
  slavery and, 268, 730
  slave trade and, 280, 440, 522, 581, 685
  societies of, 259*(i)*, 567*(m)*
  trade in, 267–268, 271, 439, 564, 572, 572*(m)*, 730
  trading posts in, 517
  urban areas in, 268
  women in, 265
West Bank, 857, 931, 959
Western Asia
  change agents in, 200
  in Middle Ages, 374
Western Chamber, The (China), 601*(i)*
Western Christian Church. *See* Orthodox Christianity; Roman Catholic Church
Western civilization. *See* Civilization(s); Western world
Western Crusaders, in Constantinople, 206
Western Europe. *See also* Europe; Western world; specific issues; specific locations
  black Africans in, 415–416
  consumerism in, 558*(i)*
  EU and, 982
  industrialization in, 662, 671–674, 673*(m)*
  Jews in, 722
  movement of peoples in, 983–984
  Nazis and, 906
  after Second World War, 947–948
  serfs in, 378

Western front, in First World War, 824, 826, 843
Western Hemisphere (New World). *See* America(s); Columbian exchange; New World
Westernization
  in Asia, 783
  China and, 770–772
  of Japan, 773, 775
  of Russia, 527
Western Roman Empire, 163–164. *See also* Rome (ancient)
  barbarian invasions of, 217–218
  official end of, 200
Western Turks, 320. *See also* Turks
Western world. *See also* America(s); Europe; Imperialism; Western Europe
  Asia and, 545, 618–619, 783, 856
  China and, 160, 619, 770–772
  East-West communication and, 329–333
  expansion of, 388
  global economic inequality and, 750–751
  India and, 77, 78, 761
  Islam perceived by, 253
  Japan and, 618, 773
  Korea and, 778
  Marxist criticisms of, 872
  New Imperialism by, 728, 738–743
  Russian Empire and, 523
West Germany, 947–948
  reunification with East Germany, 978
West India Company, Dutch, 517
West Indies, sugar in, 554
Westphalia, Peace of, 505–506, 507
What Is Enlightenment? (Kant), 544
“What Is the Third Estate?” (Sieyès), 634, 636–637*(d)*
Wheat, 62, 809
  domestication of, 17
  green revolution and, 1005
Wheel, 22, 47, 290
Whipping, of Africans, 734*(i)*
White-collar employees, 710
White man’s burden, 742
“White Man’s Burden, The” (Kipling), 741–742

White people
  in Africa, 738
  in Australia, 780
  imperialism and, 740–741, 742, 966
  in India, 760, 764
  in Saint-Domingue, 557
  as slaves, 577, 580
  in South Africa, 867, 967
  in southern Africa, 734, 737, 966–971
  in U.S. South, 798
Whites (Russian civil war), 839
Whites only policies, toward migration, 753
Whitman, Walt, 794*(d)*
Widows
  in barbarian society, 215
  in China, 358–359
  in India, 338, 488, 760
  in Japan, 611
Wilby, G. F., 829–830
Wilhelm I (Prussia, Germany), 705, 706, 720
Wilhelm II (Germany), 720, 820, 824, 840
William III of Orange (England), 516
Williams, George Washington, 735*(d)*
William the Conqueror (William of Normandy, England), 378
Wilson, Woodrow, 860*(d)*
  First World War and, 828
  Fourteen Points of, 840, 856
  League of Nations and, 840
  mandates system and, 840
  Puerto Rico and, 812
  Versailles Treaty and, 842
Wiman, Chosŏn state and, 191
Windmills, 389
Wind patterns, trade, exploration, and, 81, 442
Windward Coast, 583
Winter Palace (Russia), 707, 707*(i)*, 838
Witch-hunts
  after Reformation, 431–432, 503
  Stalin’s purges as, 895
Witte, Sergei, 707
Wittenberg, Luther in, 421, 500

Wives. *See also* Married women; Women
  in China, 358
  in West Africa, 570
Wobogo (Burkina Faso), France and, 745*(d)*
"Wolf packs" (Second World War), 914
Wolof language, 566
Wolof people, French intermarriage with, 572, 585
Women. *See also* Division of labor; Gender; Nuns; Widows
  in 19th century, 711–712
  as activists in Chiapas, Mexico, 1004*(d)*
  in Afghanistan, 864
  in African societies, 265
  American Constitution and, 633
  in Athens, 123, 124–125*(i)*
  in Atlantic revolutions, 655
  Aztec, 310
  in businessmen's families, 684
  in Byzantine Empire, 207*(b)*
  in Catholic Reformation, 428
  in Chile, 964
  in China, 178*(d)*, 180, 184–185, 184–185*(d)*, 188, 356–359, 356*(i)*
  Christianity and, 162, 212
  in coal industry, 678–679, 680–681*(d)*
  of color, 559*(b)*
  in Constantinople, 208
  in Crusades, 384–385
  debate about, 417–418
  division of labor and, 10, 17, 677–679, 712
  as doctors, 600*(b)*
  education for, 180, 248, 611
  in Egypt, 43, 46*(b)*, 750
  equality for, 627, 1003, 1003*(i)*
  in Fascist Italy, 900, 902
  in First World War, 828–829, 829*(i)*, 837*(i)*, 849
  in France, 629*(d)*, 642
  in French Revolution, 635, 638, 639*(d)*, 639*(i)*
  gender hierarchies and, 23
  in Greece, 117, 122, 123*(i)*
  in guilds, 392
  as heads of state, 1003
  illiteracy among, 1005

Inca, 451*(i)*
in India, 69, 338
industrialization and, 677–679
in Islam, 240, 241*(d)*, 242, 248
as Islamic slaves, 239, 240*(i)*
in Japan, 609, 611, 971
as Japanese rulers, 192–194
Merovingian, 221
in Mexico, 460*(i)*
in middle class, 711
as migrants, 996, 997
monasticism and, 210, 381
Mongols and, 319*(i)*, 322, 324–325*(d)*
in mosques, 242*(i)*
in Nazi Germany, 902
Ning Lao on, 873*(b)*
in nobility, 391
as nuns, 184, 184–185*(d)*
in Ottoman Empire, 473, 474*(b)*
as paramedics, 1006
as pharaohs, 46*(b)*
in Philippines, 879
Protestantism and, 424–425
purdah and, 570
in Renaissance, 410, 415, 415*(i)*
riot by, 504
in Roman foundation myth, 143
in Rome, 147–148
as rulers, 417–418
in salons, 541, 548, 549*(d)*
in sciences, 541
seclusion of, 240
silkmaking and, 178*(d)* 179*(d)*
slavery and, 585, 589
social class and, 1003
as socialists, 713
in Southeast Asia, 438–439
in Soviet Union, 895
in Spanish colonies, 454
in Sparta, 119
in Turkey, 863

  voting rights for, 633, 691*(i)*, 719–720, 780
  in West Africa, 570, 571, 730–731
  witchcraft trials and, 431–432
  in workforce, 664*(i)*, 677–679, 711, 983, 1003
Women’s rights, 627, 629*(d)*, 633, 635, 642, 712–713, 863
  movement for, 998
Women’s suffrage. *See* Voting and voting rights
Wood, Leonard, 811
Wood, shortages in, 664
Woodblock printing, in Korea, 363
Wool and wool industry, in England, 157, 662
Wordsworth, William, 684, 719
Work. *See* Labor
Workday
  in England, 679, 685, 697
  in factories, 677
Workers. *See also* Child labor; Labor; Labor unions; Third estate; Working class
  Aztec, 308
  in England, 662, 684–685, 697
  European industrialization and, 679–680
  in factories, 676–677
  in First World War, 828–829, 829*(i)*
  in France, 638
  in Germany, 720
  historians on, 682–683*(d)*
  in Italy, 898
  in Japan, 776, 971
  lifestyle of, 626, 679–680, 684
  migrant, 996
  political involvement by, 685
  in Popular Front, 888
  railroads and, 668
  in Russia, 707–708
  socialism and, 723
  Soviet, 892, 895
  temporary and seasonal, 996
  at U.S. mill, 678*(i)*
  women as, 662, 677–679, 678*(i)*, 711
Workforce. *See* Labor; Women
Workhouses, in England, 697

Working class
  Bismarck and, 720
  economic inequality and, 709–710
  in France, 698
  lifestyle of, 679–680, 683*(d)*, 684
  Marx on, 684, 696
  Realist literature on, 719
  socialism and, 891*(d)*
  subclasses of, 710–711
  urban, 711
  use of term, 677
  women in, 677–679, 711
Workplace
  conditions in, 664, 684
  women in, 664*(i)*, 677–679, 711, 1003
Works and Days (Hesiod), 116, 117
Works Progress Administration (WPA, U.S., 1935), 888
World economy. *See* Global economy
World Health Organization
  on baby formula, 999
  on medical advances, 1006
World of Yesterday, The (Zweig), 712–713*(d)*
World trade. *See* Global trade
World Trade Center, September 11, 2001, attack on, 976, 992, 992*(i)*
World Trade Organization (WTO), China in, 974
Worldview
  1540–1790, 532
  of Inca and Spanish, 313*(d)*
  industrialization in England and, 662
  of Mexica, 311
World War I. *See* First World War
World War II. *See* Second World War
Worms, Diet of, 422
Worship. *See* Religion(s)
Wretched of the Earth, The (Fanon), 927–928
Wright, Frank Lloyd, 848
Writing. *See also* Alphabet; History and historiography; specific types
  Akkadian, 37
  in Americas, 290
  Aramaic script and, 77
  in China, 86, 92, 170, 173

  - in Crete, 114–115
  - cuneiform, 32*(i)*, 35
  - Egyptian, 33
  - Greek, 114–115, 116
  - history and, 2, 32
  - Inca, 450
  - of Maya, 301
  - in Mesopotamia, 32*(i)*, 35*(i)*
  - Phoenician, 49, 49*(i)*
  - Sumerian, 35*(i)*
  - by women, 548

Wu (Chinese emperor), 173, 175–176
Wu (Chinese empress), 185, 188
Wu Daozi (China), 351
Wu Ding (China), 91
Wu Sangui (China), 603

X

Xavier, Francis (Jesuit missionary), 618
Xenophobia, in China, 189
Xenophon (historian), 124*(d)*
Xerxes (Persia), 53, 120–121
Xhosa people, 736
Xia Dynasty (China), 354*(m)*
Xianbei people (China), 182, 183*(i)*
Xiaozhuang (Grand Empress Dowager), 509*(d)*
Xinjiang, China and, 594, 605
Xiongnu people, 88, 170, 173, 175–177, 177*(i)*, 202. *See also* Huns
  confederations of, 320
Xuanzang (Tang monk, China), 179*(d)*
Xuanzong (China), 188
Xu Guangqi, 618*(i)*
Xunzi, 98*(d)*, 100, 101–102
Xunzi, The (Xunzi), 98

Y

Yaa Asantewaa (Asante), rally of people by, 745*(d)*
Yahweh, 49, 50, 51, 54*(d)*
Yalta conference (1945), 913, 913*(i)*
Yamagata, Yasuko, 915*(i)*
Yamato state (Japan), 194
Yan’an, China, 877, 878*(m)*
Yangban (Korean elites), 615
Yang Guifei (China), 188
Yangzi River region, 88, 89*(m)*, 182, 187, 352, 359, 597
Yanitza (Tringe Smajli), 820*(i)*
al-Ya-qubi, on Ghana, 270
Yaqui Indians, 789*(i)*, 804
Yawata Iron and Steel Works, 776
Yaxchilan, Mexico, 303*(d)*
Yayoi culture (Japan), 192
Yazid (Islam), 234
Yellow fever, 572, 708, 1008*(d)*
Yellow River region (China), 88, 89*(m)*, 187, 603
Yeltsin, Boris, 980, 982*(m)*
Yemen, 483
Yesugei (Mongols), 324*(d)*
Yi Dynasty (Korea). *See* Chosŏn Dynasty
Yin and yang, 107–108, 173
Yi Song-gye (Korea), 364
Yokohama, foreign settlement in, 773
Yom Kippur War (1973), 956, 959
Yongle emperor (Chengzu, China), 596–597, 614
Yoritomo. *See* Minamoto clan (Japan)
York, house of (England), 418
Yorktown, battle at, 632
Yoruba people, 259*(i)*, 265, 567–568
Yoshida, Shigeru, 935
Yoshimasa (Japan), 606
Young Beggar, The, 504*(i)*
Young people. *See also* Students

- in Fascist Italy, 899
- in Nazi Germany, 901, 901*(i)*
- sexuality and, 678, 712*(d)*

Young Scholar and His Wife, The (Coques), 518*(i)*

Young Turks, 748, 749*(b)*, 857–859, 862
- in First World War, 857

You Zhi (China), on infant deaths, 771*(d)*

Ypres, 392

Yuan Code of 1291, 332*(d)*

Yuan Dynasty (China), 359–362, 596, 598

Yuan Grand Canal (China), 597

Yuan Shigai, 870

Yucatán, 300, 301*(i)*, 302, 450, 451, 804

Yue (Chinese state), 190

Yugoslavia
- breakup of, 980, 981*(m)*
- ethnic conflicts in, 890
- formation of, 842
- Non-Aligned Nations Movement and, 925
- protests in, 949
- Tito in, 946

Yuma people, 293

Yunnan, 190
- Mongols and, 327

Yurts, 321, 322

Z

Zacatecas, 458
al-Zahrawi (Islam), medicine and, 249
Zaibatsu, 776, 876
Zaire (Belgian Congo), 942, 966, 970. *See also* Democratic Republic of the Congo
  health in, 1006
Zama, battle at, 147
Zambezi-Limpopo region, 281
Zambezi River region, 264, 280, 281, 284
Zambia, 737
Zamfara, Nigeria, 959
Zanj people and culture, 277, 278–279*(d)*
Zanzibar, 575, 579, 731
Zapata, Emiliano, 805–806, 805*(i)*, 1004*(d)*
Zapatista Army for National Liberation, 1004*(d)*
Zapotecs, Teotihuacan trade with, 301
Zarathustra (Zoroaster). *See* Zoroaster and Zoroastrianism
Zeami (Japanese actor/playwright), 606
Zemstvos (local governments), 834
Zen (Chan) Buddhism, 189, 363, 369
  in Japan, 369, 605, 606
Zeng, Marquis of, bells of, 95*(i)*
Zeno, 133–134
Zero, in Mayan mathematics, 302
“Zero-sum game,” 522
Zeus (god), 126
Zhang (Han China), 181
Zhang Dai (China), on Ming entertainment, 602*(d)*
Zhanyinbao (China), 595*(i)*
Zhao Yong (China), 359*(i)*
Zheng He (China), 280*(i)*, 438, 614
Zhou Dynasty (China), 86, 87*(i)*, 90*(m)*, 91*(i)*, 173. *See also* Warring States Period
  early period in, 92–95
  later period in, 93, 95

Zhou Mi (China), *Elegant Conversations from the Impetuous Hall,* 360*(d)*
Zhuangzi (book and author), 105
Zhu Jingxuan (China), on Wu Daozi, 350*(d)*
Zhu Sisun (China), on Mongol army, 331*(d)*
Zhu Xi (Chinese scholar), 356, 599
  Chen Liang letter to, 360*(d)*
Zhu Yuanzhang (Taizu, China), 596
Zia-ul-Haq, Muhammad, 976
Ziggurat, 34
Zika, 1006, 1008*(d)*
Zimbabwe, 737. *See also* Great Zimbabwe
  Bantu migrations and, 264
  health in, 1006
  modern country of, 966
  soapstone bird from, 283*(i)*
  trade and, 243
Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), 966
Zinzendorf, Count, 559*(b)*
Zionism, 723, 860, 864, 865
Zola, Émile, 719
Zollverein (customs union), 672, 705
Zones. *See* Occupation (military)
Zoroaster and Zoroastrianism, 55
  Buddhism and, 75
  in China, 188
  Islam and, 238
  in Sassanid Empire, 203, 233
Zulu people, 734–735, 736
  at Battle of Isandlwana, 745*(i)*
Zweig, Stefan, on middle-class youth and sexuality, 712–713*(d)*

Timeline A History of World Societies: An Overview

	Africa	The Americas	Asia and Oceania	Europe
10,000 B.C.E.	*Homo sapiens* evolve, ca. 200,000 years ago Farming begins in Nile River Valley, ca. 9000 Domestication of cattle; plow agriculture, ca. 7000 Unification of Egypt, 3100–2660	Possible migration into Americas begins, ca. 20,000–30,000 years ago Farming begins, ca. 10,000 Earliest mound building in North America, ca. 5500 Maize domesticated in Mexico, ca. 3000	Farming begins in Yellow River Valley, ca. 9000 Domestication of cattle; plow agriculture begins, ca. 7000	Farming Gree 650 Smelting in B 550 Farming Brita 400
2500 B.C.E.	Egypt's Old Kingdom, 2660–2180 Egypt's Middle Kingdom, 2080–1640 Migration of Hyksos, 1800–1600	First cities in Peru, ca. 2500 Textiles become important part of Peruvian culture, ca. 2500 Farmers in southwestern North America grow maize, ca. 2000	Harappan civilization in India, ca. 2800–1800	Minoan eme 200 Arrival o peni Gree foun Myc king 165
1500 B.C.E.	Egypt's New Kingdom, ca. 1570–1070 Ironworking spreads throughout Africa, ca. 1500 B.C.E.–300 C.E. Akhenaton institutes	Olmec civilization in Mexico, ca. 1500–300 Earliest cities in the Andes built by Chavín people, ca. 1200	Shang Dynasty; first writing in China, ca. 1500–1050 Vedic Age: Aryans dominate in north India; caste system	Mycenae Min ca. 1 Fall of M Myc cult 110 Greek Da

	monotheistic worship of Aton, ca. 1351–1334		develops; *Rig Veda*, ca. 1500–500	110
1000 B.C.E.	Political fragmentation of Egypt; rise of small kingdoms, ca. 1100–653 Bantu migrations across central and southern Africa, ca. 1000 B.C.E.–1500 C.E. Persians conquer Egypt, 525	Olmec center at San Lorenzo destroyed; power passes to La Venta, ca. 900	Early Zhou Dynasty, ca. 1050–400 *Upanishads*, foundation of Brahmanic religion, 750–500 Life of Confucius, 551–479 Persians conquer parts of India, 513 Founding of Buddhism and Jainism, ca. 500	Evolution polis 500 Rise of S Athe 500 Roman R foun
500 B.C.E.	Ptolemy conquers Egypt, 323		Warring States Period; golden age of Chinese philosophy, 403–221 Brahmanic religion develops into Hinduism, ca. 400 B.C.E.–200 C.E. Zhuangzi and development of Daoism, 369–286 Alexander the Great invades India, 326 Seleucus establishes Seleucid Empire, 323 Mauryan Empire, ca. 322–185 Reign of Ashoka; Buddhism	Flowerin art a philo 500- Persian w 479 Peloponn 431- Roman e 390- Conquest Alex Grea Punic Wa destr Cart 146

			spreads in Central Asia, 269–232	
250 B.C.E.	Scipio Africanus defeats Hannibal at Zama, 202 Meroë becomes iron-smelting center, ca. 100	Hopewell culture flourishes in North America, ca. 200 B.C.E.–600 C.E.	Qin Dynasty unifies China; construction of Great Wall, ca. 230–208 Han Dynasty, 206 B.C.E.–220 C.E. Han government controls Silk Road across Central Asia, 114 Chinese armies conquer Nam Viet, 111 *Bhagavad Gita*, ca. 100 B.C.E.–100 C.E.	Late Rom Repu 27 Julius Ca 44 Octavian pow impe as A B.C.
1 C.E.	Expansion of Bantu-speaking peoples into eastern and southern Africa, ca. 100	Moche civilization flourishes in Peru, ca. 100–800	Maritime trade between Chinese and Roman ports begins, ca. 100 Roman attacks on Parthian empire, ca. 100–200 Chinese invent paper, 105	Roman E grea 96–
200 C.E.	Height of Aksum (Ethiopia) control of Red Sea trade, ca. 250–600		Buddhism gains popularity in China, Japan, and Korea, ca. 200–600 Age of Division in China, 220–589 Fall of the Parthian empire; rise of the Sassanid, ca. 226	Reign of refor Emp into and halv

300	Christianity comes to Ethiopia from Egypt, 328 Aksum accepts Christianity, ca. 350	Hohokam use irrigation to enhance farming in southwestern North America, ca. 300 Classical era in Mesoamerica and North America; Maya and other groups develop large advanced states, 300–900 Peak of Teotihuacan civilization in Mexico, ca. 300–650	Three Kingdoms Period in Korea, 313–668 China divides into northern and southern regimes, 316 Gupta Empire unites northern India, ca. 320–480 Huns invade India, ca. 450	Reign of Con lega Chri foun Con 306– Christian state Rom 380 Germanic west 400s Clovis ru ca.
500	Political and commercial ascendancy of Aksum, ca. 500–700 Christian missionaries convert Nubian rulers, ca. 600 Islam introduced to Africa, 639–642 Muslim conquest of Alexandria, Egypt, 641 Height of trans-Saharan and Mediterranean slave trade, ca. 650–1500	Peak of Maya civilization, ca. 600–900 Teotihuacan destroyed, 650	Sui Dynasty restores order in China, 581–618 Prince Shōtoku introduces Chinese-style government in Japan, 604 Tang Dynasty in China; cultural flowering, 618–907 Korea unified, 668	Reign of Cod *Dige* 565 *Rule of S Ben*
700	Expansion of Islam into Ethiopia weakens state, 700–800 Berbers control	Period of crop failure, disease, and war in Mesoamerica; collapse of	Creation of Japan’s first capital at Nara, 710 Islam reaches India, 711	Muslims Visi king Spai Christian

	trans-Saharan trade, ca. 700–900 Islam spreads across Sahara, 800–900 Kingdom of Ghana, ca. 900–1100	Maya civilization, 800–1000 Toltec hegemony, ca. 980–1000	Heian era in Japan, 794–1185 Khmer Empire of Cambodia founded, 802 Koryŏ Dynasty in Korea, 935–1392 North Vietnam gains independence from China, 939 Song Dynasty in China; invention of movable type, 960–1279	of S Mus 1492 Carolingi Mus Poit Viking, M inva 800– Treaty of divi Car Emp
1000	Islam penetrates sub-Saharan Africa, ca. 1000–1100 Great Zimbabwe built, flourishes, ca. 1000–1450	Inca civilization in South America, ca. 1000–1500 Peak of Cahokia culture in North America, ca. 1150 Toltec state collapses, 1174	Construction of Angkor Wat, ca. 1100–1150 Muslim conquests lead to decline of Buddhism in India, ca. 1100–1200 China divided into Song and Jin empires, 1127 Kamakura Shogunate in Japan, 1185–1333	Latin, Gr chur 1054 Norman Engl Crusades 1270 Growth o town 1100
1200	Kingdom of Mali, ca. 1200–1450 Mongols conquer Baghdad; fall of Abbasid Dynasty, 1258	Cahokia's decline begins after earthquake, ca. 1200	Easter Island's most prosperous period, ca. 1200–1400 Turkish sultanate at Delhi, 1206–1526 Peak of Khmer Empire, 1219 Mongols' Yuan Dynasty in	Magna C Life of T Aqu *Sum* *Theo* 1225 Mongol r east Mon cont Kiev 1237

			China, 1234–1368 Mongols invade Japan, 1274, 1281 Marco Polo travels in China, ca. 1275–1292 Mongol conquest of Song China, 1276	
1300	Height of Swahili city-states in East Africa, ca. 1300–1500 Mansa Musa rules Mali, ca. 1312–1337 Ibn Battuta’s travels, 1325–1354	Construction of Aztec city Tenochtitlan begins, ca. 1325	Ashikaga Shogunate, 1338–1573 Mongols defeated in China, 1368 Ming Dynasty in China, 1368–1644 Timur conquers the Delhi sultanate, 1398	Hundred War 1453 Black De in E Italian Re ca. 1 Great Sch 1417
1400	Songhai Empire, ca. 1464–1591 Arrival of Portuguese in Benin, 1485 Da Gama reaches East Africa; Swahili coast enters period of economic decline, 1498	Height of Inca Empire, 1438–1532 Reign of Moctezuma I; height of Aztec culture, 1440–1469 Inca city of Machu Picchu built, 1450 Columbus reaches Americas, 1492	Maritime trade and piracy connects East Asia and Southeast Asia with Europe, ca. 1400–1800 Zheng He’s maritime expeditions to India, Middle East, Africa, 1405–1433 Reign of Sultan Mehmet II, 1451–1481	Developm mov Ger 1450 Age of D ca. 1 Ottomans Con end Byza Emp Unificatio Jews 1492
1500	Portugal dominates East Africa, ca. 1500–1600 Era of transatlantic slave trade, ca. 1500–1900	Portuguese reach Brazil, 1500 Atlantic slave trade begins, 1518 Cortés arrives in Mexico, 1519	Increased availability of books in China, 1500–1600 Babur defeats Delhi sultanate;	Scientific Reve 1500 Michelan Sisti 1508

	Muslim occupation of Christian Ethiopia, 1531–1543 Height of Kanem-Bornu, 1571–1603	Aztec Empire falls, 1521 Pizarro conquers Inca Empire, 1533 First English colony in North America founded at Roanoke, 1585	founds Mughal Empire, 1526 Japan unified under Toyotomi Hideyoshi, 1537–1590 First Christian missionaries land in Japan, 1549 Akbar expands Mughal Empire, 1556–1605 Spain founds port city of Manila in the Philippines, 1571	Luther's Thes English begi Council 154 Peace of ends wars Ger Netherlan inde from 158
1600	Dutch West India Company founded; starts to bring slave coast of West Africa under its control, 1621 Jesuit missionaries expelled from Ethiopia, 1633 Dutch East India Company settles Cape Town, 1652 Importation of slaves into Cape Colony begins, 1658	British settle Jamestown, 1607 Champlain founds first permanent French settlement at Quebec, 1608 Caribbean islands colonized by French, English, Dutch, 1612–1697 English seize New Amsterdam from Dutch, 1664	Tokogawa Shogunate in Japan, 1603–1867 Japan closes its borders, 1639 Manchus establish Qing Dynasty in China, 1644–1911 Height of Edo urban culture in Japan, ca. 1650–1800 Dutch expel Portuguese in East Indies; gain control of spice trade, ca. 1660 French arrive in India, ca. 1670	Thirty Ye 161 English 164 Habsburg Otto Hun 171 Revocati of N Glorious in E 168 The Enlig ca. 1
1700	Major famine in West Africa, 1738–1756	Silver production quadruples in Mexico and	Christian missionary work forbidden in China, 1715	Growth o publ 170

		Peru, ca. 1700–1800 Colonial dependence on Spanish goods, ca. 1700–1800	Persian invaders loot Delhi, 1739 French and British fight for control of India, 1740–1763	War of th Succ 1701 Peace of 1713
1750	Peak of transatlantic slave trade, 1780–1820 Olaudah Equiano publishes autobiography, 1789 British seize Cape Town, 1795 Napoleon's army invades Egypt, 1798	Seven Years' War, 1756–1763 Quebec Act, 1774 American Revolution, 1775–1783 Comuneros Revolt in New Granada, 1781 Haitian Revolution, 1791–1804	Treaty of Paris gives French colonies in India to Britain, 1763 Cook claims land in Australia for Britain, 1770 East India Company Act, 1784 First British convict-settlers arrive in Australia, 1788	Watt prod stea 176 Industrial in G ca. 1 French R 178 Romantic in li the a 179 National decl a rep
1800	Muhammad Ali modernizes Egypt, 1805–1848 Slave trade abolished in British Empire, 1807	Latin American wars of independence, 1810–1825 Brazil wins independence, 1822 Political instability in most Latin American countries, 1825–1870 Mexican-American War, 1846–1848	British found Singapore, 1819 Java War, 1825–1830 Opium War, 1839–1842 Treaty of Nanjing; Manchus surrender Hong Kong to British, 1842	Napoleon 180 Congress 181 European pene non- cou 181 Greece w inde 183 Revoluti Fran and 184
1850	Suez Canal opens, 1869 Western and central Sudan unite under Islam,	U.S. Civil War, 1861–1865 Dominion of Canada formed, 1867 Latin American	Taiping Rebellion, 1851–1864 Perry opens Japan to trade; Japan begins to	Unificati 185 Freeing o serfs Unificati

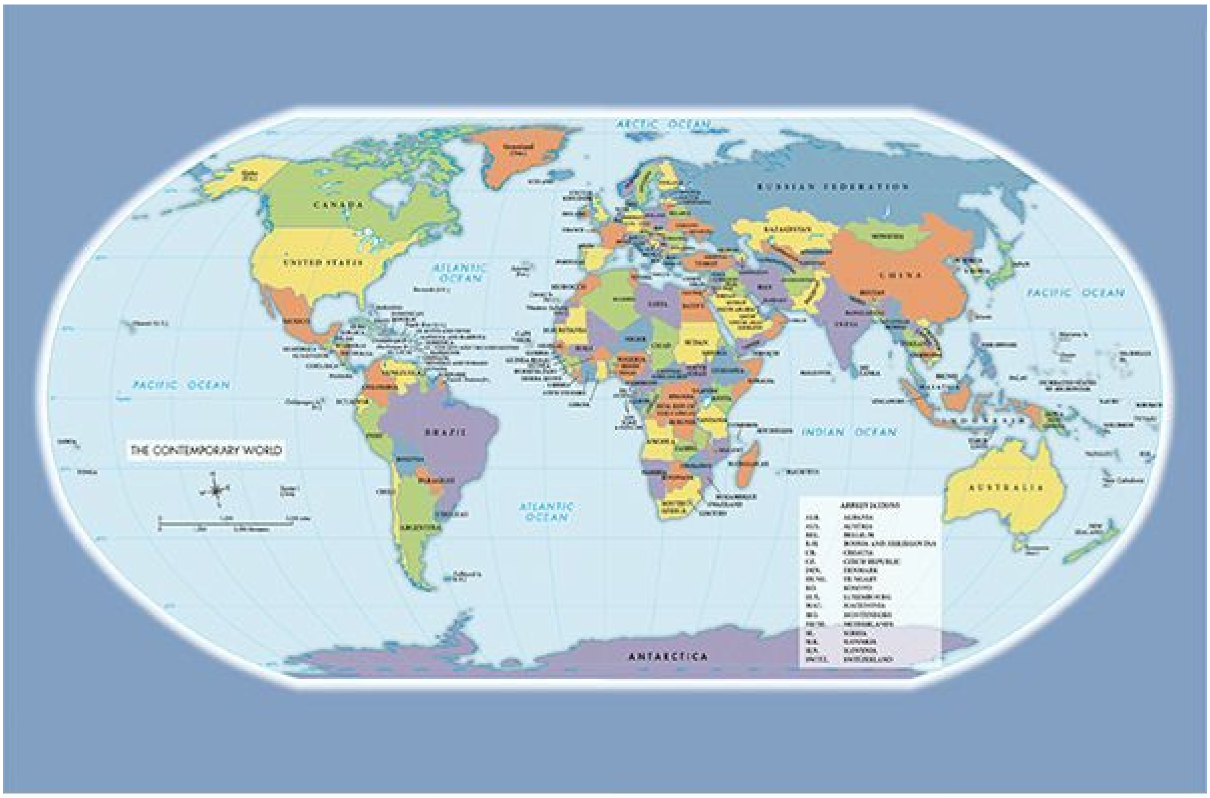
	1880 European “scramble for Africa”; decline of slave trade, 1880–1914 Battle of Omdurman, 1898 South African War, 1899–1902	neocolonialism, ca. 1870–1929 Díaz controls Mexico, 1876–1911 Immigration from Europe and Asia to the Americas, 1880–1914 Spanish-American War, 1898	industrialize, 1853 Great Mutiny/Revolt in India, 1857 Meiji Restoration in Japan, 1867 Indian National Congress, 1885 French Indochina formed, 1887 Sino-Japanese War, 1894–1895 U.S. gains Philippines, 1898	Ger 186 Massive indu surg 189
1900	Union of South Africa formed, 1910 Native Land Act in South Africa, 1913 Du Bois organizes first Pan-African congress, 1919	Mexican Revolution, 1910 Panama Canal opens, 1914 Mexico adopts constitution, 1917	Boxer Uprising in China, 1900 Commonwealth of Australia, 1901 Russo-Japanese War, 1904–1905 Muslim League formed, 1906 Korea becomes province of Japan, 1910 Chinese Revolution; fall of Qing Dynasty, 1911 Chinese republic, 1912–1949 Amritsar Massacre in India, 1919	Revolutio Russ World W 191 Bolshevi Rev civil Russ 192 Treaty of 191
1920	Cultural nationalism in Africa, 1920s Gold Coast farmers organize cocoa holdups, 1930–1931	U.S. consumer revolution, 1920s Stock market crash in U.S.; Great Depression begins, 1929 Flowering of	Gandhi launches nonviolent campaign against British rule in India, 1920 Jiang Jieshi unites China, 1928	Mussolin pow 192 Stalin tak U.S. Great De 192 Hitler gai

		Mexican culture, 1930s New Deal begins in U.S., 1933	Japan invades Manchuria, 1931 Mao Zedong’s Long March, 1934 Sino-Japanese War, 1937–1945 Japan conquers Southeast Asia, 1939–1942	Ger Civil war 193 World W 194
1940	Decolonization in Africa, 1946–1964 Apartheid system in South Africa, 1948–1991	“Mexican miracle,” 1940s–1970s Surprise attack by Japan on Pearl Harbor, 1941 United Nations established, 1945	Japan announces “Asia for Asians”; signs alliance with Germany and Italy, 1940 U.S. drops atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, 1945 Chinese civil war; Communists win, 1945–1949 Philippines gain independence, 1946 Independence and separation of India and Pakistan, 1947	Marshall NATO fo Soviet U Com Chi year 194
1950	Egypt declared a republic; Nasser named premier, 1954 French-British Suez invasion, 1956 Morocco, Tunisia, Sudan, and Ghana gain independence, 1956–1957 France offers	Cuban Revolution, 1953–1959 Military rule ends in Venezuela, 1958 Castro takes power in Cuba, 1959	Japan begins long period of rapid economic growth, 1950 Korean War, 1950–1953 Vietnamese nationalists defeat French, 1954 Mao announces Great Leap	Death of Warsaw Revoluti Hun Common form

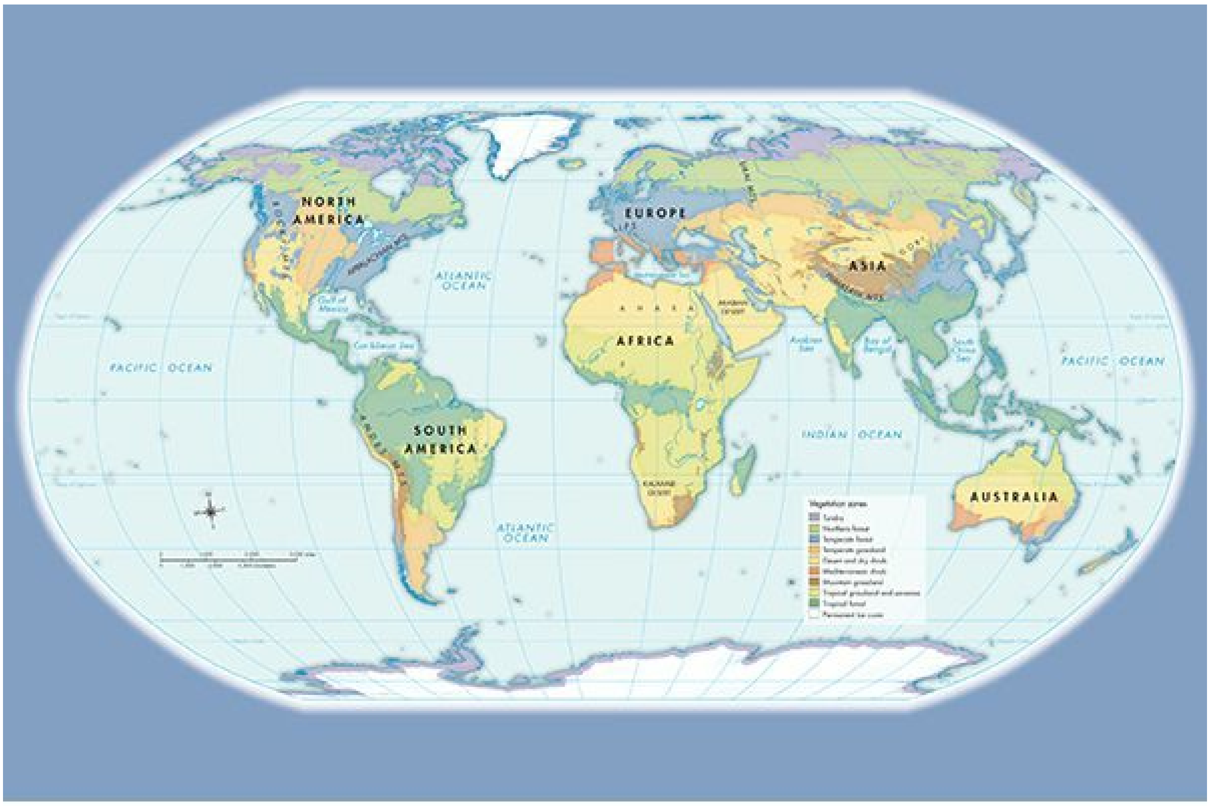
	commonwealth status to its territories; only Guinea chooses independence, 1958 Belgian Congo gains independence; violence follows, 1959		Forward in China, 1958	
1960	Mali and Nigeria gain independence, 1960 Biafra declares independence from Nigeria, 1967	U.S. Alliance for Progress promotes development and reform in Latin America, 1961 Cuban missile crisis, 1962 U.S. Civil Rights Act, 1964 Military dictatorship in Brazil, 1964–1985 Military takeovers lead to brutal dictatorships in Argentina, 1966, 1976	Vietnam War, 1959–1975 Sino-Soviet split becomes apparent, 1960 Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution launched in China, 1965	Building Wal Student r Fran Soviet in Czec 1968
1970	Growth of Islamic fundamentalism, 1970s to present	U.S. Watergate scandal, 1972 Nixon visits China; reconciliation between U.S. and China, 1972 Military coup in Chile, 1973 Revolution in Nicaragua, 1979	Bangladesh breaks away from Pakistan, 1971 Communist victory in Vietnam War, 1975 China pursues modernization, 1976 to present	Helsinki hum 1975 Soviet in Afgh 1979

1980	Blacks win long civil war with white settlers in Zimbabwe, 1980 AIDS epidemic, 1980s to present South African government opens talks with African National Congress, 1989	Democratic wave gains momentum throughout Latin America, 1980s Nationalization of Mexico's banking system, 1982 Argentina restores civilian rule, 1983 Brazilians elect first civilian government in twenty years, 1985	Japanese foreign investment surge, 1980–1992 Sikh nationalism in India, 1984 to present China crushes democracy movement, 1989	Soviet ref Gorb 1985 Commun easte 1989
1990	Nelson Mandela freed in South Africa, 1990 Rwandan genocide, 1994 Second Congo War, 1998 to present	Canada, Mexico, and U.S. form free-trade area (NAFTA), 1994 Haiti establishes democratic government, 1994 Socialist "Bolivarian revolution" in Venezuela, 1999	Collapse of Japanese stock market, 1990–1992 Economic growth and political repression in China, 1990 to present Congress Party in India embraces Western capitalist reforms, 1991 Kyoto Protocol on global warming, 1997 Hong Kong returns to Chinese rule, 1997	Conserva econ polic End of So 1991 Civil war Yug 1991 Maastrich crea curr Creation Euro Unio
2000	Civil war and genocide in Darfur, 2003 to present Mugabe increases violence against	Terrorist attack on U.S., 2001 Economic, social, and political crisis in Argentina,	China joins World Trade Organization, 2001 India and Pakistan come close to	Resurgen Russ econ Putin 2008 Euro note

	opponents after losing Zimbabwean election, 2008	2001 Formation of the Union of South American Nations, 2008 Raúl Castro succeeds his ailing brother Fidel as president of Cuba, 2008	all-out war, 2001 North Korea withdraws from 1970 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, 2003 Tsunami in Southeast Asia, 2004 Terrorist attack in Mumbai, India, 2008	circu 2002 Madrid tr bom London s bus 2005
2010	Populist uprisings and protests break out in Tunisia, Egypt, and elsewhere in North Africa, 2010–2011 South Sudan becomes an independent nation, 2011 Nelson Mandela dies, 2013	Catastrophic earthquake in Haiti, 2010 U.S. withdraws combat troops from Iraq, 2011 U.S. begins troop drawdown in Afghanistan, 2011 Jorge Mario Bergoglio from Argentina elected as Pope Francis, 2013 Protests lead to the impeachment of Brazilian president Dilma Rousseff, 2016	Massive earthquake in Japan, 2011 Al-Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden killed in Pakistan, 2011 Typhoon Haiyan kills thousands in the Philippines, 2013	European crisi inter 2010 France le sam marr Russia an Crim in U 2014 British vo for E leav 2016


ARCTIC OCEAN
CANADA
UNITED STATES
RUSSIAN FEDERATION
KAZAKHSTAN
MONGOLIA
CHINA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BRAZIL
ARGENTINA
AUSTRALIA
ANTARCTICA
THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD
ABBREVIATIONS
ALBANIA
AUSTRIA
BELGIUM
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
CROATIA
CZECH REPUBLIC
DENMARK
HUNGARY
KOSOVO
LUXEMBOURG
MACEDONIA
MONTENEGRO
NETHERLANDS
SERBIA
SLOVAKIA
SLOVENIA
SWITZERLAND

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's


NORTH AMERICA
EUROPE
ASIA
AFRICA
SOUTH AMERICA
AUSTRALIA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
Gulf of Mexico
Caribbean Sea
Arabian Sea
Bay of Bengal
South China Sea
SAHARA
GOBI
HIMALAYA MTS.
ANDES MTS.
APPALACHIAN MTS.
ALPS
KALAHARI DESERT
Vegetation zones
Tundra
Northern forest
Temperate forest
Temperate grassland
Desert and dry shrub
Mediterranean shrub
Mountain grassland
Tropical grassland and savanna
Tropical forest
Permanent ice cover

Wiesner-Hanks et al., *A History of World Societies*, 11e, © 2018 Bedford/St. Martin's

About The Authors

Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks (Ph.D., University of Wisconsin–Madison) taught first at Augustana College in Illinois and since 1985 at the University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee, where she is currently UWM Distinguished Professor in the department of history. She is the Senior Editor of the *Sixteenth Century Journal*, one of the editors of the *Journal of Global History*, and the author or editor of more than thirty books, including *A Concise History of the World*. From 2017 to 2019 she is serving as the president of the World History Association.

Patricia Buckley Ebrey (Ph.D., Columbia University), professor of history at the University of Washington in Seattle, specializes in China. She has published numerous journal articles and *The Cambridge Illustrated History of China*, as well as several monographs. In 2010 she won the Shimada Prize for outstanding work of East Asian Art History for *Accumulating Culture: The Collections of Emperor Huizong*.

Roger B. Beck (Ph.D., Indiana University) is Distinguished Professor of African and twentieth-century world history at Eastern Illinois University. His publications include *The History of South Africa*; a translation of P. J. van der Merwe's *The Migrant Farmer in the History of the Cape Colony, 1657–1842*; and more than a hundred articles, book chapters, and reviews. He is a former treasurer and Executive Council member of the World History Association.

Jerry Dávila (Ph.D., Brown University) is Jorge Paulo Lemann Professor of Brazilian History at the University of Illinois. He is the author of *Dictatorship in South America*; *Hotel Trópico: Brazil and the Challenge of African Decolonization*, winner of the Latin Studies Association Brazil Section Book Prize; and *Diploma of Whiteness: Race and Social Policy in Brazil, 1917–1945*. He has served as president of the Conference on Latin American History.

Clare Haru Crowston (Ph.D., Cornell University) teaches at the University of Illinois, where she is currently professor of history and department chair. She is the author of *Credit, Fashion, Sex: Economies of Regard in Old Regime France* and *Fabricating Women: The Seamstresses of Old*

Regime France, 1675–1791, which won the Berkshire and Hagley Prizes. She edited two special issues of the *Journal of Women's History*, has published numerous journal articles and reviews, and is a past president of the Society for French Historical Studies.

John P. McKay (Ph.D., University of California, Berkeley) is professor emeritus at the University of Illinois. He has written or edited numerous works, including the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize–winning book *Pioneers for Profit: Foreign Entrepreneurship and Russian Industrialization, 1885–1913*.

LaunchPad with LearningCurve

Works simply. Simply works.

LearningCurve
macmillan learning

learningcurveworks.com

Put “testing to learn” into action. Based on research, **LearningCurve** adaptive quizzing really works.

Each chapter-based **LearningCurve** activity gives students multiple chances to understand key concepts, return to the narrative textbook if they need to reread, and answer questions correctly.

Over 90%
of students report satisfaction with LearningCurve’s fun and accessible game-like interface.

“What I like best about *LearningCurve* is that it helps me prepare for the quizzes and exams. I feel like I wouldn't do as well in the class without *LearningCurve*.”

“I like how LearningCurve will tell you where in the book to find the correct answers to questions so you can go back and read about what you have missed.”

LearningCurve is available in **LaunchPad**, our interactive course space. There you’ll find an interactive e-Book for *A History of Western Society* plus many other resources to help you succeed in your course.

In a survey of almost 6,000 students, 81.3% said LaunchPad helped them improve their knowledge of the course material.

See what LaunchPad can do for you.

launchpadworks.com

macmillanlearning.com

bedford/st.martin's
Macmillan Learning
Boston | New York

目录

Take the lead in succeeding in your history course. 2
  Avoiding Plagiarism and Managing Sources 3
About the Cover Image 4
Half-title Page 7
Title Page 8
Copyright Page 10
Preface 12
Versions and Supplements 23
Brief Contents 29
Contents 31
Maps, Figures, and Tables 71
Special Features 78
1 The Earliest Human Societies to 2500 B.C.E. 84
  Evolution and Migration 87
    Understanding the Early Human Past 87
    Hominid Evolution 91
    Homo Sapiens, “Thinking Humans” 94
    Migration and Differentiation 96
  Later Paleolithic Society, ca. 200,000–9000 B.C.E. 101
    Foraging for Food 101
    Family and Kinship Relationships 104
    Analyzing the Evidence: Paleolithic Venus Figures 106
    Cultural Creations and Spirituality 108
    Thinking Like a Historian: Paleolithic Hand Markings 110
    Analyzing the Evidence: Bison and Human in Lascaux Cave 115
  The Development of Agriculture in the Neolithic Era, ca. 9000 B.C.E. 117
    The Development of Horticulture 117
    Global Viewpoints: Stone Age Houses in Chile and China 124
    Animal Domestication and the Rise of Pastoralism 126

    - Plow Agriculture 128
- Neolithic Society 130
    - Social Hierarchies and Slavery 130
    - Gender Hierarchies and Inheritance 131
    - Trade and Cross-Cultural Connections 132
    - Individuals in Society: The Iceman 136
- Chapter Summary 138
- Connections 138
- Review and Explore 140

2 Complex Societies in Southwest Asia and the Nile Valley 3800–500 B.C.E. 143

- Writing, Cities, and States 146
    - Written Sources and the Human Past 146
    - Cities and the Idea of Civilization 148
    - The Rise of States, Laws, and Social Hierarchies 148
- Mesopotamia from Sumer to Babylon 150
    - Environmental Challenges, Irrigation, and Religion 150
    - Sumerian Politics and Society 150
    - Writing, Mathematics, and Poetry 152
    - Analyzing the Evidence: Gilgamesh’s Quest for Immortality 155
    - Empires in Mesopotamia 158
    - Life Under Hammurabi 160
- The Egyptians 164
    - The Nile and the God-King 164
    - Thinking Like a Historian: Addressing the Gods 167
    - Egyptian Society and Work 172
    - Analyzing the Evidence: Egyptian Families 173
    - Migrations, Revivals, and Collapse 175
    - Individuals in Society: Hatshepsut and Nefertiti 180
    - Iron and the Emergence of New States 184
- The Hebrews 189
    - The Hebrew State 189
    - Global Viewpoints: Rulers and Divine Favor for Babylonians and Hebrews 192
    - The Jewish Religion 194

Hebrew Society 196
The Assyrians and the Persians 197
Assyria, the Military Monarchy 197
The Rise and Expansion of the Persian Empire 198
The Religion of Zoroaster 201
Chapter Summary 203
Connections 203
Review and Explore 205
3 The Foundation of Indian Society to 300 C.E. 208
The Land and Its First Settlers, ca. 3000–1500 B.C.E. 211
Thinking Like a Historian: Harappan Artifacts 215
The Aryans During the Vedic Age, ca. 1500–500 B.C.E. 220
Aryan Dominance in North India 220
Global Viewpoints: Divine Martial Prowess in India and Sumer 225
Life in Early India 227
Analyzing the Evidence: Conversations Between Rama and Sita from the Ramayana 229
Brahmanism 232
India’s Great Religions 234
Jainism 234
Siddhartha Gautama and Buddhism 235
Analyzing the Evidence: Gandharan Frieze Depicting the Buddha’s Enlightenment 240
Individuals in Society: Sudatta, Lay Follower of the Buddha 242
Hinduism 244
Western Contact and the Mauryan Unification of North India, ca. 513–185 B.C.E. 247
Encounters with the West 247
Chandragupta and the Founding of the Mauryan Empire 249
The Reign of Ashoka, ca. 269–232 B.C.E. 250
Small States and Trading Networks, 185 B.C.E.–300 C.E. 254
Chapter Summary 258
Connections 259
Review and Explore 260

4 China’s Classical Age to 221 B.C.E. 263

- The Emergence of Civilization in China 266
    - The Impact of Geography 266
    - Early Agricultural Societies of the Neolithic Age 268
- The Shang Dynasty, ca. 1500–1050 B.C.E. 270
    - Shang Society 270
    - Bronze Metalworking 273
    - The Development of Writing 275
- The Early Zhou Dynasty, ca. 1050–400 B.C.E. 277
    - Zhou Politics 277
    - Life During the Early Zhou Dynasty 278
    - Global Viewpoints: The Inglorious Side of War in the Book of Songs and the Patirruppattu 282
    - Individuals in Society: Lord Mengchang 285
    - Thinking Like a Historian: Ideas About the Divine Realm 288
- The Warring States Period, 403–221 B.C.E. 292
    - New Technologies for War 292
    - The Victorious States 294
- Confucius and His Followers 296
    - Confucius 296
    - Analyzing the Evidence: The Teachings of Confucius 298
    - The Spread of Confucian Ideas 301
- Daoism, Legalism, and Other Schools of Thought 304
    - Analyzing the Evidence: Inscribed Bamboo Slips 305
    - Daoism 307
    - Legalism 308
    - Yin and Yang 311
- Chapter Summary 313
- Connections 313
- Review and Explore 315

5 The Greek Experience 3500–30 B.C.E. 318

- Greece in the Bronze Age, ca. 3000–800 B.C.E. 321
    - The Minoans and Mycenaeans 322
    - The “Dark Age” 324
    - Analyzing the Evidence: Hesiod, Works and Days 325

The Development of the Polis in the Archaic Age, ca. 800–500 B.C.E. 327
  Organization of the Polis 327
  Overseas Expansion 329
  The Growth of Sparta 330
  The Evolution of Athens 330
Turmoil and Culture in the Classical Period, 500–338 B.C.E. 334
  The Deadly Conflicts, 499–404 B.C.E. 334
  Athenian Arts in the Age of Pericles 336
  Analyzing the Evidence: The Acropolis of Athens 338
  Families and Sexual Relations 339
  Thinking Like a Historian: Gender Roles in Classical Athens 341
  Public and Personal Religion 345
  The Flowering of Philosophy 346
Hellenistic Society, 323–30 B.C.E. 349
  From Polis to Monarchy, 404–200 B.C.E. 349
  Building a Hellenized Society 352
  The Growth of Trade and Commerce 354
Hellenistic Religion, Philosophy, and Science 356
  Religion in the Hellenistic World 356
  Global Viewpoints: Hellenistic and Chinese Spells 359
  Philosophy and Its Guidance for Life 361
  Hellenistic Science and Medicine 362
  Individuals in Society: Archimedes, Scientist and Inventor 364
Chapter Summary 367
Connections 368
Review and Explore 369
6 The World of Rome ca. 1000 B.C.E.–400 C.E. 372
The Romans in Italy 374
  The Etruscans 374
  The Founding of Rome 376
  The Roman Conquest of Italy 377
  The Roman State 379
  Social Conflict in Rome 381

- Roman Expansion and Its Repercussions 383
  - Overseas Conquests and the Punic Wars, 264 –133 B.C.E. 383
  - New Influences and Old Values in Roman Culture 385
  - The Late Republic and the Rise of Augustus, 133–27 B.C.E. 387
  - Individuals in Society: Queen Cleopatra 390
  - The Successes of Augustus 393
  - Analyzing the Evidence: Ara Pacis 397
- Rome and the Provinces 398
  - Political and Military Changes in the Empire 398
  - Global Viewpoints: Roman and Chinese Officials in Times of Disaster 400
  - Thinking Like a Historian: Army and Empire 402
  - Life in Imperial Rome 406
  - Prosperity in the Roman Provinces 407
  - Eastward Expansion and Contacts Between Rome and China 411
- The Coming of Christianity 413
  - Factors Behind the Rise of Christianity 413
  - The Life and Teachings of Jesus 414
  - The Spread of Christianity 415
  - The Growing Acceptance and Evolution of Christianity 417
- Turmoil and Reform 419
  - Political Measures 419
  - Economic Issues 421
  - The Acceptance of Christianity 421
  - Analyzing the Evidence: The Edict of Toleration and the Edict of Milan 423
- Chapter Summary 426
- Connections 426
- Review and Explore 428

7 East Asia and the Spread of Buddhism 221 B.C.E.–845 C.E. 431

- The Age of Empire in China: The Qin and Han Dynasties 433
  - The Qin Unification, 221–206 B.C.E. 433
  - The Han Dynasty, 206 B.C.E.–220 C.E. 435

        Han Intellectual and Cultural Life 437
        Inner Asia and the Silk Road 439
        Thinking Like a Historian: Who Made the Chinese Silks Found Along the Silk Road? 443
        Life in Han China 446
        Individuals in Society: The Ban Family 448
        China and Rome 451
        The Fall of the Han and the Age of Division 451
    The Spread of Buddhism Out of India 453
        Buddhism’s Path Through Central Asia 453
        The Appeal and Impact of Buddhism in China 455
        Analyzing the Evidence: Sixth-Century Biographies of Buddhist Nuns 458
    The Chinese Empire Re-created: Sui (581–618) and Tang (618–907) 461
        The Sui Dynasty, 581–618 461
        The Tang Dynasty, 618–907 462
        Tang Culture 464
    The East Asian Cultural Sphere 468
        Vietnam 468
        Korea 469
        Japan 473
        Analyzing the Evidence: Hōryūji Temple 477
        Global Viewpoints: Coping with Epidemics in Japan and Byzantium 479
    Chapter Summary 482
    Connections 483
    Review and Explore 484
8 Continuity and Change in Europe and Western Asia 250–850 487
    The Byzantine Empire 490
        Sources of Byzantine Strength 490
        The Sassanid Empire and Conflicts with Byzantium 491
        Justinian’s Code of Law 492
        Thinking Like a Historian: Slavery in Roman and Germanic

Society
Byzantine Intellectual Life 498
Individuals in Society: Theodora of Constantinople 500
Life in Constantinople 503
The Growth of the Christian Church 504
The Evolution of Church Leadership and Orthodoxy 504
The Western Church and the Eastern Church 506
Christian Monasticism 506
Christian Ideas and Practices 511
Christianity and Classical Culture 511
Saint Augustine on Sin, Grace, and Redemption 512
The Iconoclastic Controversy 513
Analyzing the Evidence: Orthodox Icon of Jesus 516
Migrating Peoples 518
Global Viewpoints: Roman and Byzantine Views of Barbarians 521
Social and Economic Structures 523
Tribes, Warriors, and Laws 523
Migrations and Political Change 525
Christian Missionaries and Conversion 528
Missionaries’ Actions 528
The Process of Conversion 528
Frankish Rulers and Their Territories 532
The Merovingians and Carolingians 532
The Warrior-Ruler Charlemagne 533
Analyzing the Evidence: The Capitulary de Villis 538
Chapter Summary 540
Connections 540
Review and Explore 542
9 The Islamic World 600–1400 545
The Origins of Islam 548
Arabian Social and Economic Structure 548
Muhammad’s Rise as a Religious Leader 548
The Tenets of Islam 551
Islamic States and Their Expansion 553

Islamic States and Their Expansion 553
Islam’s Spread Beyond Arabia 553
Reasons for the Spread of Islam 555
The Caliphate and the Split Between Shi’a and Sunni Alliances 555
The Abbasid Caliphate 559
Administration of the Islamic Territories 559
Fragmentation and Military Challenges, 900–1400 562
Breakaway Territories and Shi’a Gains 562
The Ascendancy of the Turks 564
The Mongol Invasions 565
Muslim Society: The Life of the People 567
The Social Hierarchy 568
Slavery 568
Women in Classical Islamic Society 569
Analyzing the Evidence: Abu Hamid al-Ghazali on the Etiquette of Marriage 573
Marriage, the Family, and Sexuality 576
Trade and Commerce 577
Thinking Like a Historian: The Risks and Rewards of Indian Ocean Seaborne Trade 580
Cultural Developments 584
Individuals in Society: Ibn Battuta 585
The Cultural Centers of Baghdad and Córdoba 587
Education and Intellectual Life 587
Global Viewpoints: Amusing Animal Stories by Syrian and Greek Authors 594
The Mystical Tradition of Sufism 596
Analyzing the Evidence: Sufi Collective Ritual 597
Muslim-Christian Encounters 599
Chapter Summary 603
Connections 604
Review and Explore 605
10 African Societies and Kingdoms 1000 B.C.E.–1500 C.E. 608

    - Global Viewpoints: Early Descriptions of Africa from Egypt 615
- Early African Societies 617
    - Agriculture and Its Impact 617
    - Bantu Migrations 619
    - Life in the Kingdoms of the Western Sudan, ca. 1000 B.C.E.–800 C.E. 620
- The Trans-Saharan Trade 624
    - The Berbers of North Africa 625
    - Effects of Trade on West African Society 627
    - The Spread of Islam in Africa 628
- African Kingdoms and Empires, ca. 800–1500 631
    - The Kingdom of Ghana, ca. 900–1100 631
    - The Kingdom of Mali, ca. 1200–1450 635
    - Ethiopia: The Christian Kingdom of Aksum 639
    - Individuals in Society: Amda Siyon 644
    - Analyzing the Evidence: The Queen of Sheba and King Solomon 647
    - The East African City-States 649
    - Analyzing the Evidence: A Tenth-Century Muslim Traveler Describes Parts of the East African Coast 655
    - Southern Africa and Great Zimbabwe 658
    - Thinking Like a Historian: Great Zimbabwe 661
- Chapter Summary 665
- Connections 666
- Review and Explore 667

11 The Americas 3200 B.C.E.–1500 C.E. 670

- Societies of the Americas in a Global Context 673
    - Trade and Technology 673
    - Settlement and Environment 677
- Ancient Societies 680
    - Olmec Agriculture, Technology, and Religion 680
    - Hohokam, Hopewell, and Mississippian Societies 682
    - Kinship and Ancestors in the Andes 685
- The Incas 687

The Incas 687
  The Inca Model of Empire 687
  Inca Imperial Expansion 690
  Imperial Needs and Obligations 691
  Analyzing the Evidence: Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, The First New Chronicle and Good Government 694
The Maya and Teotihuacan 697
  Maya Agriculture and Trade 697
  Maya Science and Religion 699
  Analyzing the Evidence: The Maya Calendar 701
  Teotihuacan and the Toltecs 704
  Thinking Like a Historian: Feathers, Snakes, and Humans 707
The Aztec Empire 711
  The Mexica: From Vassals to Masters 712
  Individuals in Society: Tlacaelel 715
  Life in the Aztec Empire 718
  The Limits of the Aztec Empire 719
American Empires and the Encounter 722
  The Last Day of the Aztecs 722
  The Fall of the Incas 724
  Global Viewpoints: Inca and Spanish Views on Religion, Authority, and Tribute 726
Chapter Summary 728
Connections 728
Review and Explore 730
12 Cultural Exchange in Central and Southern Asia 300–1400 733
Central Asian Nomads 736
  Nomadic Society 736
  The Turks 737
  The Mongols 739
  Analyzing the Evidence: The Abduction of Women in The Secret History of the Mongols 743
Chinggis Khan and the Mongol Empire 746
  Chinggis Khan 746

- Thinking Like a Historian: The Mongol Army 753
- The Mongols as Rulers 756

East-West Communication During the Mongol Era 758

- The Movement of Peoples 758
- Global Viewpoints: Explaining the Workings of Paper Money in China, Persia, and Europe 760
- The Spread of Disease, Goods, and Ideas 762

India, Islam, and the Development of Regional Cultures, 300–1400 763

- The Gupta Empire, ca. 320–480 763
- India’s Medieval Age and the First Encounter with Islam 765
- Individuals in Society: Bhaskara the Teacher 769
- The Delhi Sultanate 771
- Life in Medieval India 771

Southeast Asia, the Pacific Islands, and the Growth of Maritime Trade 775

- State Formation and Indian Influences 776
- Analyzing the Evidence: Bayon Relief at Angkor Thom 780
- The Srivijayan Maritime Trade Empire 782
- The Spread of Indian Culture in Comparative Perspective 783
- The Settlement of the Pacific Islands 784

Chapter Summary 787

Connections 788

Review and Explore 789

13 States and Cultures in East Asia 800–1400 792

The Medieval Chinese Economic Revolution, 800–1100 795

- Global Viewpoints: Painters of Uncanny Skill in China and Rome 800

China During the Song and Yuan Dynasties, 960–1368 802

- The Song Dynasty 803
- The Scholar-Officials and Neo-Confucianism 804
- Analyzing the Evidence: Ma Yuan’s Painting On a Mountain Path in Spring 807
- Individuals in Society: Shen Gua 809
- Women’s Lives in Song Times 811

    - Women’s Lives in Song Times 811
    - Thinking Like a Historian: When and Why Did Foot Binding Begin? 815
    - China Under Mongol Rule 820
- Korea Under the Koryŏ Dynasty, 935–1392 823
- Japan’s Heian Period, 794–1185 827
    - Fujiwara Rule 827
    - Aristocratic Culture 828
    - Analyzing the Evidence: The Pillow Book of Sei Shonagon 831
- The Samurai and the Kamakura Shogunate, 1185–1333 834
    - Military Rule 834
    - Cultural Trends 838
- Chapter Summary 840
- Connections 841
- Review and Explore 842

14 Europe and Western Asia in the Middle Ages 800–1450 845

- Political Developments 848
    - Invasions and Migrations 848
    - “Feudalism” and Manorialism 850
    - The Restoration of Order 852
    - Law and Justice 854
- The Christian Church 856
    - Papal Reforms 857
    - Monastic Life 858
    - Individuals in Society: Hildegard of Bingen 860
    - Popular Religion 862
    - The Expansion of Western and Eastern Christianity 864
- The Crusades 867
    - Background and Motives 867
    - The Course of the Crusades 868
    - Thinking Like a Historian: Christian and Muslim Views of the Crusades 870
    - Consequences of the Crusades 874
- The Life of the People 875

- The Life and Work of Nobles 878
- Analyzing the Evidence: Courtly Love Poetry 879
- Towns, Cities, and the Growth of Commercial Interests 882
- The Expansion of Trade and the Commercial Revolution 883

Learning and Culture 885
- Universities and Scholasticism 885
- Cathedrals and a New Architectural Style 887
- Vernacular Literature and Drama 889

Crises of the Later Middle Ages 891
- The Great Famine and the Black Death 891
- Global Viewpoints: Italian and English Views of the Plague 895
- The Hundred Years' War 897
- Challenges to the Christian Church 900
- Analyzing the Evidence: The Battle of Nicopolis 902
- Peasant and Urban Revolts 904

Chapter Summary 905

Connections 905

Review and Explore 907

15 Europe in the Renaissance and Reformation 1350–1600 911

Renaissance Culture 914
- Wealth and Power in Renaissance Italy 914
- Individuals in Society: Cosimo and Lorenzo de' Medici 916
- The Rise of Humanism 918
- Thinking Like a Historian: Humanist Learning 920
- Christian Humanism 924
- Printing and Its Social Impact 925
- Art and the Artist 926

Social Hierarchies 932
- Race and Slavery 932
- Analyzing the Evidence: Titian, Laura de Dianti 933
- Wealth and the Nobility 935
- Gender Roles 935

Politics and the State in the Renaissance 938

    - France 938
    - England 938
    - Spain 939
    - The Habsburgs 940
  - The Protestant Reformation 942
    - Criticism of the Church 942
    - Martin Luther 943
    - Protestant Thought and Its Appeal 945
    - Analyzing the Evidence: Martin Luther, On Christian Liberty 947
    - The Radical Reformation and the German Peasants’ War 950
    - Marriage and Women’s Roles 951
    - The Reformation and German Politics 952
    - England’s Shift Toward Protestantism 953
    - Calvinism and Its Moral Standards 954
    - Global Viewpoints: Chinese and European Views on Proper Behavior 956
  - The Catholic Reformation 958
    - Papal Reforms and the Council of Trent 959
    - New Religious Orders 959
  - Religious Violence 962
    - French Religious Wars 962
    - Civil Wars in the Netherlands 962
    - The Great European Witch-Hunt 965
  - Chapter Summary 967
  - Connections 968
  - Review and Explore 969
- 16 The Acceleration of Global Contact 1450–1600 973
  - The Afroeurasian Trade World 975
    - The Trade World of the Indian Ocean 975
    - Peoples and Cultures of the Indian Ocean 977
    - Trade with Africa and the Middle East 978
    - Genoese and Venetian Middlemen 979
  - The European Voyages of Discovery 982

- Technology and the Rise of Exploration 983
- The Portuguese in Africa and Asia 984
- Spain’s Voyages to the Americas 988
- Analyzing the Evidence: Columbus Describes His First Voyage 991
- Spain “Discovers” the Pacific 994
- Early Exploration by Northern European Powers 995

Conquest and Settlement 996
- Spanish Conquest of the Aztec and Inca Empires 996
- Thinking Like a Historian: Who Was Doña Marina? 1002
- Portuguese Brazil 1006
- Colonial Administration 1006
- Indigenous Population Loss and Economic Exploitation 1006
- Patterns of Settlement 1009

The Era of Global Contact 1011
- The Columbian Exchange 1011
- Sugar and Early Transatlantic Slavery 1012
- Spanish Silver and Its Economic Effects 1014
- The Birth of the Global Economy 1015
- Individuals in Society: Catarina de San Juan 1018

Changing Attitudes and Beliefs 1020
- Religious Conversion 1020
- Global Viewpoints: Aztec and Spanish Views on Christian Conversion in New Spain 1021
- European Debates About Indigenous Peoples 1023
- New Ideas About Race 1024
- Analyzing the Evidence: Mixed Races 1025

Chapter Summary 1028

Connections 1028

Review and Explore 1030

17 The Islamic World Powers 1300–1800 1033

The Turkish Ruling Houses: The Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals 1036
- The Expansion of the Ottoman Empire 1036
- The Ottoman Empire’s Use of Slaves 1042

- The Ottoman Empire’s Use of Slaves 1042
- Individuals in Society: Hürrem 1044
- The Safavid Empire in Persia 1047
- The Mughal Empire in India 1049
- Global Viewpoints: Mughal and French Views on Priorities for Monarchs 1053

Cultural Flowering 1055
- The Arts 1055
- City and Palace Building 1057
- Gardens 1060
- Intellectual Advances and Religious Trends 1062
- Coffeehouses and Their Social Impact 1064
- Analyzing the Evidence: Coffee Drinking 1065
- Analyzing the Evidence: Katib Chelebi on Tobacco 1067

Non-Muslims Under Muslim Rule 1070
- Thinking Like a Historian: Forced Relocation of Armenians to Persia 1073

Shifting Trade Routes and European Penetration 1077
- European Rivalry for Trade in the Indian Ocean 1077
- Merchant Networks in the Islamic Empires 1079
- From the British East India Company to the British Empire in India 1081

Political Decline 1083

Chapter Summary 1086

Connections 1087

Review and Explore 1088

18 European Power and Expansion 1500–1750 1091

The Protestant and Catholic Reformations 1094
- The Protestant Reformation 1094
- The Catholic Reformation 1097
- Religious Violence 1098

Seventeenth-Century Crisis and Rebuilding 1101
- The Social Order and Peasant Life 1101
- Economic Crisis and Popular Revolts 1102
- The Thirty Years’ War 1104

Absolutist States in Western and Central Europe 1108
    Spain 1108
    The Foundations of French Absolutism 1110
    Louis XIV and Absolutism 1111
    Global Viewpoints: Descriptions of Louis XIV of France and the Kangxi Emperor of China 1113
    Thinking Like a Historian: What Was Absolutism? 1115
    The Wars of Louis XIV 1119
    The Economic Policy of Mercantilism 1121
    The Austrian Habsburgs 1121
    The Absolutist Palace 1123
Constitutionalism and Empire in England and the Dutch Republic 1125
    Religious Divides and Civil War 1125
    The Puritan Protectorate 1128
    Constitutional Monarchy 1129
    The Dutch Republic 1129
    Analyzing the Evidence: Gonzales Coques, The Young Scholar and His Wife 1132
    Individuals in Society: Glückel of Hameln 1134
Colonial Expansion and Empire 1136
    The Dutch Trading Empire 1136
    Colonial Empires of England and France 1136
    Mercantilism and Colonial Wars 1140
    People Beyond Borders 1141
The Russian Empire 1144
    Mongol Rule in Russia and the Rise of Moscow 1144
    Building the Russian Empire 1144
    Peter the Great and Russia’s Turn to the West 1147
    Analyzing the Evidence: Peter the Great and Foreign Experts 1152
Chapter Summary 1155
Connections 1155
Review and Explore 1157
19 New Worldviews and Ways of Life 1540–1790 1161

19 New Worldviews and Ways of Life 1540–1790 1161
The Scientific Revolution 1164
Why Europe? 1164
Scientific Thought to 1550 1165
Astronomy and Physics 1168
Newton’s Synthesis 1172
Natural History and Empire 1172
Magic and Alchemy 1173
Important Changes in Scientific Thinking and Practice 1176
The Methods of Science 1176
Medicine, the Body, and Chemistry 1178
Science and Religion 1180
Science and Society 1180
The Rise and Spread of the Enlightenment 1183
The Early Enlightenment 1183
The Influence of the Philosophes 1185
Enlightenment Movements Across Europe 1187
Key Issues of Enlightenment Debate 1191
Shifting Views of the Non-Western World 1191
New Definitions of Race 1193
Analyzing the Evidence: Denis Diderot, “Supplement to Bougainville’s Voyage” 1195
Women and the Enlightenment 1198
Analyzing the Evidence: Enlightenment Culture 1200
Enlightened Absolutism and Its Limits 1202
Thinking Like a Historian: The Enlightenment Debate on Religious Tolerance 1206
Economic Change and the Atlantic World 1210
Economic and Demographic Change 1210
The Atlantic Economy 1212
Global Viewpoints: Malachy Postlethwayt and Olaudah Equiano on the Abolition of Slavery 1216
Urban Life and the Public Sphere 1218
Culture and Community in the Atlantic World 1220
Individuals in Society: Rebecca Protten 1223

Chapter Summary 1227
Connections 1227
Review and Explore 1229
20 Africa and the World 1400–1800 1233
West Africa in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries 1236
The West Coast: Senegambia and Benin 1236
The Sudan: Songhai, Kanem-Bornu, and Hausaland 1240
Global Viewpoints: European Descriptions of Timbuktu and Jenne 1244
The Lives of the People of West Africa 1246
Trade and Industry 1249
Cross-Cultural Encounters Along the East African Coast 1253
Muslim and European Incursions in Ethiopia, ca. 1500–1630 1253
The Swahili City-States and the Arrival of the Portuguese, ca. 1500–1600 1257
Analyzing the Evidence: Lamu Old Town, Lamu Island, Kenya 1259
Analyzing the Evidence: Duarte Barbosa on the Swahili City-States 1261
The African Slave Trade 1264
The Institution of Slavery in Africa 1264
The Transatlantic Slave Trade 1267
Individuals in Society: Olaudah Equiano 1276
Thinking Like a Historian: Perspectives on the African Slave Trade 1279
Impact on African Societies 1282
Chapter Summary 1288
Connections 1289
Review and Explore 1290
21 Continuity and Change in East Asia 1400–1800 1293
Ming China, 1368–1644 1296
The Rise of Zhu Yuanzhang and the Founding of the Ming Dynasty 1296
Problems with the Imperial Institution 1299

- The Mongols and the Great Wall 1300
- The Examination Life 1301
- Individuals in Society: Tan Yunxian, Woman Doctor 1305
- Everyday Life in Ming China 1308
- Global Viewpoints: Chinese and European Commentators on Urban Amusements 1311
- Ming Decline 1313

The Manchus and Qing China, to 1800 1314
- The Rise of the Manchus 1314
- Competent and Long-Lived Emperors 1316
- Imperial Expansion 1318

Japan’s Middle Ages, ca. 1400–1600 1319
- Muromachi Culture 1319
- Civil War 1320
- The Victors: Nobunaga and Hideyoshi 1320

The Tokugawa Shogunate, to 1800 1323
- Tokugawa Government 1324
- Commercialization and the Growth of Towns 1325
- The Life of the People in the Edo Period 1326
- Analyzing the Evidence: Interior View of a Kabuki Theater 1330
- Thinking Like a Historian: Attention to Dress in Edo Japan 1332

Maritime Trade, Piracy, and the Entry of Europe into the Asian Maritime Sphere 1336
- Zheng He’s Voyages 1336
- Piracy and Japan’s Overseas Adventures 1337
- Analyzing the Evidence: Keinen’s Poetic Diary of the Korea Campaign 1340
- Europeans Enter the Scene 1343
- Christian Missionaries 1344
- Learning from the West 1345
- The Shifting International Environment in the Eighteenth Century 1346

Chapter Summary 1349

Connections 1350

Review and Explore 1351

22 Revolutions in the Atlantic World 1775–1825 1354
- Background to Revolution 1357
  - Social Change 1357
  - Demands for Liberty and Equality 1359
  - Thinking Like a Historian: The Rights of Which Men? 1361
  - The Seven Years’ War 1366
- The American Revolutionary Era, 1775–1789 1368
  - The Origins of the Revolution 1368
  - Independence from Britain 1369
  - Framing the Constitution 1372
  - Limitations of Liberty and Equality 1373
- Revolution in France, 1789–1799 1374
  - Breakdown of the Old Order 1374
  - The National Assembly 1374
  - Analyzing the Evidence: Abbé Sieyès, What Is the Third Estate? 1378
  - Constitutional Monarchy 1381
  - The National Convention 1381
  - Analyzing the Evidence: Contrasting Visions of the Sans-Culottes 1387
  - The Directory 1390
- Napoleon’s Europe, 1799–1815 1393
  - Napoleon’s Rule of France 1393
  - Napoleon’s Expansion in Europe 1395
  - The Grand Empire and Its End 1397
- The Haitian Revolution, 1791–1804 1401
  - Revolutionary Aspirations in Saint-Domingue 1402
  - The Outbreak of Revolt 1403
  - Individuals in Society: Toussaint L’Ouverture 1406
  - The War of Haitian Independence 1409
- Revolutions in Latin America 1411
  - The Origins of the Revolutions Against Colonial Powers 1412
  - Resistance, Rebellion, and Independence 1413
  - Global Viewpoints: Declarations of Independence: The United States and Venezuela 1419

    United States and Venezuela
    The Aftermath of Revolution in the Atlantic World 1421
  Chapter Summary 1423
  Connections 1424
  Review and Explore 1425
23 The Revolution in Energy and Industry 1760–1850 1429
  The Industrial Revolution in Britain 1431
    Why Britain? 1431
    Technological Innovations and Early Factories 1434
    Individuals in Society: Samuel Crompton 1438
    The Steam Engine Breakthrough 1441
    Steam-Powered Transportation 1443
    Analyzing the Evidence: Rain, Steam, and Speed—the Great Western Railway 1446
    Industry and Population 1448
  Industrialization in Europe and the World 1451
    National and International Variations 1451
    Industrialization in Continental Europe 1452
    Agents of Industrialization 1455
    The Global Picture 1457
    Global Viewpoints: Indian Cotton Manufacturers 1460
  New Patterns of Working and Living 1462
    Work in Early Factories 1462
    Working Families and Children 1462
    The Sexual Division of Labor 1464
    Analyzing the Evidence: The Testimony of Young Mine Workers 1467
    Living Standards for the Working Class 1470
    Thinking Like a Historian: Making the Industrialized Worker 1473
  Relations Between Capital and Labor 1477
    The New Class of Factory Owners 1477
    Responses to Industrialization 1478
    The Early Labor Movement in Britain 1479
    The Impact of Slavery 1481

- Connections 1484
- Review and Explore 1485

24 Ideologies of Change in Europe 1815–1914 1488

- A Conservative Peace Gives Way to Radical Ideas 1491
  - The Political and Social Situation After 1815 1491
  - Conservatism After 1815 1493
  - Liberalism and the Middle Class 1495
  - The Growing Appeal of Nationalism 1496
  - The Birth of Socialism 1498
- Reforms and Revolutions, 1815–1850 1500
  - Social and Economic Conflict 1500
  - Liberal Reform in Great Britain 1501
  - Revolutions in France 1502
  - Analyzing the Evidence: The Triumph of Democratic Republics 1505
  - The Revolutions of 1848 in Central Europe 1507
- Nation Building in Italy, Germany, and Russia 1510
  - Global Viewpoints: German and Italian Views on Nationalism 1511
  - Cavour, Garibaldi, and the Unification of Italy 1513
  - Individuals in Society: Giuseppe Garibaldi 1516
  - Bismarck and German Unification 1519
  - The Modernization of Russia 1521
- Urban Life in the Age of Ideologies 1525
  - Urban Development 1525
  - Social Inequality and Class 1528
  - The Changing Family 1530
  - Analyzing the Evidence: Stefan Zweig on Middle-Class Youth and Sexuality 1534
  - Science for the Masses 1537
  - Thinking Like a Historian: The Promise of Electricity 1541
  - Cultural Shifts 1545
- Nationalism and Socialism, 1871–1914 1548
  - Trends in Suffrage 1548
  - The German Empire 1549

    The German Empire 1549
    Republican France 1549
    Great Britain and the Austro-Hungarian Empire 1552
    Jewish Emancipation and Modern Anti-Semitism 1552
    The Socialist Movement 1554
  Chapter Summary 1556
  Connections 1557
  Review and Explore 1558
25 Africa, the Ottoman Empire, and the New Imperialism 1800–1914 1561
  Africa: From the Slave Trade to European Colonial Rule 1564
    Trade and Social Change 1564
    Islamic Revival and Expansion in Africa 1566
    The Scramble for Africa, 1880–1914 1568
    Global Viewpoints: The Congo Free State 1574
    Southern Africa in the Nineteenth Century 1576
    Colonialism’s Impact After 1900 1580
  The New Imperialism, 1880–1914 1583
    Causes of the New Imperialism 1583
    Analyzing the Evidence: A French Leader Defends Imperialism 1588
    A “Civilizing Mission” 1591
    Analyzing the Evidence: Pears’ Soap Advertisement 1593
    Critics of Imperialism 1595
    African and Asian Resistance 1596
    Thinking Like a Historian: African Views of the Scramble for Africa 1597
  The Islamic Heartland Under Pressure 1601
    Decline and Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1601
    Egypt: From Reform to British Occupation 1605
    Individuals in Society: Muhammad Ali 1610
  The Expanding World Economy 1613
    The Rise of Global Inequality 1613
    The World Market 1615
  The Great Global Migration 1618

Connections 1622
Review and Explore 1624

26 Asia and the Pacific in the Era of Imperialism 1800–1914 1627

India and the British Empire in Asia 1630
    The Evolution of British Rule 1630
    The Socioeconomic Effects of British Rule 1632
    The British and the Indian Educated Elite 1632
    Thinking Like a Historian: English-Language Education for Indians 1638
Competition for Southeast Asia 1642
    The Dutch East Indies 1642
    Mainland Southeast Asia 1642
    The Philippines 1645
    Individuals in Society: José Rizal 1647
China Under Pressure 1649
    The Opium War 1649
    Internal Problems 1651
    Global Viewpoints: Chinese and British Efforts to Reduce Infant Deaths 1653
    The Self-Strengthening Movement 1655
    Republican Revolution 1656
Japan’s Rapid Transformation 1658
    The “Opening” of Japan 1658
    The Meiji Restoration 1659
    Analyzing the Evidence: Fukuzawa Yukichi, “Escape from Asia” 1662
    Industrialization 1665
    Analyzing the Evidence: Japan’s First Skyscraper 1666
    Japan as an Imperial Power 1669
The Pacific Region and the Movement of People 1671
    Settler Colonies in the Pacific: Australia and New Zealand 1671
    Asian Emigration 1674
The Countries of Asia in Comparative Perspective 1679
Chapter Summary 1681

Chapter Summary 1681
Connections 1682
Review and Explore 1684
27 The Americas in the Age of Liberalism 1810–1917 1687
New Nations 1690
  Liberalism and Caudillos in Spanish America 1690
  Mexico and the United States 1692
  Global Viewpoints: Perspectives on the Mexican-American War 1696
  Liberal Reform in Mexico 1698
  Brazil: A New World Monarchy 1699
Slavery and Abolition 1702
  Slave Societies in the Americas 1702
  Analyzing the Evidence: Slaves Sold South from Richmond, 1853 1703
  Independence and Abolition 1704
  Abolition in Cuba and Brazil 1707
  Thinking Like a Historian: The Abolition of Slavery in Brazil, from Above and Below 1709
Export-Led Growth and Social Unrest 1712
  Latin America Re-enters the World Economy 1712
  Individuals in Society: Henry Meiggs, Promoter and Speculator 1715
  Liberal Consolidation in South America 1717
  The Porfiriato and Liberal Stability in Mexico 1718
  The Mexican Revolution 1719
Immigration 1722
  Immigration to Latin America 1722
  Immigration to the United States 1725
  Immigration to Canada 1726
A New American Empire 1730
  U.S. Intervention in Latin America 1730
  The Spanish-American War 1732
  Analyzing the Evidence: Reyita Castillo Bueno on Slavery and Freedom in Cuba 1735

Chapter Summary 1739
Connections 1740
Review and Explore 1741
28 World War and Revolution 1914–1929 1744
The First World War, 1914–1918 1747
Origins and Causes of the Great War 1747
The Outbreak of War 1750
Stalemate and Slaughter 1753
Global Viewpoints: British and Canadian Poetry of the Great War 1757
The War Becomes Global 1759
The Home Front 1762
Mobilizing for Total War 1762
Analyzing the Evidence: The Experience of War 1764
The Social Impact of War 1767
Individuals in Society: Vera Brittain 1770
Growing Political Tensions 1773
Analyzing the Evidence: “Never Forget!” 1774
The Russian Revolution 1776
The Fall of Imperial Russia 1776
The Provisional Government 1778
Thinking Like a Historian: Russian Views of War and Revolution 1780
Lenin and the Bolshevik Revolution 1784
Dictatorship and Civil War 1787
The War’s Consequences 1790
The End of the War 1790
The Paris Peace Treaties 1790
American Rejection of the Versailles Treaty 1794
The Search for Peace and Political Stability, 1919–1929 1795
Germany and the Western Powers 1795
Hope in Foreign Affairs 1798
Hope in Democratic Government 1798
The Age of Anxiety 1801
Uncertainty in Philosophy and Religion 1801

    Uncertainty in Philosophy and Religion 1801
    The New Physics 1802
    Freudian Psychology 1803
    Twentieth-Century Literature 1804
    Modern Architecture, Art, and Music 1805
    Movies and Radio 1807
  Chapter Summary 1810
  Connections 1811
  Review and Explore 1812
29 Nationalism in Asia 1914–1939 1816
  The First World War’s Impact on Nationalist Trends 1819
    Asian Reaction to the War in Europe 1819
    The Mandates System 1820
    Nationalism’s Appeal 1821
  Nationalist Movements in the Middle East 1823
    The Arab Revolt 1824
    Analyzing the Evidence: Resolution of the General Syrian Congress at Damascus 1828
    The Turkish Revolution 1831
    Modernization Efforts in Persia and Afghanistan 1834
    Gradual Independence in the Arab States 1835
    Arab-Jewish Tensions in Palestine 1836
  Toward Self-Rule in India 1841
    British Promises and Repression 1841
    The Roots of Militant Nonviolence 1843
    Gandhi’s Resistance Campaign in India 1844
    Global Viewpoints: Gandhi and Mao on Revolutionary Means 1847
  Nationalist Struggles in East and Southeast Asia 1849
    The Rise of Nationalist China 1849
    Thinking Like a Historian: Interpreting the May Fourth Movement 1852
    China’s Intellectual Revolution 1855
    Analyzing the Evidence: The Fate of a Chinese Patriot 1857
    Individuals in Society: Ning Lao, a Chinese Working 1859

From Liberalism to Ultranationalism in Japan 1862
Japan Against China 1864
Striving for Independence in Southeast Asia 1868
Chapter Summary 1871
Connections 1872
Review and Explore 1873
30 The Great Depression and World War II 1929–1945 1876
The Great Depression, 1929–1939 1879
The Economic Crisis 1879
Mass Unemployment 1880
The New Deal in the United States 1882
The European Response to the Depression 1883
Analyzing the Evidence: British Conservative Party Poster 1885
Worldwide Effects 1887
Global Viewpoints: Socialism and the Working Class 1889
Authoritarian States 1891
Conservative Authoritarianism 1891
Radical Totalitarian Dictatorships 1891
Stalin’s Soviet Union 1895
From Lenin to Stalin 1895
The Five-Year Plans 1896
Thinking Like a Historian: Peasant Resistance to Stalin’s Collectivization Plan 1899
Life and Culture in Soviet Society 1902
Stalinist Terror and the Great Purges 1902
Mussolini and Fascism in Italy 1905
The Seizure of Power 1905
The Regime in Action 1906
Hitler and Nazism in Germany 1909
The Roots of Nazism 1909
Hitler’s Road to Power 1910
The Nazi State and Society 1912
Hitler’s Popularity 1914
Aggression and Appeasement, 1933–1939 1915
The Second World War, 1939–1945 1920

- The Second World War, 1939–1945 1920
  - Hitler’s Empire in Europe, 1939–1942 1921
  - The Holocaust 1925
  - Individuals in Society: Primo Levi 1927
  - Japan’s Asian Empire 1930
  - Analyzing the Evidence: Ultranationalist Pamphlet for Japanese Students 1933
  - The Grand Alliance 1936
  - The War in Europe, 1942–1945 1937
  - The War in the Pacific, 1942–1945 1938
- Chapter Summary 1942
- Connections 1943
- Review and Explore 1944

31 Decolonization, Revolution, and the Cold War 1945–1968 1947

- The World Remade 1950
  - The Cold War 1950
  - The United Nations 1953
  - The Politics of Liberation 1955
  - Dependency and Development Theories 1956
  - Global Viewpoints: U.S. and Latin American Views on Development 1961
  - Interpreting the Postcolonial Experience 1964
- Nationalism in South Asia and the Middle East 1966
  - Independence in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh 1966
  - Arab Socialism in the Middle East 1969
  - The Arab-Israeli Conflict 1971
- Revolution and Resurgence in East and Southeast Asia 1973
  - The Communist Victory in China 1973
  - Analyzing the Evidence: Poster Art in Communist China 1977
  - Conflict in Korea 1978
  - Japan’s American Reconstruction 1979
  - The Vietnam War 1981
  - Thinking Like a Historian: Global Perspectives on the Vietnam War 1984

    The Growth of African Nationalism 1989
    Analyzing the Evidence: C. L. R. James on Pan-African Liberation 1992
    Ghana Shows the Way 1994
    French-Speaking Regions 1995
  Populist and Revolutionary Pathways in Latin America 1997
    Economic Nationalism in Mexico 1997
    Populism in Argentina and Brazil 1998
    Individuals in Society: Eva Perón 2001
    Communist Revolution in Cuba 2003
  The Limits of Postwar Prosperity 2006
    The Soviet Union Struggles to Move Beyond Stalin 2006
    Postwar Challenges in Western Europe and the United States 2006
    The World in 1968 2010
  Chapter Summary 2014
  Connections 2015
  Review and Explore 2016
32 Liberalization 1968–2000s 2019
  Oil Shocks and Liberalization 2022
    The OPEC Oil Embargo 2022
    Mexico Under the PRI 2023
    Nigeria, Africa’s Giant 2025
  War and Revolution in the Middle East 2029
    The Palestinian-Israeli Conflict 2029
    Egypt: Arab World Leader 2031
    Revolution and War in Iran and Iraq 2031
  Latin America: Dictatorship, Debt, and Democratization 2036
    Civil Wars in Central America 2036
    Boom and Bust in Chile 2038
    The Dirty War in Argentina 2039
    Development and Dictatorship in Brazil 2041
  Resistance to White Rule in Southern Africa 2043
    Portuguese Decolonization and Rhodesia 2043
    South Africa Under Apartheid 2044

    - South Africa Under Apartheid 2044
    - Thinking Like a Historian: The Struggle for Freedom in South Africa 2047
    - Political Change in Africa Since 1990 2051
- Growth and Development in Asia 2053
    - Japan's Economic Miracle and the Emergence of the "Asian Tigers" 2053
    - China's Economic Resurgence 2055
    - Analyzing the Evidence: A Member of China's Red Guards on Democratic Reform 2058
    - Analyzing the Evidence: Tiananmen Square 2061
    - Global Viewpoints: Dissidents in Burma and China 2063
    - Development Versus Democracy in India and Pakistan 2065
- The End of the Cold War 2068
    - The Limits of Reform in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe 2068
    - Individuals in Society: Václav Havel 2073
    - Recasting Russia Without Communism 2076
    - Integration and Reform in Europe 2078
- Chapter Summary 2082
- Connections 2083
- Review and Explore 2084

33 The Contemporary World in Historical Perspective 2088

- The End of History? 2090
    - Complexity and Violence in a Multipolar World 2090
    - An Expanding Atomic Age 2090
    - Al-Qaeda and Afghanistan 2093
- Global Circulation and Exchange 2097
    - Migration 2097
    - Individuals in Society: Sieng, a Mnong Refugee in an American High School 2100
    - Urbanization 2102
    - Multinational Corporations 2105
    - Analyzing the Evidence: A Brazilian Band on Globalization 2108
- Social Movements 2111

Analyzing the Evidence: Protest Against Genetically Modified Foods 2115
Lesbian, Gay, and Transgender Rights 2117
Women’s Right to Equality 2118
Global Viewpoints: Women Activists in Chiapas, Mexico 2121
Children: The Right to Childhood 2123
Science and Technology: Changes and Challenges 2124
Intensified Agriculture and the Green Revolution 2124
The Medical Revolution 2125
Thinking Like a Historian: The Relationships Between Mosquitoes, People, and Epidemics 2129
A Digital Revolution 2133
Chapter Summary 2136
Connections 2136
Review and Explore 2137
Glossary 2140
Notes 2167
Index 2181
A 2181
B 2205
C 2218
D 2254
E 2264
F 2285
G 2297
H 2312
I 2323
J 2341
K 2348
L 2353
M 2368
N 2394
O 2407
P 2412

Q 2435

R 2436
S 2453
T 2488
U 2503
V 2508
W 2513
X 2525
Y 2526
Z 2528
Timeline A History of World Societies: An Overview 2530
About the Authors 2544
Back Cover 2546